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THE SUM REQUIRED FOR A GRAVE SIN OF THEFT

THE virtue of Justice forbids us to injure our neighbour, and this obligation is of its nature grave, as all theologians admit. Still, if the matter be trivial an offence against justice is no more than a venial sin, as all agree. The well-known lines :—

It is a sin
To steal a pin,
Much more to steal
A greater thing

may be as faulty from the strictly theological standpoint as they are from the poetic ; but for all that they express the theological truth that the matter determines whether a sin against justice is grievous or venial.

But when does the matter become sufficient to constitute a mortal sin ? Theologians have always considered this a difficult question to answer. And yet it is a question of great practical importance for the confessor, not only that he may know when he must require restitution to be made under pain of refusing absolution, but also for measuring the guilt of violations by religious of their vow of poverty ; for this question is settled on the same principles. Nearly all theologians who treat of justice discuss this question ; and of late there has been a tendency in certain quarters greatly to increase the sum which others

commonly assign as necessary and sufficient for a mortal sin of theft. Unless I am much mistaken, they have increased it unduly, and for reasons which have no validity ; so I propose briefly to examine the question again, and in doing so I will make use of the labours of economists. For although the question belongs to theology, still, as we shall see, its solution partly depends on certain data which belong to economics, and on these it is only right that economists should be heard.

Since about the time of Lugo († 1660) it has been a common opinion among theologians that it is a grave sin of theft to rob a working man of a sum which is sufficient to support him and his family for a day. The reason for this doctrine is obvious and satisfactory. For that quantity will be sufficient for a mortal sin, whose theft causes a notable injury to the owner, an injury which ordinary men of prudence and sense consider serious, and which is sufficient to upset them considerably. This is the test which is applied in other matters where there is question of the grave breach of a moral law which admits of parvity of matter. When theologians settle what omission of the Office by a priest, or of Mass on a Sunday by the faithful, or what quantity of servile work on a holiday of obligation is mortally sinful, they ask themselves what quantity of the matter prescribed or forbidden, as the case may be, is notable and considerable, having regard to the subject matter, the end of the precept in question, and the intention of the lawgiver. In the same way, when we wish to know what sum is sufficient for a grave sin of theft, we consider how important it is for maintaining peace among men that property should be secure ; what quantity of money or commodities is looked upon as considerable with a view to the use that can be made of them ; and what quantity will, with reason, cause the owner serious concern and chagrin if he is unjustly deprived of it. Now, to a workman, or indeed to anyone who has to earn his living, the loss of what will support him and his family for a day is a serious matter ; it practically means that he has worked a whole day for nothing, and such a loss causes most men,

with reason, to be seriously put out. So that we may take it as fairly established doctrine that the theft of such a sum as will keep the owner and his family for a day is a grave sin.

This rule, however, will only serve in those cases where theft has been committed against one who earns his living, or at any rate, who is not very rich. It cannot be applied to wealthy companies, or governments, or to millionaires, who would hardly feel the loss of a day's support in however grand a style they live. And so in such cases we must have recourse to other considerations in order to find what quantity will constitute a grave sin of injustice when stolen. Here we consider, not so much the loss caused to the owner of the property, as the wrong done to public order and to the security of property. Public and private interests require that property should be safe; public as well as private interests are seriously jeopardised when notable injuries to property are of frequent occurrence. All this is but saying in other words that the public weal requires that theft of a considerable sum must be forbidden in all cases, as a grave violation of justice, by the natural law. A prohibition, under pain of venial sin, not to steal a considerable sum of money, would not be sufficient to safeguard the rights of property. In other words, theft of what is commonly at a certain time and place considered a notable sum of money, will be sufficient to constitute a mortal sin of theft, even when the owner of the property stolen is not sensibly the worse off.

We have now arrived at a principle for measuring the quantity which will be grave matter in theft, independently of the harm done to the owner who is wronged. But there remains the great difficulty of determining the quantity which public and private interests require should not be stolen under pain of committing grievous sin. The value of money is constantly changing, and differs considerably in different places; the quantity of money, too, in a country varies greatly with the growth or decrease of national wealth, and so, a sum which was considerable at one time would cease to be so at another.

This truth is illustrated very well by the change in the opinions of theologians from age to age on this point. Navarrus, in the sixteenth century, taught that a sum equivalent to about twopence-halfpenny of our money was sufficient for a mortal sin of theft. This opinion, however, was commonly rejected as too severe. Sanchez says that the more common and the truer opinion fixed the sum at one shilling and eightpence. Lugo, a generation later, called attention to the change in the value of money which had been caused by the large influx of the precious metals from America. He asserted, that where formerly fifty gold crowns sufficed for support, three times that sum did not suffice in his day. And so, following the example of other recent authors, as he says, he put the sum required for grave theft, in the case of very rich lords and kings, at five shillings. St. Alphonsus thought five shillings sufficient in the case of rich lords, but for kings he put the sum at ten shillings. Modern theologians agree in still further increasing the amount. Haine and Marc increase it to between twenty and twenty-five francs; D'Annibale and Bucceroni to between twenty and thirty francs; Kenrick and Sabetti to five dollars; Lehmkuhl to between twenty and thirty shillings; Berardi to between thirty and forty francs; Génicot and Waffelaert to forty francs. Lehmkuhl thinks that for England and America, on account of the less value of money in those countries, thirty or forty shillings would be required for a grave sin. Father Ojetti¹ goes further than anyone else that I have seen, and says that a sum under four pounds would not be grave matter.

All these theologians, as was to be expected, attach great weight to traditional teaching on the point, but on account of the continual depreciation of money, they think the amount required for grave theft continually increases. Génicot, to take one example, says:—‘Nec videtur haec ultima computatio [forty francs] pro regione nostra modum excedere, si attenditur ingens mutatio quae in valore

¹ *Synopsis rerum moralium*, s.v. ‘Furtum.’

pecuniae facta est a tempore quo multi auctores quos citat S. Alphonsus duos vel tres aureos [fifteen francs] requirebant.'¹

The very great depreciation in the value of money, then, is the reason why he selects a sum eight times as great as that assigned by Lugo and others in the seventeenth century, and three times as much as the most liberal of those who are quoted by St. Alphonsus. This reason is not theological, it rests on a question of fact: has money, in reality, depreciated so much in value during the last two or three centuries? This is a question belonging to economics, a difficult question, as all admit, but one on which great labour has been spent, and with regard to which fairly certain conclusions have been reached, though no pretence can be made to mathematical accuracy.

Professor Bastable, one of our greatest authorities on monetary questions, gives in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,² a general history of the changes which have taken place within historical times in the value of money. Concerning the period with which we are dealing, he writes:—

The annual addition to the store of money has been estimated as £2,100,000 for the period from 1545 to 1600. At this date the Brazilian supply began. The course of distribution of these fresh masses of the precious metals is an interesting point, which has been studied by Mr. Cliffe Leslie. The flow of the new supplies was first towards Spain and Portugal, and from thence they passed to the larger commercial centres of the other European countries, the effect being that prices were raised in and about the chief towns, while the value of money in the country districts remained unaltered. The additions to the supply of both gold and silver during the two centuries 1600-1800 continued to be very considerable; but, if Adam Smith's view be correct, the full effect on prices was produced by 1640, and the increased amount of money was from that time counterbalanced by the wider extension of trade. At the commencement of this century [nineteenth] the annual production of gold has been estimated as being from £2,500,000 to £3,000,000. The year 1809 seems to mark an epoch in the production of these metals, since the outbreak of the revolts of the various Spanish dependencies in South America tended to check the usual supply from those countries, and a marked

¹ Vol. i., n. 497.

² s. v. 'Money.'

increase in the value of money was the consequence. During the period 1809-1849 the value of gold and silver rose to about two and a half times their former level, notwithstanding fresh discoveries in Asiatic Russia. The annual yield in 1849 was estimated at £8,000,000. The next important date for our present purpose is the year 1848, when the Californian mines were opened, while in 1851 the Australian discoveries took place. By these events an enormous mass of gold was added to the world's supply. The most careful estimates fix the addition during the years 1851-1871 at £500,000,000, or an amount nearly equal to the former stock in existence. The problems raised by this phenomenon have received the most careful study by several distinguished economists, to whose writings those desiring more extensive information may refer. The main features of interest may be briefly summed up . . .

(2) The contemporaneous development of the Continental railway systems, and the partial adoption of free trade, with the consequent facilities for freer circulation of commodities, led to the course of distribution being different from that of the sixteenth century. The more backward districts were the principal gainers, and a more general equalization of prices, combined with a slight elevation in the value, was the outcome.

. . . (4) The change in the value of money, which may for the period 1849-1869 be fixed at twenty per cent., enabled a general increase of wages to be carried out, thus improving the condition of the classes living on manual labour. It may be added that the difficulty of tracing the effects of this great addition to the money stock is a most striking proof of the complexity of modern economic development.

This general sketch is fully borne out by the results obtained by other workers in the same field. The following table was drawn up by the Vicomte d'Avenel, and is borrowed from Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, iii. p. 193 :—

TABLE OF THE COMPARATIVE PURCHASING POWER OF
EQUAL WEIGHTS OF THE PRECIOUS METALS AT DIFFERENT PERIODS IN FRANCE :—

PERIOD.	PERIOD.
1451-1500 about 6	1651-1675 about 2
1501-1525 „ 5	1676-1700 „ $2\frac{1}{3}$
1526-1550 „ 4	1701-1725 „ $2\frac{1}{4}$
1551-1575 „ 3	1726-1750 „ 3
1576-1600 „ $2\frac{1}{2}$	1751-1775 „ $2\frac{1}{2}$
1601-1625 „ 3	1776-1790 „ 2
1626-1650 „ $2\frac{1}{2}$	1890 „ 1

To show the changes in the value of money during the last century, we can avail ourselves of the Index numbers calculated for this purpose by able economists, such as Jevons and Sauerbeck. They give the prices of a large number of the chief commodities in gold for each year. I subjoin a table composed of the Jevons' Index numbers for the years 1782-1839, and of Mr. Sauerbeck's to 1896. These Index numbers show us whether gold increased or decreased in value, and what the increase or decrease was approximately, for each year.

PERIOD.	Jevons' Ind. No.	PERIOD.	Sauerbeck Ind. No.
1782-84	.. 97	1840-44 (Jevons, 77)	.. 92
1785-89	.. 87	1845-49	.. 85
1790-94	.. 93	1850-54	.. 85
1795-99	.. 120	1855-59	.. 98
1800-04	.. 126	1860-64	.. 101
1805-09	.. 138	1865-69	.. 100
1810-14	.. 125	1870-74	.. 104
1815-19	.. 111	1875-79	.. 91
1820-24	.. 92	1880-84	.. 83
1825-29	.. 88	1885-89	.. 70
1830-34	.. 79	1890-94	.. 69
1835-39	.. 85	1895-96	.. 62

If it were necessary, the results that we have obtained might be corroborated from other sources, but they will, perhaps, suffice for our purpose.

We find then that from the end of the fifteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth gold decreased in value as 6 : 2 ; the Vicomte d'Avenel's figures fully bear out the correctness of Lugo's estimate quoted above ; from that time till the end of the eighteenth century, the value of gold remained fairly constant ; it sank during the revolutionary wars with France ; after Waterloo it rose until about 1850, when it began to sink again till about 1870, since which time it has been rising gradually. The Vicomte d'Avenel calculated that the purchasing power of equal weights of the precious metals in France in 1790 and in 1890 was as 2 : 1, in other words, the net result of the fluctuations in the value of the precious metals

during the nineteenth century was that their value decreased by about one-half.

These conclusions agree with what might be expected on general principles. For the value of the precious metals, as of other things, depends on supply and demand. If the supply is increased, other things remaining the same, the value will fall, as was the case with gold when the vast stores from America had been distributed through the commercial centres of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the next century and a half trade developed, population increased, and the greater number of business transactions demanded a larger supply of money. The demand was equal to the supply, and in spite of the constant influx of gold, its value remained much the same for a century and a half. The revolt of the South American colonies from Spain tended to check supplies from that quarter, and gold rose in value till the discovery of the mines in California and Australia. The quantities drawn from thence caused gold to depreciate till about 1870, when the growing expansion of trade, the adoption by Germany and other countries of a gold standard of currency, together with other causes, brought about an appreciation of the precious metal.

The evidence, then, from Political Economy shows that gold has, indeed, depreciated in value since the time of Lugo, but that the amount of the depreciation is not nearly so great as some modern theologians suppose. If we say that the value of gold in Lugo's time was twice as much as it is now, we shall probably not be far wrong. So that if we take the opinion of Lugo and other great theologians of his time, as an accurate estimate of the quantity required for a grave sin of theft, we shall arrive at the sum required to-day on account of the depreciation in the value of money, by multiplying Lugo's five shillings by two. If we adopt the more liberal estimate of Laymann and others, we must double this amount, and say that the theft of more than twenty shillings is always a grave sin. However, besides the depreciation of money, other circumstances have to be considered, as we shall presently see.

Father Lehmkuhl¹ thinks that in England and in the United States, where, he says, the value of money is less than in other countries, a sum of from thirty to forty shillings is required ; whereas in other countries twenty to thirty shillings would be sufficient for the absolute sum necessary for a mortal sin of theft.

It is, of course, possible that money may have a greater value on the continent of Europe than in England and the United States. But this, again, is not a theological question, it is a question of fact, though a very complex one, and one very difficult to solve satisfactorily. Just as the value of commodities is measured by money, so the value of money is measured by what it will exchange for. If one pound will purchase more commodities of the same quality in Germany than in England, then the value of money is greater in Germany than it is in England. And if this be the case, a mortal sin of theft will be committed by stealing a less sum of money in Germany than in England.

Of course it is perfectly true that a pound will purchase more of some commodities in Germany than in Great Britain. It will purchase more wine in the Rhineland, otherwise Rhenish wine would not be imported to England. On the other hand, it will not purchase more cotton goods, or else we should not export those articles to Germany. But the value of money depends on its general purchasing power, not on its power of purchasing more or less of one or two commodities. The general purchasing power of money is proximately determined by the law of supply and demand. If the supply of money increases relatively to the supply of other commodities for sale, its value decreases ; if the supply decreases its value augments. Moreover, whenever an object has a higher value the greater demand attracts supplies until a common level is reached. Money obeys this law like any other commodity, and the vast improvement in means of communication which the last hundred years have

¹ Volume I., 931 note.

witnessed, the facility and cheapness of carriage, the intimate commercial relations which now exist between all the countries of the civilized world, tend to equalise values, if we neglect tariffs and the cost of transit. So that, although we should allow still for some difference in the value of money in the different countries of the civilized world, it is probable that the difference is not great. Professor Bastable says¹: 'At present it is quite natural to assume that the materials of money are distributed by means of international trade, and tend to keep at an equal level all the world over,—an assumption which is in general well grounded, though an important exception exists with regard to the East.'

Professor Marshall, one of our greatest English economists, is of opinion that money is now of greater value in England than in France. He writes²:—

Free trade, improvements in transport, the opening of new countries, and other causes have made the general purchasing power of money in terms of commodities rise in England relatively to the Continent. Early in this century [nineteenth] twenty-five francs would buy more, and especially more of the things needed by the working classes, in France than £1 would in England. But now the advantage is the other way: and this causes the recent growth of the wealth of France to appear to be greater relatively to that of England than it really is.

Many facts seem to corroborate Professor Marshall's opinion. There is undoubtedly less gold in England now than there was twenty-five years ago,³ and it is estimated that the circulation of gold, silver, and uncovered notes per head of the population is almost as much in Germany and Spain, is considerably more in Belgium and Holland, and more than twice as much in France as it is in England.⁴

Statistics published in 1903 by the Board of Trade in the Blue Book on British and Foreign Trade and Industry [Cd. 1761] tend to prove the same conclusion. By their means we can make a rough estimate of the relative cost

¹ *Encycl. Brit.*, s.v. 'Money.'

² *Principles of Economics*, i., p. 317.

³ *Dictionary of Political Economy*, ii., p. 617.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 605.

of the chief necessities of life in England, in America, and on the Continent. Since 1877 the price of food, which represents one-half of the total expenditure of the working classes, has decreased by about thirty per cent. in Great Britain; very much more than it has decreased in France and Germany. Between 1880 and 1897, the cost of workmen's food in Paris fell fourteen points, compared with thirteen in Germany, and forty-two in the United Kingdom.¹ Of the chief articles of food, bread and flour are cheaper in London than in Paris or Berlin; home-produced butcher's meat is slightly dearer, but the balance is redressed by the cheaper price of foreign and colonial meat. Butter and eggs are slightly dearer in London, but sugar and rice are cheaper. Clothing is cheaper, on the whole, in England than on the Continent or in America; house rent in the large towns is somewhat dearer.

It would seem, then, that there is no reason for saying that money has less value in England than on the Continent, or that, on this account, a greater sum is required in England for a mortal sin of theft. The contrary is probably more correct.

Not all countries, however, are equally rich; England and America are the richest nations in the world, and it is conceivable that in comparison with the wealth of the population, what is a notable sum in one country is not so in another. I take it that this would be true if the wealth of England and America were more or less equally divided among the population. This is not by any means the case. Wealth, in great measure at any rate, seems to accumulate in comparatively few hands, and the great mass of the people remains little the better off for the greater wealth in the country. The urban population of England is about seventy-seven per cent. of the whole, and the recent investigations of Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Rowntree have shown that some thirty per cent. of these live in a state of poverty, without a sufficiency of the bare necessities of life. It seems to me that in these

¹ *loc. cit.*, p. 226.

circumstances the common estimate of the value of money in England is not likely to be less, but rather more than in other European countries.

It is, indeed, true that wages are higher in England and in America than in France or Germany. According to the rough estimate contained in the Blue Book from which I have already quoted, workmen's wages in the United States are one-and-a-half times higher than in England; in Germany they are two-thirds, and in France three-fourths of those which prevail in the United Kingdom. We may remark, however, in passing, that this does not prove that the cost of labour of the same amount and quality is greater in the States and in England than abroad; it may be, as many competent judges affirm, that English and American labour is more efficient, and so as cheap or cheaper than labour is on the Continent. So that even though the income of the working-classes is greater in England than it is abroad, this will not cause them to put a less value on money if it costs them correspondingly greater effort. Still the higher wages and cheaper food and clothing enable the working classes in England to spend more, and live in greater style, than on the Continent, and this may somewhat lower the common estimate of the value of money. But, even if we allow something for this, it seems to me that Father Lehmkuhl's estimate of the difference is much too large, amounting, as it does, to fifty per cent.

The general level of wages, not only in England and America, but on the Continent also, is very much higher now than it was sixty or seventy years ago. In 1883, Sir Robert Giffen calculated that in England at that time wages were much more than one hundred per cent. higher than they had been fifty years before.¹ Engel estimated that workmen's incomes had nearly doubled in Belgium between the years 1853 and 1891.² This general rise in wages will have some influence on the estimate to be

¹ *Dictionary of Political Economy*, ii., p. 617.

² *Ibid.*, iii. p. 679.

formed of the quantity required for a grave sin of theft. For the working classes form the great bulk of the population, and their estimate of the value of money will greatly influence the general estimate. It seems clear that a workman who gets thirty shillings a week will put less value on ten shillings than if his weekly wage were only twenty shillings. We must, then, allow not only for the depreciation of money, but also for the higher wages, the higher standard of comfort, and in consequence, the relatively less value attached to money by the working-classes throughout the civilized world, independently of its purchasing power.

All things considered, I see no reason for increasing the quantity which the greater number of modern theologians assign as the absolute sum required for a mortal sin of theft. That quantity is about twenty shillings, and if we attach much importance, as we should do, to the opinions of such classical moralists of the past as Lugo about such a question, the sum will be rather below than above twenty shillings.

With twenty shillings I can purchase a week's work of an average workman, who will be able to support himself and his family on it. Such a sum is a notable quantity of money; it is a very respectable subscription even for a rich man to a charity, or any other object that attracts public support. Subscriptions to learned societies are, commonly enough, one pound or one guinea a year. If such a sum could be stolen without grave sin, its amount would prove too great a temptation for the virtue of large numbers of people, who wish to save their souls, but make little of venial sins; who shrink from crime, but, to put the matter in homely language, do not profess to be better than their neighbours. For all these reasons, then, it seems to me that to assign twenty shillings as the absolute sum required for a grave sin of theft, is as near the truth as we can get in so intricate a question.

T. SLATER, S.J.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—II

THOUGH the feast was not kept in the Latin Church for several centuries, as we saw in the December article, yet from the earliest period satisfactory evidence is preserved of belief in the Blessed Virgin's being the second Eve, or in other words, of her freedom from original sin. It would of course be impossible to quote even a quarter of the passages, but a selection may be made. Tertullian, the most ancient of the Fathers, speaks as follows :—

Deus imaginem suam, a diabolo captam, aemula operatione recuperavit. In virginem enim adhuc Evam irrepserat verbum aedificatorium mortis : in virginem aequè introducendum erat Dei verbum extructorium vitae : ut quod per ejusmodi sexum abierat in perditionem, per eundem sexum redigeretur in salutem.¹

Several other Fathers soon after say the same, but for our purpose it will be sufficient to quote the brief words of St. Zeno, Bishop of Verona († 380) : ' Tu Evam in Maria redintegrasti ; Tu Adam in Christo renovasti.' In half a dozen places St. Ambrose inculcates the importance of meditating on this mystical resemblance, and takes for granted that his hearers are well acquainted with it. So, too, does St. Augustine ; indeed it may be said to be one of his favourite comparisons. For instance, in the treatise, *De Agone Christiano* :—

Huc accedit magnum sacramentum, ut quoniam per feminam nobis mors acciderat, vita nobis per feminam nasceretur, ut de utraque natura, id est feminina et masculina, victus diabolus cruciaretur, quoniam de amborum subversione laetabatur cui parum erat ad poenam si ambae naturae in nobis liberarentur nisi etiam per ambas liberaremur.²

Everyone knows his unwillingness to mention the name

¹ P. L., ii. c. 782.

² P. L., xl. c. 303.

of Mary, where there was question of sin.¹ In this he did not stand alone. Indeed, so strongly would the whole Christian world resent a doubt, and much more a denial of Mary's holiness, that foolish as the attempt was, out of blind revenge and spite, Julian of Eclanum, the Pelagian leader, did actually allege that Augustine was guilty of this offence. From the day of his deposition from his see, and subsequently of his banishment from Italy (in 421), whether he was staying with his friend Theodore at Mopsuestia, or applying to Nestorius at Constantinople, Julian never forgave Augustine the defeat and discomfiture inflicted by the treatises, *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia* and *Contra Julianum Pelagianum*. So, as he was unable to reply to them, he wrote an invective in eight books. This reached Hippo in 428. The last product of St. Augustine's pen, the work he did not live to finish, was his crushing answer. It is in fact only from this *Opus imperfectum contra Julianum*, that we learn about the calumny. It contains in turn, first the accusation, and then the refutation. In the accusation we refer to, Julian compares his redoubtable opponent to Jovinian, and proceeds to harangue him thus :—

Verum ut illi [Mariae] infensus arguitur, ita vobis comparatus absolvitur, Quando enim tibi tantam prudentiam censura donabit, ut te cum Joviniano merito componat ? . . . Ille virginitatem Mariae partus conditione dissolvit ; tu ipsam Mariam diabolo nascendi conditione transcribis.

This was obviously equivalent to asserting that the Bishop of Hippo held that the Blessed Virgin was con-

¹ Even Harnack has to admit that St. Augustine's words, 'De qua propter honorem Domini,' etc., imply a most extraordinary privilege. In his *Dogmengesch.* iii., p. 217, he says : 'Augustine has so emphatically proclaimed the guilt of all mankind, the saints included, that this exception in favour of Mary has contributed to raise her to a dignity where she stands apart, between Christ and Christians ; and to express the greatness of Mary's holiness, Augustine uses the same terms as he does in speaking of the holiness of Christ.' Whatever we may think of some of this rationalist's expressions, he at all events is an unprejudiced witness where there is question of honour being paid to the Blessed Virgin. If St. Augustine was not too explicit, Harnack would, perhaps, attempt to explain him away.

ceived in original sin. Part of the great Bishop's answer runs thus :—

Non transcribimus Mariam diabolo conditione nascendi ; sed ideo quia ipsa conditio nascendi solvitur gratia renascendi.

St. Augustine might well reply in this way, for having regard not only to his inner belief and settled conviction, but to his spoken words, he could remember that he had said in a sermon on the marriage-feast of Cana :—

Genetrix autem Christi illa, quae facinorosi concubitus pactum exhorruit, quae non solum corpore verum etiam mente virgo permansit, intererat invitata conditione generis, non participatione criminis, universitate nascendi, non societate peccandi.¹

It would not be possible to indicate all the similar passages that occur in ecclesiastical writers, but as one of St. Augustine's contemporaries, Sedulius, is said with some probability to have been an Irishman,² an exception in his favour may be permitted. Sedulius has these beautiful lines in his *Carmen Paschale*³ :—

Culpa dedit mortem, pietas daret inde salutem.
Et velut e spinis mollis rosa surgit acutis,
Nil quod laedat habens matremque obscuret honore,
Sic Evae de stirpe sacra veniente Maria,
Virginis antiquae facinus nova virgo piaret ;
Ut quoniam natura prior vitiata jacebat
Sub ditione necis, Christo nascente, renasci
Possit homo, et veteris maculam deponere carnis.

Four hundred years afterwards, St. Paschasius Radbertus, the learned Benedictine monk of Corbey († 865), is a witness to the same belief. Speaking of the Conception he says :—

Dies tamen quando inchoata est felix Mariae Nativitas, beata pronuntiatur, et colitur religiose satis.

And further on :—

Nunc autem quia ex auctoritate totius Ecclesiae veneratur,

¹ *Mai. Patr. nova*, t. i. p. 248 ; quoted in Scheeben's *Dogmatik*, iii. p. 545.

² See I. E. RECORD, January, 1883.

³ Lib., ii. 28, seqq

constat eam ab omni originali peccato immunem fuisse, per quam non solum maledictio matris Evæ soluta est, verum etiam benedictio omnibus condonatur.¹

And St. Fulbert of Chartres († 1029), in a sermon on the Nativity B.V.M., has these words :—

Denique in hujus Conceptione necessaria haud dubium est quin utrumque parentem vivificus et ardens Spiritus singulari munere repleverit, quodque ab eis sanctorum angelorum custodia nunquam abfuerit. . . . Vere beata et omni veneratione habenda et quodam privilegio sacra prædicanda, mater hujus sanctæ, quæ omnes antecessit matres in concipiendo et generando eam quæ suum et omnium generaret Creatorem.²

And Alanus de Insulis, St. Bernard's brother-monk and intimate friend, says :—

Tota pulchra es, i.e. in corpore et in anima, *amica mea*, per gratiam et per opera, *et macula non est in te*, venialis, vel criminalis, quia nullum credimus in Virgine ante et post conceptum fuisse peccatum.³

But while the truth was gradually gaining ground and being more clearly and emphatically formulated, it cannot escape our notice that, on the other hand, in the Latin Church, during a long period the commencement of which we have now reached, to all appearance several distinguished personages lived and died in invincible ignorance of the Blessed Virgin's privilege. We say to all *appearance*, for we do not pretend to know what may have really been in the thoughts of these great men, some of whom are saints. If there were extant a sufficient body of contemporary theology in which the question of the Conception was discussed and their opinions were described, the case would be very different, for then we should have the means of forming a judgment. But in the present circumstances, it would be an almost impossible task to decide what precisely was their view of the matter. At any rate, it would be both unfair and disrespectful to fasten on certain expressions. Let us rather act as the best patristic students have done. For instance, Cardinal Newman, who under-

¹ P. L., xciv. c. 211.
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² P. L., cxli. c. 326.

³ P. L., ccx. c. 80.

stood the Fathers so well, makes the following remark : ' The greatest Fathers and Saints in this sense have been in error, that since the matter of which they spoke had not been sifted, and the Church had not spoken, they did not in their *expressions do justice to their own real meaning.*' He gives four typical instances of this, and with regard to the first, viz., the apparent ignorance on the part of the ante-Nicene Fathers of the invisibility and immensity of the Son of God, he continues : ' Do I for a moment think they *were* ignorant ? No ; but they spoke *inconsistently*, because they were opposing other errors, and did not observe what they said.'

Or it may well be that the writers now to be quoted had not clear views on the subject, supposing they had not erroneous ones. To take a parallel case, St. Augustine himself says :—

Multi quippe ad fidem Catholicam pertinentia, dum haereticorum calida inquietudine exagitantur, ut adversus eos defendi possint, et considerantur diligentius et intelliguntur clarius et instantius praedicantur, et ab adversario mota quaestio, discendi existit occasio.¹

If, however, some there be who maintain that these medieval writers were opposed to what the Church has since defined, they may find an argument in favour of their opinion in the words which the Blessed Virgin is said to have spoken to St. Brigid :—

Sed scito, quod Conceptio mea non omnibus nota fuit, quia voluit Deus, quod sicut ante legem scriptam praecessit lex naturalis, et electio voluntaria boni et mali, et postea veniret lex scripta quae cohiberet omnes inordinatos motus. Sic placuit Deo, quod amici sui pie dubitarent de Conceptione mea, et quilibet ostenderet zelum suum, donec veritas claresceret tempore opportuno.²

¹ *De Civ. Dei*, L. xvi. c. 2.

² *Revelationes St. Brigidae*, Lib. vi. 55., ed. Turrecremata.

Turrecremata, or Torquemada, Master of the Sacred Palace, was one of the commission of theologians at the Council of Bâle, appointed to examine the Revelations of St. Brigid. He went through them, article by article, and defended them. A summary of the 'Epistola D. Joh. Cardinalis de Turrecremata ad omnes Christi fideles' (1435) and a full account of the whole question may be seen in Lederer's *Der spanische*

And if the last explanation be true, then the deliberate utterances of those theologians express only too plainly the notion that the Virgin Mary incurred the guilt of original sin. It would, of course, be impossible to ascertain what led to this error in the case of each individual, but speaking antecedently it might then be safely affirmed that on this group of medieval theologians, three causes were operative. To begin with a negative one. *First*, the very numerous and remarkably explicit testimonies of the Greeks and other Easterns were all but unknown; some works of the early Fathers had indeed been translated, but the treatises of later or of contemporary writers, not to speak of the liturgies, calendars, etc., were so many sealed books. Yet it was precisely in these last that the belief was most clearly expressed and the actual practice indicated.

Then some of the defenders appear not to have had an exact idea of what is meant by the Immaculate Conception. To say this is no disparagement to them. The history of dogma shows again and again that it was only in the course of discussion or of controversy, and by means of them, that terms were defined and thoughts accurately expressed. At first there often was doubt and obscurity, then gradually these were eliminated, people began to understand one another, and the truth was elicited. In the present instance that not only ambiguity but even error existed, may be inferred from the reply of one that always speaks to the point and never throws a word away. The whole force and relevancy of his remarks rest on the supposition that his adversaries make the Immaculate Conception to mean that the Blessed Virgin did not need redemption. They imagined that her body was formed from a particle that did not sin in Adam, and had been transmitted from generation to generation intact and unsullied.¹ Years after the

Cardinal, J. kann von Torquemada, Herder, 1879. It should be added that Torquemada himself was one of the chief opponents of the opinion favourable to the Immaculate Conception.

¹ It would be hard to say who invented this hypothesis. Hugh of St. Victor had already alluded to it. He observes in his *Summa Sententiarum* (tr. i. c. 16, t. iii.): 'Quidam volunt dicere quod sicut ante pec-

saint's death, Scotus viewed the question from the right standpoint, and, so far as we know, since the time of Eadmer, Scotus was the first to do so. He expressed himself correctly, and stated the question accurately. This has won for him undying fame.

Thirdly and lastly, in consequence of the Pelagian and Semipelagian controversies which affected the West more than the East, special emphasis had in the former been laid on the doctrine of the universality of original sin. Indeed, in the Latin Church from the time referred to, this point had been so fully developed and so exclusively dwelt upon, that from the writings of SS. Ambrose, Jerome, Fulgentius, Prosper of Aquitaine, etc., the defenders of the truth appear to have looked for no assistance. One of the watchwords of orthodoxy, *in quo omnes peccaverunt*, was quoted so continually, that in the course of centuries some holy and otherwise learned men fancied its meaning to be that every descendant of Adam conceived in the natural way had, *de facto*, incurred the guilt of original sin. This error need not cause surprise.

When the theologians in question desired to see how the words of the Apostle had been applied in bygone times, they naturally had recourse to works by St. Jerome or St. Prosper, rather than to translations of those by St. Basil or St. Chrysostom. Now in the works of the Latin Fathers, while passages about the universality of original sin and the exclusive holiness of Christ simply abound, phrases about the Immaculate Conception were few, and in addition, their drift and significance seem to have been over-

catum in Adam fuit illa particula munda et sancta, ita et post peccatum in ipso et omnibus successoribus recta linea usque ad Maria sit conservata. Et hoc dicunt se a Gregorio habere' (P. L., clxxvi. col. 73). Either the same notion or something equivalent to it was held by five or six theologians in the time of the Salmanticenses (v. *De Peccatis*, Disp. xv., Dubium iv. § 1). As an instance of the proverbial longevity of error, it may be mentioned that Rosmini maintained that the hypothesis would sufficiently account for the Immaculate Conception. The thirty-fourth of his condemned propositions is: 'Ad praeservandam B. Virginem Mariam a labe originis, satis erat ut incorruptum maneret minimum semen in homine, neglectum forte ab ipso doemone; e quo incorrupto semine de generatione in generationem transfuso, suo tempore oriretur Virgo Maria.'

looked. But when we reflect on what was alluded to above, viz., the indistinctness and confusion that existed in ante-Nicene days with reference to *οὐσία, ομοούσιος* and afterwards with reference to *υποστάσις*, the doubtful nature of expressions regarding the Sacred Humanity made use of by Athenagoras and St. Gregory Nazianzen, we cannot wonder at the embarrassment of these medieval theologians. If they made a mistake, *humanum est errare*, and the best and wisest are not exempt from it.

For instance, St. Peter Damian, a Doctor of the Church conspicuous for his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, in order as he thinks to glorify Christ, speaks in this way of Christ's Mother :—

Et ipse Dei Mediator et hominum de peccatoribus originem duxit et de fermentata massa sinceritatis azyma absque ulla vetustatis infectione suscepit, imo ut expressius dicam, ex ipsa carne Virginis, quae de peccato concepta est, caro sine peccato prodiit, quae ultro etiam peccata deleuit.¹

The famous Benedictine abbot, Rupert von Deutz (*Tuitensis*) († 1136) was also opposed to the pious belief. In his devotional commentary on Canticles addressing the Blessed Virgin, he says : ' Cum enim esses de massa quae in Adam corrupta est, haereditaria peccati originalis labe non carebas.'² And the words of Hugh of St. Victor³ leave no doubt as to his opinion. He is imitated by Peter Lombard, in whose *Sentences* the following passages are found :—

Quaeritur autem de carne Verbi ; an prius quam conciperetur obligata fuerit peccato, et an talis fuerit assumpta a Verbo ? Sane dici potest et credi oportet juxta Sanctorum attestationis convenientiam, ipsam prius peccato fuisse obnoxiam, sicut reliqua Virginis caro ; sed Spiritus Sancti operatione ita mundatam, ut ab omni peccati contagione immunis uniretur Verbo. . . . Cum autem illa caro, cujus excellentia singularis verbis explicari non potest, antequam esset Verbo unita, obnoxia fuerit peccato in Maria et in aliis, a quibus propagatione traducta est.⁴

¹ P. L., cxlv. c. 129.

² P. L., clxviii. c. 841.

³ *Summ. Sent.*, tr. i. c. 16, t. 3.

⁴ III. Dist. 3.

As this was *the* text book of theological students for generations, it is obvious that the error could hardly fail to take deep root and to become widespread. Besides the *Sentences*, a work of perhaps still greater authority must have contributed in no small measure to the same sad result. This was Cardinal Gratian's *Glossa Inter-linearis* on the Decretum of the monk Gratian. In no fewer than five places according to Roskovany, it was altogether opposed to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. One being, *e.g.*, Part III., *de Consecr.*, Dist. 3-4. All these passages were expunged at a later date, and now are not to be found in ordinary editions. But as long as students read such a manual of canon law, and such a manual of theology, the *sententia pia* had not much chance.

It would not be difficult to find further instances of holy and able men unwittingly contradicting the truth, but the task would be a painful and ungrateful one, so let us dispense ourselves from it. Cajetan, who, great as he was, erred in reference to the present question, wrote to Leo X that he had on his side fifteen saints and theologians innumerable.

St. Dominic is the first canonised champion of the Immaculate Conception. Among all the servants of God whom the Church honours on her altars, he is one of the most distinguished for devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and one of the most zealous in proclaiming her freedom from all taint of original sin. In his boyhood he had the advantage of being taught this truth by the Abbot Domingo de la Vid (*Lavitensis*), who was himself one of the most strenuous defenders of the Blessed Virgin's privilege against Stephen, Bishop of Osma. Afterwards when he began his mission in the south of France by preaching against the Albigensian heresy, St. Dominic is said by one who knew him personally, Pierre de Vaux-Cernay, to have written a work entitled *De Corpore Christi*, and to have proved the truth of its contents by a miracle. Pierre, a Cistercian, accompanied his uncle Guy, who was the Abbot of Vaux-Cernay, in the crusade against the Albigeois. He was an eye-witness of what he describes in his *Historia Albigensium*

et sacri belli in eos anno 1209 suscepti. The work, which reaches to the death of Simon de Montfort (1218), is dedicated to Innocent III. It has been reprinted in Migne.¹ Though Pierre speaks of St. Dominic's triple miracle, he does not specify the contents of what he calls the *schedula*.²

According to a writer quoted by Cardinal Lambruschini³ the saint's purpose in composing the treatise was to refute these three errors of the Albigeois: (1) Christ is not He Who was to come and to redeem man; (2) The consecrated host does not contain the Body of Christ; (3) The mother of Christ incurred the guilt of original sin, and therefore she could not be the Mother of the Redeemer—('Tertius, quod sicut Adam formatus fuerat in campo Damasceno (!) ex luto mundo et non maculato, sic ille qui redimere debebat genus humanum nasci debebat ex virgine non maculata. Sed virgo quae dicitur mater Christi fuit maculata per culpam originalem; ergo natus ex tali virgine non est Ille qui debebat mundum redimere'). The Albigeois are said to have asserted this with particular vehemence, and to have become furious when St. Dominic denied it. His reply was, 'Quod non erat verum quod dicebant quoniam Virgo Maria est illa, de qua Spiritus Sanctus per Salomonem dicit. Tota pulchra es amica mea, et macula non est in te.' As, however, the heretics would not listen to argument, and still persisted in their blasphemies, a proposal was made, viz., that in order to test whether St. Dominic's book was true or not, it should be thrown into the fire. This was agreed to, and the truth of the book was manifested by a miracle. It is to this event that these lines in the Dominican Breviary (August 4th) refer:—

Ter in flammas libellus traditus,
Ter exivit illaesus penitus.

It is much to be regretted that this treatise of the saint's is no longer extant. The only passage that appears to have escaped the ravages of time is this: 'Sicut primus

¹ P. L., vol. ccxiii.

² See chapter 7, *ib.*, c. 555.

³ Sull., *Immacolata Concepimento*, Roma, 1843.

has been stated, similarly dealt with. The various volumes of the *Gaelic Journal*, and other periodicals containing Irish matter, were read, and strange words noted,' etc.

Now, in the 'Council's Preface' to the Dictionary it is stated that about 12,000 words were collected from all sources, and sorted into slip form. These 12,000 words were the material supplied to me. As Coneys' *Dictionary* alone contains some 15,000 or 16,000 words it is hard to see where the words from the various vocabularies and other sources can come in. As a matter of fact, neither O'Reilly's nor O'Brien's *Dictionary* was used in making these slips. The *Gaelic Journal* was not used (except some words from a single volume), the Glossaries to Keating's Poems, to O'Rahilly's Poems, to Eoghan Ruadh's Poems, etc., were similarly left untouched. The 12,000 or so words handed over to me were, as may be gathered from the 'Council's Preface,' so transformed and expanded by me that the work done on them was at least equivalent to what I would have expended on their compilation at first hand. It thus appears, as indeed the 'Council's Preface' states, that practically the entire Dictionary is my own creation, that I am both editor and compiler. The work, from the time I began it till its publication, took two years and nine months. Of this time fully a year and a-half were spent in seeing the book through the press, leaving only fifteen months—to make no allowance for holidays—for the compilation and marshalling into lexicographical order of some 30,000 words, in a language in which there were no previous lexicographical efforts of an analytical character, a language which had fallen into disuse, whose best literature slumbered in manuscripts, and whose unity was disturbed by the clash of conflicting dialects and local corruptions. The reader may judge whether in a work of such proportions, pressed into such a small period of time, it would not be strange if some contentious points were dealt with in such a way as to give the irreconcilable and the faddist something to say, if a shade of meaning here and there were not done justice to, if a word or two of importance got lost.

It should be borne in mind that in the compilation of the work the question of space was of great importance. The Council of the Irish Texts Society were naturally afraid that the work would reach such proportions as to swamp their resources, and, though otherwise hard pressed for time, I had to keep up a constant correspondence with them on the question of the size to which the book was running, and on the advisability of publishing it in parts. In these matters the Council yielded to my wishes. The space limits and the necessity of consulting proportion in the elements of the work, compelled me to omit whole batches of words which would deserve a place in a larger work. I was obliged to select what I considered the most important words and phrases, omitting the others. Whole lists of words, baring terms, scolding epithets, nick-names, slang words, of which the living language is so full, were either entirely omitted or selected from but sparingly, as of comparatively little importance and seldom used in polite literature. Not a single list of words sent to me from correspondents in the country was inserted in anything like its entirety, partly for want of space as explained, partly because the words were of doubtful authority, partly because so many of them were nothing more than very bad spellings or mere local corruptions of well-known words.

I have been accused by an anonymous writer in a provincial paper of provincial bias, because, forsooth, I did not shovel into my retort, without discrimination or selection, all the words sent to me by correspondents from provinces, outside of that of which I have the honour to be native. No charge could be more unjust. I have still in my possession long and elaborate lists of words from Irish speakers and scholars of my native province, only a small fraction of which I felt justified in inserting. It is well known that collectors of words, whether native speakers or not, are liable to extraordinary errors as to the form of the word, and that 'new discoveries' of bogus words are liable to deceive the unwary. As a matter of fact, I was anxious to give, as far as possible, even special

prominence to Northern and Western words and variants, and in the opinion of many scholars I went entirely too far in that direction. It is obvious, too, that it would be a ridiculous waste of space to insert precisely the same word in several places in the Dictionary with just the variation of a letter or so. This, many of my learned friends tell me, I have done too often; but if I were to follow the lines of procedure indicated in the review I am discussing it is hard to say to what size my Dictionary would not reach. Want of space, too, necessitated my not giving in every instance the diminutives and derivatives of words, and not repeating, in some cases under derivatives and diminutives, the full list of meanings which was given under the primary words. The remarks I have been making will be aptly illustrated by a discussion of the following passage from the review, page 83:—

‘Surely there is no excuse . . . for the omission of words found in the brief Vocabulary to the *Τρί Στέλετα*. This Vocabulary contains in all less than 200 words, only very rare words and variants occurring in the Stories being given. One would imagine that this Vocabulary would have been utilised. Yet in this brief, select, and long accessible Vocabulary are many words which are not to be found in the Dictionary—not certainly in their proper places. The following are specimens of those that are missing:—*αναταμιαιλ*, *βαρμικιμβ*, *βαρμιασ* (with the meaning there assigned to it), *βρεακ-κοιλλ*, *καοταμλαετ* (variant of *καοιτεαμλαετ*), *ελαδαιρε*, *εμυριν*, *ερεαδαιλκεαδ*, *οιγεαντα*, *φαλαριε* (= *βαλλαί*) *πατραιλ*, *ρζυρ* (with meaning there attached to it), *ριονταριε*, *ρρεαμιοισι*, *ρτραδαριε* (with meaning here assigned to it), *ρτραιβιαμαρ*, *τιονορις*, *τιορπαδ*.’

I pass over a few of these words for brevity. *βαρμικιμβ*, which is a dative, is fully accounted for in Dictionary, page 49; the leading word there being *βαρμικιν*, which is the correct spelling, and which accords with the pronunciation. It would be no less than monstrous to write this word with a single *μ*, because it occurs so spelled in a vocabulary to a tale written down from oral narration. *Καοταμλαετ* appears in Dictionary, page 115, as *καοιτεαμ-*

lact, the only correct form. The word caoi is pronounced caot in Munster, just as naoi (nine) is pronounced naot. It would be an absurd waste of space, as well as wrong in principle, to write caotamlact as a leading word in the Dictionary. The word clabaipe is in Dictionary, page 144, as clamaipie, the proper spelling—compare clam, 7c. There are a great many words written with an m which indifferent spellers write with a b, surely if each of these words were given in Dictionary in both spellings the work would assume enormous proportions, and would be besides needlessly choked with useless matter; cupin is merely a diminutive of cupor, Dictionary, page 195. It would be absolutely ridiculous to insert all diminutives in -in as leading words, it would be almost doubling the matter of the Dictionary without the slightest necessity.

The next word is cpeacailceac. This precious word is, indeed, to be found in the Vocabulary in question, but it is a misprint; the proper form cpeacailleac being found in the text, page 32, line 41, which the reviewer was too cock-sure to consult. But this is not the worst. There is, of course, no such word in Irish as cpeacailceac, and there is no such leading word even as cpeacailleac (the proper spelling in this case)—it is merely a genitive case of the word cpeacail, which is found in the Dictionary, page 192. Thus, then, the reviewer would have us insert as a leading word in a Dictionary hard pressed for space the word cpeacailceac, which is merely a variant genitive of a word occurring in the Dictionary, with a 'c' misprinted into it, to make it look interesting and novel. This, no doubt, comes under what he terms 'select' and 'very rare' words. What does he mean by cpeacailceac? He could have seen from the notes, page 61, and actually even from the Vocabulary itself, that it is preceded by the word poll, which is the cause of the inflection in the text, page 32, line 41. He evidently did not take the trouble to refer to the text, but, having accused me of copying the mistakes of former lexicographers, proceeds to rebuke me for not having swallowed down wholesale all the bogus words that occur in this childish vocabulary. This, I

suppose, is 'scientific lexicography,' and not 'lexicography by rule of thumb.'¹

The word *ῥαλαῖοε*, he complains, is not inserted. The word is mis-spelled. There should be two *l*'s. I believe that if every word with a double *l* were to be repeated with a single *l*, at least 8,000 words would be uselessly added to the Dictionary. He equates *ῥαλαῖοε* with *βαλλαί*. Now, let the reader kindly look at Dictionary, page 51, and he will find '*βαλλα*, a wall, a rampart (*ῥαλλα* in M.);' and on page 296 he will see: '*ῥαλλα*, a wall, etc., *see βαλλα*.' Is this honest criticism? The next word, *ῥάτράιλ*, is a gem. It proves the reviewer's proficiency in

'Index learning,' that 'turns no student pale,
And holds the eel of science by the tail.'

This delightful word occurs in the Vocabulary which he would have us swallow. There is no such word in Irish. It is simply a misprint for *ῥάρτράιλ* which is spelled correctly in the text of the Stories, page 23, line 21; and at page 11, line 2; and in the notes in two places, viz., page 59 and page 61. The word is, therefore, given correctly in at least four places in the book. Still the reviewer upbraids me for not inserting this 'very rare,' this unique, word, *ῥάτράιλ*. The proper word, *ῥάρτράιλ*, is, of course, in the Dictionary, page 560. It requires very little acquaintance with the language to know that a combination like *ῥάτράιλ* cannot be Irish. I suppose the insertion of this delicious word would be 'scientific lexicography,' and not at all 'lexicography by rule of thumb.' I thank the reviewer for teaching me that word.

Next comes *ῥῡῡ*. In the Dictionary it is fully explained and acted on that *ῥ* is invariably written for *ῡ*. The reviewer complains that *ῥῡῡ* has not in the Dictionary the meaning assigned to it in this precious Vocabulary, viz., '*ῥῡῡ* = a notch, nick, gap.' Now, the proper word is *ῥῡῡ* (*ῡῡῡ*), which accords with the pronunciation I have heard all my life; and on page 614 of the Dictionary we have '*ῥῡῡ*, a cut, a gash, a section, a mark made by

¹ See review in I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1905, p. 71.

a knife or sword, a slice cut off by a knife ; 'ré mo òim òe'n òoulais rcoim òe òmasán, my portion of the Christmas festivities is a section or slice of a salmon ; rcoim Δ òur 'ran òlabar, to cut a notch in the mantel-piece, which was done in commemoration of some important event,' etc.

Next comes the word ríonéaròe, which he says is omitted. Certainly in that spelling it is very properly omitted. At page 647 of Dictionary the proper word, namely, ríotnuròe is given. It would take an able mathematician to compute how many new words would have to be added to the Dictionary if the permutation nē and ēn resulted in every case in separate head words.

Next comes rpeápasoi. No such word exists in Irish. No such form occurs in the Vocabulary referred to. There is given in it, indeed, the outlandish form rpeápuisíoròe. For the sake of pure ornament it was a pity to exclude this word. It is a real *hapax legomenon*. The reviewer, unfortunately, spoiled its beauty, reducing it to poor rpeápasoi. The reader will please compare the two forms, and bear in mind that the reviewer complains because his own distorted form is not found in its place in the Dictionary. At page 678 of Dictionary we have rpeápasoiòe given and properly defined. I shudder to think how many permutations this, at best straggling word, is capable of. At a guess I should say thirty-three. On page 60 of the little book in question, in the notes, the form given in the Dictionary is actually preferred to the one which appears in the Vocabulary. But of course the reviewer was above the drudgery of looking at the notes, the 'rule of thumb' system being much more simple and effective. I shall not dilate on the next word, rparacaipe, I need only refer the reader to Dictionary, page 685, where he will find rparacaipe, and to page 695 where he will find rparacaipe, and to the notes of the *Trí Scéalta*, page 63.

Next comes rparábiarar, which, it is stated, has been omitted, though occurring in this renowned Vocabulary. The form in the Vocabulary, however, is rparábiarar, and has been slightly doctored by the reviewer. In the text of the Stories, page 31, line 1, it is rparábiarar, so also

is it written in notes, page 61, where it is defined as a 'comic word for a winding blow,' whatever that may mean. In *An Buaiḱear*, page 35, line 3, and in the notes of the same book, page 130, the form is *ṛáḱméaṛaṛ*. This is an instance of the class of words which I only sparingly inserted, as already explained. Indeed it would be necessary to insert this word in as many ways as it has letters to meet every possible student who wished to find his own form of it in the Dictionary.

Next comes *ṛionóirḡ*. The proper word will be found in Dictionary, page 745. The last word of this famous list is *ṛiorṛaḱḱ*. Here the reviewer has not changed the form given in the Vocabulary. Let me say that there is no such word in Irish. The word *ṛiorṛaḱ* occurs in the Stories at page 43, line 14, also in the notes, page 62. Thus it is clear that *ṛiorṛaḱḱ* is a misprint for *ṛiorṛaḱ*. Still the reviewer would have us swallow it according to the principles of 'scientific lexicography.' The proper spelling is, of course, *ṛeaṛḱaḱ*, which represents its derivation from *ṛeaṛ*, though the spelling *ṛiorṛaḱ* represents well enough its sound in Munster. In Dictionary, page 728, we find '*ṛeaṛḱaḱ* (*ṛeaṛḱaḱ*), heat, warmth, sultriness; exuberance of spirits, unrestrained flow of animal spirits, wantonness; *ṛá ṛeaṛḱaḱ aṛi*, he has more animal spirits than he knows what to do with, his blood is too hot; a condition of the body resulting from high feeding and idleness, applied to animals and human beings. There is no corresponding English word (in M. the *ḱ* is pronounced unaspirated, and is rather *p* than *b*); *ní'ḷ aon ṛ. aṛi*, he is not very well off.'

Let the reader contrast this elaborate definition of a properly spelled and properly placed word with the miserable definition of the misprinted word *ṛiorṛaḱḱ* given in this incomparable Vocabulary. There it is '*ṛiorṛaḱḱ*, = playfulness, high spirits;' yet, no doubt, my work is 'lexicography by rule of thumb,' while that of this puerile Vocabulary is 'scientific lexicography.'

From a brief consideration of these few words we see what a loss has been sustained by the language in my

failing to act on the principles of 'scientific lexicography.' We have lost for ever such brand-new words as *εισαδαι* *εισαδαι*, *πατραι*, and *τιορραι*, and the language is so much the poorer for my unaccountable thrift in not ringing the changes, in endless permutation, on *ντ*, *εν*, *ρεν*, *ρεν*, *ρε*, and for not presenting such a fine word as *ρεδουρριουρε* in the Dictionary in all its facings.

It will be seen that I have so far dealt, and but very inadequately, with only a few lines of this long and straggling review. The reader will bear in mind that it would be impossible in a single article, and to little purpose if possible, to take up and examine every item of it in detail. To what shall I turn next? It matters little. At page 71 of the review, speaking of *ξαν* *ξαν*, it is said: 'Its meaning, or at least one of its meanings, corresponds with *φαν* *φαν*, given by Coneys, and properly defined by him, but not found in the Dictionary under review.' I would ask the reader to form his own judgment of the honesty and justice of this criticism after he has read the following three articles from the new Dictionary:—

(a) Page 291. *φαν*, an appearance or disposition to laughter (M. *φαν*, which *see*).

(b) Page 301. *φαν*, the appearance or disposition to a thing. *βι* *φαν* *αν* *ξαν* *αν* *βελ*, the first beginnings of a laugh could be seen on his lips, he smiled. *See* *φαν*.

(c) (Additions and Corrections.) Page 803. *φαν*, for *see* *φαν* read *see* *φαν*.

Now let us see what Coneys has about this word. At page 153 we have: *φαν*, an appearance or disposition (to laughter); *φαν* *αν* *ξαν*, an appearance of laughter; *φαν*, *id.*

The phrase is, therefore, 'rightly defined' in Coneys', 'but not found in the Dictionary under review.' I must confess that I shrink from characterising 'criticism' of this nature as I believe it deserves. On same page 71, the reviewer animadverts on the treatment of the word *προσαν*. He is not satisfied with the meaning given in

Dictionary, and tries to show that the word means 'a libertine, a voluptuary.' As regards this word it will be well to put before the reader the information the Dictionary gives us about it:—

(a) Dictionary, page 385: 'ḡrōḡḡ, a bent posture; a feeble, ill-fed old animal; also, an enfeebled old man or woman.'

(b) 'ḡrōḡḡḡ, a hunchback.'

Taking these two definitions together, I submit that the word is sufficiently well explained, though it would have been better to add to the meaning 'hunchback,' 'a person in a bent posture.' The word is quite common in Munster, even among English speakers; cf. ḡrōḡḡḡ ḡn tēmtēḡn, said of a person who habitually sits in a crouching posture over the fire. Of course the reviewer's idea that it has the meaning 'libertine' is ridiculous. And the quotations he advances in support of this extraordinary contention 'have nothing to do with the case.' In the first passage which he quotes the verb is a well-known one, namely, ḡrōḡḡm, ḡrōḡḡm, I cause envy to; irritate, annoy, persecute; compare—

ḡn ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡeḡḡ ḡuile ḡeo ḡrōḡḡḡḡ ḡr ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ,
which occurs in a poem of Pierce Fitzgerald's. From this word undoubtedly the Anglo-Irish and United States word 'grig' comes.¹ The notion that ḡrōḡḡm or ḡrōḡḡm has any connection with ḡrōḡḡ, ḡrōḡḡḡḡ, especially considering the well-established use of these words, will amuse the reader.

On page 72 of the review occurs the following passage: 'Under ḡḡḡḡ, "sympathy" should be found, and under ḡḡḡḡḡ (ḡḡḡḡḡḡ) "sympathetic." What more usual than to hear nī ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡn-ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡn-ne ḡeḡḡ ḡn ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡn, we had no sympathy with that work.' It may be asked, is it correct to speak of 'sympathy' with work? On page 47 of Dictionary we have 'ḡḡḡḡ, love, friendship, hospitality, leniency, humanity; ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡeḡḡ, I have

¹ See the *Century Dictionary* and Murray's *New English Dictionary* under *grig*.

a feeling of friendship towards you.' Let the reader judge whether the Irish phrase quoted by the reviewer comes sufficiently under the definition given in the Dictionary. In the same page he would have us give *bpuir* to mean 'brush.' A serious omission, truly.

'After the definition of *meang*,' we are told, on page 73, 'phantasy should be added.' Now *meang* is defined in Dictionary, page 473, as 'deceit, fraud, mean device, craft, guile'; I do not believe it can be equated with 'phantasy,' nor does the passage quoted from the *Imitation* prove that it can, viz., 'conturbentur omnes phantasiae inimici,' translated as *oibir meang na námáo*. Here *meang* is equated with 'omnes phantasiae,' which is, at the very best, loose translation. Indeed, 'phantasy' of the reviewer equated with *meang* is a very loose rendering of 'omnes phantasiae.' 'Phantasy' is even but a poor rendering of 'phantasiae,' which has scarcely an exact equivalent in Irish, unless indeed our friend *rpeabhráoioioe* be considered as its equivalent. Now, we know that when a translator is reduced to straits for an exact word he casts about for *some* substitute rather than leave a blank. The usual English rendering of 'phantasiae' in this passage is 'phantoms,' that is, delusive imaginings, hence 'deceit.' Thus, probably, the translator arrived at *meang*. I may point out that it is highly unscientific to go to a translation in Irish for the exact shade of meaning of a word like *meang*. Translations even from Irish into English do not always lead to scientific results in the meanings of words.

On page 74 of review the words *clabair*, *clabha*, and *clonn* are treated of. Under *clabair* in the Dictionary the reader is referred to *clabair*. As stated by the reviewer, however, *clabair* is not in its place, the slip containing it having dropped out accidentally. It is found, however, under *rcor*, already quoted, and is the form I have heard all my life. *Clabha* is no doubt a variant. The form *clabair* is given by Peter O'Connell. In note 1, p. 74, the reviewer says: '*clabair*, *clabha*, *clonn*, all mean a mantel-piece or an article of furniture suspended on the

wall over the open hearth in farm-houses and cottages, and in some places called a "clevy." These words mean nothing of the kind. A clevy, indeed, does mean an article of furniture corresponding, roughly, with the modern over-mantel, except that it has a shelf-shaped base. It is used for holding such articles as brass candle-sticks, small brass ornaments, and what one might term the farmer's family plate, and is generally, if not universally, affixed above the chimney breast. Now *clabap*, *clabpa* is the heavy cross beam over the fire-place which supports the masonry of the chimney front. It enters the wall on either side, and sometimes even projects into the porch. It is thus about twelve feet in length, generally, and from ten to sixteen inches square. It is as erroneous to equate *clabap*, *clabpa* with 'clevy' as it is to equate 'fan-light' with 'folding doors.' The word *clonn* mentioned in the text and notes of the review as not given in the Dictionary is given in its proper place and spelling at page 169, thus: 'coláman, a pillar, a prop, a pedestal;' and even the variant *columan*, is given on page 171. This word is used locally in the Youghal neighbourhood for *clabap*, *clabpa*, and the propriety of that use of it is obvious. It is ridiculous to speak of these words as meaning a piece of furniture, no matter where suspended—the beam they represent is an essential part of the building, and could not be suspended without the aid of giants.

Near the end of page 77 of the review the word *méao* (*méro*) is introduced, and three pages are devoted to it with great show of erudition. The reviewer is very much startled at finding *méro* only masculine in the Dictionary, and introduces a host of quotations to prove a feminine usage. The modern ordinary usage is certainly masculine, although in the nominative case a feminine usage is sometimes found locally; but it could scarcely be expected that local variations of gender should be given in the Dictionary in every case. As to the difference in meaning between *méao* and *méro*, the reviewer after all his quotations is unable to make up his mind. The distinction made at least in Munster is clear enough, and is that given

in the Dictionary, μέσθ being there defined as 'size, bulk.'

The reviewer, to do him justice, has made discoveries. He has actually found that the word έσθάε is omitted. He, of course, rubs his hands with glee. But he has been anticipated, even in this discovery. A writer in the *Cork Sun* has long ago pointed out the omission of this word, and that of another important word, viz., ρειρβήριρ. Had the reviewer been so fortunate as to discover that this latter word had been omitted what delight it would have caused him. It should be noted, however, that both έσθάε and ρειρβήριρ are formally referred to in the Dictionary, the former under έρσάε, and the latter under ρίριρ and ρεαριβήεαεαρι (one of its oblique cases), so that their omission was purely accidental. I very much regret the omission, but out of a total of some 30,000 words, all given to the printer in separate slips, it is not strange that a few should have dropped out. In note, page 74-5, the reviewer states that the words αήριάν, αήριάνταεε, αήριάναιρσάεε, are not given in their proper places, though formally and explicitly referred to under the spelling αβήριάν, γε. Now, the omission of these words is supplied in the 'Additions and Corrections,' page 801. Thus the reviewer makes a formal charge of omission and fails to inform the reader that the omission is supplied at the end of the book. When an important word was found missing the more prudent and just course would have been to consult the 'Additions and Corrections' before denouncing the writer in leaded type and in lofty language. Is it possible that the reviewer spent three months in the study of the Dictionary without noticing the existence of the 'Additions and Corrections' list? But do we not know now that the 'brief, select, and long accessible Vocabulary,' to the *Τρι Scéalra*, consisting of some 145 'words,' has so engrossed his attention for the two or three years that it has been before the public, that he has not yet completed his study of it, and has not dipped even casually into the few pages of text and the fewer pages of notes to which it is affixed?

What I have been saying of the reviewer's idea of

'scientific lexicography' as exemplified in his treatment of the Vocabulary to the *Τρί Σcéλτα*, will prepare the reader for a still more extraordinary effort of his in the same direction. As he would have shovelled into the Dictionary so many bogus words, misprints, and mis-spellings from that Vocabulary of 145 words in all, it is not strange that he should take the *Western People* under his wing. I quote from the review :—

An anonymous writer in a western paper [the *Western People*] has complained of the exclusion of words well known in Leath Chuinn. He gives a long list of words and variants which *he states* [*sic*] are not to be found in the Dictionary, and adds that these words, or most of them, were placed at the disposal of the editor, but for some reason were not included. On what principle most of them could have been excluded is a mystery and will probably remain so (page 75).

And again : 'The list of between two and three hundred words published in the *Western People*, and *not to be found* in the Dictionary, has already been spoken of' (page 84). To discredit the Dictionary any source from which 'words' can be raked together, any authority however contemptible, seems sufficient to the reviewer. He takes the authority of an anonymous writer in an obscure paper for the statement that the list of words in question is not in the Dictionary, and proceeds to give that list (most of them in the first passage, all of them in the second passage above quoted) the stamp of his *imprimatur*. Many will think that it is suggested in the passages quoted that these words were omitted purely through provincial bias, a view which the writer in the *Western People* puts forward in an aggressive fashion. I have that list before me ; it consists of 251 'words,' while the Vocabulary to the *Τρί Σcéλτα* has only 145. But the latter Vocabulary, with all its gross errors and misprints, is almost scientific lexicography when compared to that of the *Western People*.

To adopt the words of the reviewer : On what principle most of the words in the *Western People* could have been *included* as leading words is a mystery, and will probably remain so. I trust the reviewer will publish

the entire list in the I. E. RECORD for the edification of scholars. A very large number of these words are nothing more than gross mis-spellings or corruptions of words properly spelled and treated of in the Dictionary. Many are local slang words which no dictionary, certainly no compendious dictionary, could include. Some are only mere grunts or else real words with just a play on the vowel as 'ouu, in phrase níou leigeasou ouu ná ouu arda,' 'cau, in phrase cou ná cau,' just as you would say in English, 'kack,' in phrase 'a kick or a kack;' 'pag,' in phrase 'a pig or a pag;' 'stack,' in phrase 'a stick or a stack,' and so on. I have often heard Irish speakers say, 'ní oubaire ré maiúe ná gmaúe, ní oubaire ré húm ná húm, ní oubaire ré gíoc ná míoc, by goiní n-éigir, he! he! he! well, well, well,' and hundreds of such expressions, are they all to swell the Dictionary with cross references by the principles of 'scientific lexicography' in this wise:—

gmaúe, in phrase ní oubaire ré maiúe ná gmaúe.

See maiúe.

maiúe, in phrase ní oubaire ré maiúe ná gmaúe.

See gmaúe.

míoc, in phrase gíoc ná míoc. See gíoc.

hám, in phrase húm ná hám. See húm.

húm, in phrase húm ná hám. See hám.

éigir, in phrase by goiní n-éigir, he! he! he! well, well, well. See goiní, &c.

This kind of lexicography would be, of course, an invaluable boon to students. In the list in question there are vulgarised English words, with an Irish tail, as 'riobáil, doing jobs,' which is our old friend *jobáil*, to be heard all over Ireland. Of course *riobáil* should go into Dictionary under *r*; it would give German scholars an occasion for many learned conjectures as to its origin: *riob*, may be akin to some Sanskrit root, *sab*, 'to drudge'! There are words like *mac fálldaéain*, 'a sprite,' which is neither sense nor Irish; the proper word being *mac malllaéain*, given in Dictionary under *mac* with its proper signification; there are words like 'coillegán, three rush-lights plaited into

one (Rafferty),’ which is only a mis-spelling of Dictionary word ‘*τῆλεφάν*, a torch, a lantern, a lamp, a plaited rush-candle;’ *εἰλλτεος*, a mis-spelling of *εἰλτεος*; *ριαραδ* for *τιαραδ*, *ζηρό* for *ερό*, *ραβαριτ* for *ραζαριτ* or *ραδσριτ* (both in Dictionary), *καλαπαν* for *κολπάν*, *ρειαλ οριτ*, bad cess to you,’ for *ρσειμλε οριτ*, ‘*cleabair*, a gadfly,’ for *creabair*, *ρλειβιριε* for *ρλιβιριε*, *βόραν* for *βαδσράν*. Other words are in the Dictionary just as they stand in the list. But the reviewer does not take the trouble to verify the statements of this anonymous writer. Some words in the list are nothing better than an attempt to reduce to writing local, occasional, imperfect articulations, such as *pém* for *fém*. Now this form *pém* is not confined to Leath Chuinn, it is frequent in Munster as *mé péin* for *mé fém*, it is nothing more than a tightening of the *f* in certain sound-combinations, and it would be an outrage on scholarship and on real, not bogus, ‘scientific lexicography’ to insert all such forms in a compendious dictionary as leading words. I have often heard in England, and even in County Dublin, ‘it’ pronounced as ‘hit,’ and though ‘hit’ is a dialectic form, only the most colossal of English dictionaries gives it in its proper place. ‘Hair’ for ‘air,’ ‘hall’ for ‘all,’ ‘ead’ for ‘head,’ etc., though common in spoken English are not ‘in their places’ even in the largest of dictionaries. The list gives *meac* = *beac*, ‘a bee;’ *ρmeac* is also used, why not insert it? Why not insert *εριος* for *ενος*, etc., etc.? But it is a waste of time and space to discuss this list further. The compiler of it, an anonymous writer, can scarcely be pronounced a success as a word-collector, even though he is fortunate enough to have such a wholesale purchaser of his wares as the reviewer. Of course lists of words like that of the *Western People* have a value of their own, which is not to be despised; I am discussing them now from the point of view of the reviewer.

After all, a dictionary should make some effort at selection. The most colossal dictionaries known, such as Littré’s or Murray’s, do not give all the variant spellings used by writers good and bad, educated and uneducated,

'in their proper places.' Thus the word 'clevy,' referred to above, is not to be found in Murray's *Dictionary* in its proper place, it occurs only as a variant under 'clevis.' A dictionary compiled on the principles indicated by the reviewer, and exemplified in his judgment of the *Western People* list, and of the 'select' Vocabulary to the *Τρί Scéalta*, and elsewhere throughout his review, would take cognizance not only of words but of variants, real or bogus, of mis-spellings, of misprints, of defective articulations, and generally of articulate human grunts. It would give, under separate headings, words differing only as *ll* differs from *l* (compare *ῥαλαῖοε* above); words differing only by a single *ῖ*; words differing only as *clabaiῖne* differs from *clabaiῖne*, *omaiῖ* from *amaiῖ*. He would permute the letters in such plastic words as *ῥπεῖυῖοῖοῖοε*, 'and torture one poor word a thousand ways,' making it to yield I know not how many dictionary head-words. A dictionary compiled on these principles would be one of the wonders of the world. It would take centuries to compile; it would be of gigantic proportions. It would have no circulation outside of Ireland, as no ship large enough to carry it over seas could be constructed; it would be an enduring monument of 'scientific lexicography.'

The reviewer kindly admits that the Dictionary is 'a work to be taken seriously' (page 84). I should, indeed, hope so. But, perhaps, after all it is not such a compliment coming from a man who takes the Vocabulary to the *Τρί Scéalta* *au grand sérieux*, and solemnly gives the stamp of his authority, for lexicographical purposes, to the list published in the *Western People*. There is, however, a real danger of his taking the Dictionary *too seriously*. Indeed the picture which one calls up to the imagination as he reads his review of the reviewer, like a well-accounted knight-errant, roaming through the realms of the Dictionary in quest of *lacunae* and adventure is by no means a pleasant one to dwell upon. I would remind him that not every wind-mill that shakes its arms is a giant, nor every barber's basin that glitters in the sunlight the helmet of Mambrino.

He says the Dictionary does not contain words found in Dr. Henry's *Handbook*, that even words found in O'Growney's *Simple Lessons* are missing from it (page 83 text and note). I should not be surprised if some words found in Dr. Henry's *Handbook* were missing. I have not read the book with any care, but I have glanced at some of the current lessons, and I note that Dr. Henry admits 'words' which I should reject as spurious. One example must suffice. I cannot now give the reference. But I remember he introduces *maĩrge* (*maĩrce*) as a word in phrase 1 *maĩrge*, a kind of imprecation. Now *maĩrge* is got thus: 1m' *bairce*, 'by my baptism' (the *b* is pronounced *b*), is a common asseveration, which some people soften down to 1m' *bairge*, pronounced 1m' *bairge*; hence 1 *mbairge* and 1 *maĩrge*. Both the full 'curse' 1m' *bairce* and the softened form of it, 1 *maĩrge* (phonetic), are common all over Ireland. The reader will judge whether *maĩrge* has a right to a dictionary facing. Besides, it is clear that one might risk a corrupt form in a handbook which could not find a place in a dictionary. The reviewer quotes from O'Growney's *Lessons*, *báine* (madness). No such word exists in Irish. At page 48 of Dictionary the reader will find '*báimhe*, fury, rage, madness; hydrophobia.' But, really, it is sheer waste of time to pursue the reviewer through such a labyrinth of error and misrepresentation. Suffice it to adopt the words of the reviewer himself: 'Very much more might be said on this head and immensely more than half be still left unsaid' (page 76).

The reviewer loftily upbraids me for copying Coney's errors, and shows once more his proficiency in 'index learning' by referring to a short paper in the current *Hermathena*, entitled 'Notes on Coney's Dictionary.' These few 'Notes' had they appeared in time would, of course, have been used by me for anything they are worth. But they come in handy for the reviewer. He quotes an item from them, viz., that the meaning 'perverse' should not come under *ciapálad* in Coney's; and says that in the face of this, 'perverse' is given in the new Dictionary. The writer of the paper in question says it came in from

the English Version (*i.e.*, the Authorised Version). But the question is, what version of the Bible was translated into Irish, was it the Greek or was it the English? If the Greek then there are two good readings, one answering to the word used in the Authorised Version; the other nearer to that of the Vulgate. If an English version was used, as seems highly probable, it is the expression found in whatever English version was made use of that is alone relevant, and nothing could be more uncritical or, indeed, more ridiculous than to quote the Revised Version against Coneys' meaning.

But I have, perhaps, wearied the reader while the review is not half discussed. It is teeming with errors and absurdities, while the amount of useful information or suggestion concerning the Dictionary contained in its 23 pages might be written on a post-card. The reviewer sneers at the editor's 'critical knowledge and capacity for taking pains' (page 84). How does he stand himself in these respects? It is very easy to estimate the 'critical knowledge and the capacity for taking pains' of a man who, after some three months' close study of the Dictionary in a critical spirit, deliberately culls out and writes down words like *riocráil*, *creadailcead*, *tioppad* as good Irish words, hands them over to the printer, corrects the proofs, probably more than once, and, finally, sends them out to the world to supply *lacunae* (page 66) in the Dictionary, without his suspicion being for a moment aroused by the form of the words [*creadailcead* (*poll*) of Vocabulary, though a misprint, could not deceive anyone acquainted with living Munster Irish], without taking the trouble to turn over the few pages of the little text to which 'this brief, select, and long accessible Vocabulary' (page 82) is affixed, and on the strength of these absurdities, and of many other absurdities equally glaring, proceeds to condemn the Dictionary with a show of gravity and judicial impartiality.

The Dictionary has been hailed by universal public

¹ See I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1905, p. 82.

opinion in Ireland and among the Irish abroad as a work of national importance. Its compilation, under the circumstances I have stated in this paper, and in the face of difficulties not wanting in pathos and of discouragement where help might have been expected, was a work of great and arduous labour. To seek to discredit such a work, even if every blow dealt at it could be proved home by chapter and verse, would be no very creditable proceeding. But to seek to discredit it by trumping up false charges against it, by scouring the dregs of contemptible vocabularies, of local corruptions and slang lists, and raking together an array of bogus words to supply its *lacunae*, by representing mis-spelled words, misprinted words, grossly corrupt forms which are contained in the book in their proper place and spelling, by representing these as genuine words missing from it, and by other devices of which I have given specimens in these pages, and to do all this as an object-lesson in 'scientific lexicography' and as a condemnation of 'lexicography by rule of thumb'—this is a serious matter and is, indeed, destructive criticism; destructive, that is, not of the Dictionary, but of the reviewer's pretensions to impartiality and critical acumen. 'Irish Ireland,' for whose benefit as he alleges¹ he became the self-constituted judge of this important work, will now know what weight is to be attached to his opinion.

Neither the editor nor the Council of the Irish Texts Society intended to put this book on the market as a work infallibly perfect, or sufficiently full for all purposes. From the nature of the case the work has no pretensions to that practical infallibility which can be attained by works of a similar size in modern highly cultivated languages, works that are but condensations, over and over again edited and corrected, of voluminous and encyclopædic dictionaries, on which treasures were expended, and which it took generations to compile. In the time at the editor's disposal, and with his limited assistance, it was utterly impossible

¹ See I. E. RECORD, Dec. 1904, p. 526.

for him to ransack the monuments of the language that are still locked up in musty manuscripts, it was impossible for him even to verify at first hand every local word and variant. But though the work is necessarily imperfect in many respects, it is capable of improvement and development. Future editions can be improved by the aid of prudent, well-considered, helpful criticism, but no good result can accrue from the self-imposed work of critics who stand convicted of possessing neither the 'critical knowledge and capacity for taking pains' to be accurate, nor the disposition to be even-handed and just.

I may say, in conclusion, that it is with extreme reluctance, and only at the last moment, I undertook the work of preparing this hurriedly-written reply, and I wish to thank the Editor of the I. E. RECORD for his kindness in inserting it in the present number, in spite of its having reached him so late in the month.

ṖÁDRAÍṢ UA DUINNÍN.

IRELAND, SOLESMES, RATISBON

IT may surprise many to hear that Irishmen have reason to be proud of the part played by their countrymen a thousand years ago in the development of Liturgical Chant, and in its happy and much needed restoration within recent years. To speak of this latter point first, it was the discovery and publication of the famous manuscript of St. Gall, an Irish foundation, that gave a right direction to, even if it did not inspire, those historical researches which have been the glory of the Benedictines of Solesmes.¹ In the actual restoration of the ancient melodies as well, and, what is even more important, in the attempt to catch the secret of their rhythm, that same old Irish monastery, or rather the treasured relics of its monks, have had, and still have, a very foremost place. In the Romanian signs² we have the only extant echo of the living voice of one who came across the Alps from St. Gregory's own school to teach the inspired chant to the subjects of Charlemagne. Romanus was, indeed, a Roman, taught in Rome; but had he not been enticed by the musical renown of St. Gall to remain there, even when the fever which delayed him disappeared, it is not absurd to think that his works would have missed the patient care that has preserved them for us to-day. And even apart from those signs the manuscripts of this school are oftentimes of paramount authority with the workers in the Isle of Wight, to direct them in the readings of melodies they should adopt. In the one minute specimen of his work which Dom Mocquereau has given to the public it is the four manuscripts of this old Irish monastery itself, and not merely of its school, which remove all doubt, and make certain the sometimes hesitating

¹ *Théorie et Pratique du Chant Gregorien*, par Dom Kienle, O.S.B., p. 16*.

² *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes*, Pothier, p. 82.

affirmations of manuscripts from other countries or from other houses.¹

In the first development of true liturgical music Irishmen occupied a position more personal, though scarcely more glorious. From the year 600 to the year 1000 A.D. Plain Chant, and with it the Liturgy, reached and maintained itself at its highest level of perfection :—

To-day we can with difficulty form an exact idea of the beauty of the Liturgy at this period. The Divine Office and the Liturgy were the delight of the whole Christian world. Charlemagne considered the Roman Liturgy and Chant to be powerful factors in elevating the religious and intellectual life of his people. Charlemagne himself, Alfred the Great, Otho the Great, Louis le Gros, Robert Capet, Falques of Anjou, assisted every day at the Solemn Office. The whole Christian world seemed to have but one voice to chant the Divine praises in the sublime form which Gregory had given to it.²

In this first phase of the golden epoch of Church song and ceremony, the most brilliant of all was the old Irish monastery among the Swiss mountains. Founded, in 612, by a missionary from Ireland, who gave his name to the entire canton as well as to the monastery, the music school of St. Gall was well known before the founder's death, some thirty-four years later.³ How far the chant cultivated there corresponded with that of Rome I cannot say. Doubtless it was identical, as was most of the liturgical service which St. Patrick introduced. At the request of Charlemagne, two celebrated teachers, Peter and Romanus, left Rome for Metz in 750 ; but one of them only, Peter, was to reach his destination. Romanus, detained at St. Gall by an attack of fever, elected to remain there even when he was quite restored to health, and was thereby the originator of or, perhaps, the agent that developed amongst the Irish monks a school which became in the ancient world what Solesmes has been in modern times, though on a larger and more glorious scale. 'The monastery was renowned for the beauty of its Office and the splendour of its

¹ *Rassegna Gregoriana*. May-June, 1904, p. 319.

² *Théorie et Pratique*, etc. Kienle, p. 7*.

³ *Rassegna Gregoriana*. April, 1904, p. 254.

chant.¹ Some of its greatest names were those of Irishmen or their immediate pupils. One of the earliest and most famous was Marcellus, an Irishman named Moengal, who having gone to Rome in 836 with two Irish monks, and thence to St. Gall, in 840, to visit his countryman Grimoald, the Abbot of the Swiss monastery, was made master of the famous music school thirty years later, in 870, and died in 890. Two of his pupils, Tutilo († 915), and Notker Balbulus (912) were, perhaps, the greatest names in all this period. The liturgical chant known as the Sequence, of which only five have been incorporated in the official liturgical books, was invented and developed by the latter with wonderful skill; while the former, likewise the inventor of a new form, and at once painter, poet, sculptor, architect, composer, was an Irishman, like his teacher Moengal.² 'The compositions of both are noble, full of life, and melodic richness, and betray a thorough understanding of the classical form.'³ We have mentioned only three, and those the greatest of the children of this old foundation. It is needless to speak to anyone who reads even a few of the present-day publications, of the many other Irish or non-Irish monks who, in the same school, multiplied manuscripts, and distributed them with a generosity to which the many relics that have been preserved bear testimony.

It will be more practical, however, though, perhaps, not more interesting, to pursue another historical reminiscence with some bearing on that which we have so briefly described. The air, at least in ecclesiastical circles, is filled to-day with the rival claims of Ratisbon and Solesmes to be the true exponent of the most perfect liturgical chant. At last the victory seems to be with the children of St. Benedict; but that its real meaning should be understood, and that a charge of ecclesiastical inconsistency may be intelligently refuted by the clergy, a retrospect is necessary, and cannot but be interesting.

¹ *Théorie et Pratique*, etc. Kienle, p. 8*.

² *Ibid.* p. 8*. *Rassegna Gregoriana*, April, 1904, p. 255.

³ *Théorie et Pratique*, etc. Kienle, p. 9*.

And let us begin with the so-called Ratisbon chant. Following on the reformation of the Breviary and Missal, and the publication of the official form of both by Pius V, in 1570, Gregory XIII issued a decree in 1577 authorising Palestrina and Zoilo to revise the chants, and to bring them into line with the official liturgical books, by the removal of 'the barbarisms, obscurities, contradictions, and excesses, with which, either because of the carelessness of printers or the wantonness of composers, they were filled.' Thus described in the Papal decree, and real in some sense, it is still a moot point among authorities as to how far those abuses really existed in the unrevised books of the preceding period. From the close of the fourteenth century Gregorian chant had fallen into a very subordinate position beside the figured music that then began to be developed. Its execution was left more or less to chance, its manuscripts were carelessly copied, and a period of general contempt and neglect succeeded to the universal honour and esteem in which it had been held ever since the days of the great St. Gregory. Decay was, therefore, natural. A rank, wild growth, characteristic of such decay, succeeded to the scientific and tasteful development and ornamentation of the ancient melodies. It seemed high time to trim and prune, lest the weeds of false taste or modern sentimentality should choke the precious flowers of melody still blooming in the garden of the Church's song. There was a danger lest the trimming and the pruning should be conducted on wrong lines, and Spain, through her ambassador, protested vehemently and repeatedly against a threatened desecration. 'These things which you, musicians, deem barbarisms,' said he, 'are really miracles of musical perfection.' And time has proved the ambassador's statement to be true. However this may be, the fact remains that the purpose of the decree of 1577 was not fulfilled. Palestrina executed portion of his task by revising the offices of the *Proprium de tempore*, but neither his work, nor that of his *collaborateur* on the Offices of Saints, saw the light at this period. After a law suit with Iginio, the master's son and heir, the manu-

script was placed, by the order of a Roman Congregation, in the custody of a *Monte di Pieta*. Whether it ever was moved therefrom has been hotly discussed by musicians. The reformation it was intened to inaugurate fell through, at least for a time, and both were not heard of practically for more than fourteen years.

At the end of that period the reigning Pontiff, Paul V, once more began the long-suspended work. A commission was appointed, on which Bellarmine was to act. By its orders two celebrated musicians, Felice Anerio and Francisco Soriano, were entrusted with the task of revising and editing the musical portions of the Liturgy. Within a twelvemonth they had the work completed, and it was published in 1615, by the order of Paul V, at the Medicean press, in two huge volumes. This was the famous Medicean edition of which the Ratisbon books, so familiar to-day, were merely a reprint, with the insertion of music for the new Offices introduced since 1615.

The part played in the edition by Palestrina's manuscript has been much disputed. Haberl of Ratisbon has fought on one side, Respighi, now Cardinal, of Rome on the other; but their arguments leave matters very undecided. It seems absurd to think that Anerio or Soriano did not know of the manuscript round which, within their own memories, such a law-suit had been waged; and it seems no less absurd to think that these two busy men would not utilise a work, for the author of which they must have had such reverence, however little the age in which they lived did honour to his supreme genius. However that may be, and it is a barren controversy now, since 1868 the Church has used the Ratisbon reprint. That year it was declared official, and such it continued to be until the present Pontiff, with characteristic energy and courage, declared against it in the *Motu Proprio* of November, 1903, and ordered the restoration of the true and primitive chant to the Church.

Two faults, and those fatal, seem to distinguish the Medicean edition, and consequently, the Ratisbon reprint of the liturgical chant. The first of those lies in the undue

prominence given to the verbal accents, with the consequent destruction of the musical balance and flow; the second in the apparent utter misunderstanding of the true function of Gregorian music, which is to be not only a prayer in itself, but to be as well the melodic and natural expression of those affections and aspirations arising in the soul from the devotional recital of the Church's grand liturgical prayer. 'Contemplative in its nature, it limits itself to the expression of the sentiment which prayer causes to spring up in a Christian soul; and while the Liturgy and the ascetical life gives the widest scope to the feelings, the Gregorian melodies are the fullest and most perfect expression of these feelings.'¹

Comparatively few, up to recent times, have realised the Philistinism which these extracts discover and place at the doors of Ratisbon and the princely house of Florence. Abuses and excrescences there undoubtedly were in the time of Gregory XIII. But they were modern, the growth of a hundred years, and there were still at hand the manuscripts, and the traditions, with all their wealth of purest music undefiled which charms our ears to-day in the valleys of France, or in the English island where the Benedictine Fathers work and pray. Those might have been lopped off, the long-drawn, lifeless sequences, the weary artificial *jubili*, added to the careless hurried *alleluia*, the other false growths of the centuries between the twelfth and the sixteenth; but the genius of a Palestrina might have seen beyond those thick, unsightly weeds, the true flowers of the old and sacred song, and might have shown their beauty to and preserved them from his profane age. The Spaniards saw them thus, and strove to save them for a future generation; the editors of the Medicean *Gradual* did not do so, and thereby seem to forfeit all claim to the honour of having Palestrina in death as a *collaborateur*. Their work was different. Though possessed of a rhythm of its own, as all true music must have, these editors would allow none but that of the

¹ *Théorie et Pratique*, etc. Kienle, pp. 34*-5.*

words. Where the former required a group of notes to be placed upon an unaccented syllable, to restore the balance and secure a smooth flow of melody, the Medicean editors saw a violation of the tonic accent of the word, and though a suitable declamation of the notes would actually avoid the abuse, they, perhaps through ignorance, perhaps through commiseration for the carelessness of choristers, dragged the notes from their natural position and piled them with diligence on the accented syllable of the word.¹ The result is but too obvious: an unevenness in flow and balance, a dull heaviness in certain portions of the melody, the absence of that ease and smoothness which alone can be the adequate expression of powerful affection and aspiration. And the pity of it all was that it was not necessary. The proper accentuation of the words might have been preserved, even had the arrangement of the neums remained unaltered.

Equally destructive with this, the second fault of this edition was more excusable in mere musicians, because of the finer spiritual insight and deeper religious feeling required to discover and avoid it. Undoubtedly, again, the length of many neums had become excessive; in some cases the suspension of a syllable for thirty or forty notes had led to the impossibility of understanding the word thus sung; and in addition the whole piece, and thus the whole service, was unduly prolonged. This was an abuse which certainly required correction; but all this might have been done when necessary and there would still remain untouched the long-drawn wondrous phrases, which express with a very miracle of skill the feeling of the singer, 'which sometimes flow in winding torrents of melody, and close finally with a noble salutation in which the music throbs, palpitates, and spends itself like a bird wounded unto death.'²

The editors apparently did not understand matters

¹ For examples see *Storia e Pregio de' libri Corali Ufficiali*, by Haberl. Pustet.

² Filson Young, in *Daily Mail*, 1st April, 1904.

thus. They regarded it as an unmixed advantage to reduce¹ the forty notes of an *Alleluia* and its *jubilus* to one-half that number, the thirty on the word *amoris* to eight, and others in a like proportion; the while they spoiled the carefully constructed melody, the expression of the feelings became incoherent, and inadequate, and very little if any time was gained. Sung in the smooth and meditative manner of Solesmes the longest neums or at least the whole piece is finished almost as quickly as, and with far more satisfaction than, the mutilated remnant the Ratisbon books retain.

Such a reformation, based on wrong principles, and issuing in such deplorable results, could not introduce a permanent or abiding stage in the liturgical music of the Church. Fortunately for the future of the art other hands and other hearts were working patiently along lines of which even the directors could not suspect the splendid issue. Dom Gueranger had begun, some sixty years ago, in 1845, a liturgical revival in his humble monastery of Solesmes.

If the humility of a beginning be a happy augury of future greatness, everything might have been expected from the new foundation for nothing could be poorer than the little monastic home. The monks had neither breviaries nor choir books of a uniform type. For the chanting they had several parish manuals of Dijon, some books from Einsiedeln, some copies of an edition of the seventeenth century, and some huge folio volumes which, because of their size, had always to be left resting on their stands. Five or six manuscript leaflets, containing the 'proper Offices,' completed this collection.²

Necessity is commonly called the mother of invention. Here it was more, for it became the mother not only of wonderful inventions to steal from past centuries the most hidden secrets of its spiritual songs, but also of the successful restitution to the whole Christian world of that music which once was its glory and delight, and may again, please God, be its powerful agent in sanctifying its own

¹ Haberl, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

² Dom David, O.S.B., in *Rassegna Gregoriana*, April, 1904, p. 227.

children and winning, or at least attracting, the more refined among the souls that are still outside the fold. One of the priests of the little community, Dom Jausions, was entrusted with the task of studying the question of Plain Chant with the view of preparing books for his brethren. A young secular priest, lately admitted to the novitiate, Dom Pothier, was selected as an assistant, and thereby began the course of labour which has made him the pioneer of a splendid discovery.

The founder himself, Dom Gueranger, seems already to have made a great advance by the discovery of the true rhythm of Gregorian Chant, such as it existed in the editions of that time. It was the first marked and most necessary step towards the light. Dom Kienle, in his work, so often quoted by me, gives the glory thereof to the Abbé Gontier of Mans, an intimate friend of Gueranger¹; but in the *Rassegna Gregoriana*, for April of 1904, Dom David describes the Abbé rather in the part of applying the discovery to the Rheims-Cambray edition than in the more important role of originator thereof. However this may be, certain it is that the Abbot of Solesmes, with a rare penetration, had grasped the true function of the chant, and in the method of execution adopted in his monastery anticipated and inspired the matured results of the present day.

This was an all-important step in music 'unmeasured,' *i.e.*, without bars, such as Plain Chant. The mere possession of the true original melodies in manuscripts, even though it were to be assured by the labours of Pothier and his successors, would have been little without this. It would have been a body without a soul, and it was this latter that Gueranger found some way. It had been lost since the Renaissance.

The artificiality of this great movement had destroyed the perception and appreciation of all rhythm save that which was cut, as it were, to measure; bounded by the narrow limits of the ancient verse. In music, at least,

¹ *Théorie et Pratique*, etc. Kienle, p. 96.

they failed to recognise a rhythm which is free and untrammelled by such restrictions, the rhythm of noble prose, which can possess all the flow of the noblest poetry, and in addition the strength of freedom. We all know the power of such a rhythm in the best productions of our modern masters, where, though marked in bars, the music seems quite independent and even impatient of such artificial divisions in its movement. In this there is merely a return to the natural spirit of more primitive times. Such a spirit was foreign to or despised by the *savants* of the sixteenth century. Further, as for their predecessors and for all times, a proportion between the various divisions of music or speech constituted rhythm. They elected to base this proportion on fixed and immovable measure and they came to lose that rational instinct of the ear which is a higher and more flexible, though still definite, arbitrator in such a matter. Hence the efforts at the execution of Plain Chant in the years before Gueranger came, and hence the universal and well-deserved contempt heaped upon this music, sung, as it often was, to notes all of exactly equal duration.¹ The chant of St. Gregory had come to be classed among the things of life, or rather of death, which possessed no rhythm.

Visitors to the new foundation of Solesmes were delighted at the beauty that was now seen in the old and meaningless combination of the manuscripts. A proportion, a balance, was discovered which made the music a prayer in itself, and a perfect expression, higher than words, of the affections and aspirations that arise in the heart of him who prays.

Meanwhile Jausions had been moving somewhat too fast in the fulfilment of his prior's orders. Against the advice of his young assistant he proposed to print a *Directorium*, and desisted from his purpose only when the old Abbé Gontier said to him, authoritatively, 'Vous n'y êtes pas du tout, mon Père ; vous n'y êtes pas du tout.'

The field was now clear for Dom Pothier, as after some

¹ Kienle, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

delay the less scientific Jausions abandoned the study of the chant, and devoted his energies to that of history.

He read the ancient and modern works on theory, followed the discussions of musicologists. He studied the manuscripts, translated the neums, took notes, copied entire Graduals, borrowed from the Ministry manuscripts of every province of France, Germany, and other countries. Not only by patient and erudite labour, but by the spirit of prayer, the love of beauty, natural and supernatural, an understanding of the Liturgy, of history, of the needs of practical life, he came to grasp the silent language of the witnesses to tradition.¹

It was a laborious effort to catch the true tradition of the past across the false echoes of the ages since the chant had been in honour; and for many years no results appeared in public. The old Abbé Gontier remonstrated with the conscientious worker. 'Vous n'en finirez jamais!' he is reported to have said, 'c'est une œuvre de science que vous faites là, mais aussi une œuvre de patience.' Between 1880 and 1883 the results at last appeared in the two epoch-making books, *Les Mélodies Grégoriennes d'après la tradition*, and the *Liber Gradualis*. The former gave in the form of a memoir presented to, and approved by, Dom Gueranger, the theories of the revival; the latter contained the application of those theories to the manuscripts and the melodies reprinted in accordance therewith for the liturgical services of the monks.

None knew better, or acknowledged more openly than the great Benedictine and his friends, how far from perfect such a work must necessarily be. In the effort to restore a lost tradition, to rediscover the true original form of the Gregorian melodies, finality can only be attained when all, or nearly all, the available witnesses to tradition, the manuscripts of the centuries from the ninth to the eleventh, when the chant was uncorrupted, have been examined, classified, and then interpreted. Some of this had been done by Pothier, but not all by any means. Moreover, in his work he had been more or less alone, and, therefore, missed the mutual criticism which, in a school of workers,

¹ *Rassegna Gregoriana*. April, 1904, p. 230.

usually ensures the absence of personal peculiarity or prejudice from the work produced.

His successor in the labour, Dom Mocquereau, now living with his monks in the Isle of Wight, has been most fortunate in both respects. He is but one of a school of ten or fifteen experts¹ in the work which Dom Pothier inaugurated; and though he is the leader of the school, from time to time his judgment is forced to bow before the superior insight of some of those who labour under him.²

In the matter of manuscripts the change is still more remarkable. The earlier master had but comparatively few from which to build his reproductions. In the library of his own convent we know from Dom Mocquereau himself that the photographs and other copies of the extant manuscripts of early ages are at present counted by thousands.³ These have been arranged with wondrous skill. Not only each piece, each Introit, Offertory, or Communion, has a column or columns to itself in which the various versions of different schools or countries can be seen at once, but each neum has its column as well, and its variations or its permanence can be at once seen as they arose or disappeared in the ages which the manuscripts represent. Nothing could be more convincing, nothing could ensure more perfectly the fullest representation of the melodies as they existed in the period of their fullest life and honour. According to such a method, and from such resources, the monks of Solesmes have compiled the latest editions of their books, and still labour to render more and more true to past ages the Chant which bears their name.

The beauty of the music thus happily restored at last has been written of in enthusiastic terms by authorities of ancient and modern times. At a period when decay had already begun to manifest itself, St. Bernard tells us how, 'in the chant of the Church the sad of soul find joy, weary spirits consolation; tepid Christians feel the stirrings

¹ *Rassegna Gregoriana*. April, 1904, p. 232.

² *Ibid.* p. 223.

³ *Ibid.* p. 236.

of a new fervour, and sinners are moved to repentance ; however hard the heart of worldly men may be let them but hear a lovely chant, and straightway they experience some motions of affection for the things of God.'¹

And it cannot but be so to-day wherever the execution corresponds to the intentions of its old originators, and where the function of the music in worship such as ours is not misunderstood, as it has been for so many years.

The melodies are wonderfully rich, and simple withal :—

Melodic figures bubble up from a source which is inexhaustible. Anyone who has, in some solemn function, seen, as it were, pass before his soul the calm majestic jubilations of a Gradual, the throbbings of an Alleluia, long drawn and filled with meaning, cannot help seeing partially at least the musical wealth contained in those books.²

Their rhythm is free, possessing all the beauty of that which is strictly measured, while there is contained in it a breadth and a spontaneity which perfectly enables those melodies to voice the natural affection of the heart at prayer. Light and flowing in its movement, at one time tinged with the melancholy of compassion or compunction, at another bold and graceful in the expression of religious joy, the chant has one grand perfection which embraces all, in being closely united to the Church's liturgical prayer and in having been expressly composed by saintly men to utter forth the feelings of the soul which that prayer is intended to evoke.

Its mission is to give the sacred text a greater energy, a more lively eloquence, a deeper depth of feeling. It gives wings to the formulas of the Church's prayer. The communication between God and His people around the Christian altar does not consist in a lifeless, mute inaction on the people's part. No. There is joy, praise, thanksgiving, which overflow and spread abroad ; or there are even sighs and the plainings of pity and compassion ; and then, again, joy and praise ring from a thousand hearts, new accents of enthusiasm, which shake the very sanctuary and spread beyond its walls.³

¹ Kienle, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

Herein precisely lies the great perfection of the chant rediscovered in Solesmes. It is the true music of worship, it teaches man to pray in union with the priest and sacred ministers, it helps the people to participate, as they should do, with the representative of Christ when he is offering for them once more the great Sacrifice of Calvary. It does not exclude harmony, ancient or modern, but it teaches harmony the end at which it should aim, and it lays down the condition on which alone this harmony will be allowed within the Holy Place of our Faith.

To others more capable than I am must be left the duty of discussing the difficulties that are likely to hamper the re-introduction of this ancient chant in modern times. Our people do not understand Latin, and are likely to be more and more removed from the possibility of doing so ; while much of the beauty of this music depends undoubtedly on the relation which it bears to the sublime language of the Liturgy. Could nothing be done to help the matter in our already overburdened schools ? One thing must be done if our very Liturgy, the Mass, and other services of the Church, are to continue : our people, young and old, must learn, in or out of school, what is the meaning of the ceremony or functions at which they must attend, and how to take therein a part more intelligent than that which has been theirs in recent times. The brief history, sketched in the foregoing pages, shows us what that part should be, and what it was in the years of long ago ; the history of other days to come will tell to future generations whether we have acted up to these new lights which Gueranger and his children have rekindled for us in those times, and whether we are legitimate descendants of St. Gregory and his priests, and true custodians of the grand liturgy they loved.

P. SEXTON, D.D.

PHILOSOPHY AND THE SCIENCES—II

I—DECADENT SCHOLASTICISM AND MODERN PHYSICS

ABOVE the Physical and the Mathematical Sciences there is a third science of Real Being as such. To this higher science, which is Speculative Philosophy in the strict sense,—the *Philosophia Prima* of the schools,—we have given the name of Metaphysics. It is one science, having one definite point of view, one *objectum formale*. The division of Metaphysics into general and special is, therefore, a material division, a division of subject-matter merely.

In a former article¹ we saw that that division was understood in one way by the scholastics prior to the eighteenth century, and in another way since the division that originated with Christian von Wolff, was adopted in our schools. For St. Thomas, General Metaphysics was the study of Being that was material, negatively or by mental abstraction; Special Metaphysics was the study of Being positively spiritual. For Wolff, the former—which he called Ontology—was the *a priori* study of the general principles of Being as such; the latter was the application of that general study to the world, to the soul, and to God, in Cosmology, Psychology, and Theodicy.

Now, what we wish, first of all, to remark about this diversity of view is that, looked at in itself, it is really not a matter of any great moment. Provided we understand aright the point of view proper to Metaphysics, and are able to keep to this point of view throughout, it does not matter very much in what order we treat the various real beings that go to make up its subject-matter. Hence, there is no reason for finding fault with the modern division if we look at it apart from the motives that inspired it. There are numerous questions about being, substance, accident, essence, nature, personality, existence, cause,

¹ I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1905, p. 43.

etc., that must be studied mainly *a priori*. There is quite a number of principles of pure reason,—the principles of identity and of contradiction, of causality and sufficient reason, for example,—which need only the abstractive activity of the intellect as a pre-requisite to their investigation: and all these may form the subject-matter of a distinct treatise apart from Cosmology, Psychology, and Natural Theology. In point of fact, moreover, a slight acquaintance with our text-books of Scholastic Philosophy will convince us that there is a wide divergence of practice as to the places in which several of these questions are treated. We may deal at another time, perhaps, with some of these differences of practice, but in themselves they are of little moment, and need not arrest our attention for the present.

What is important in Metaphysics,—as, indeed, in every other science,—is, that we have clear and accurate notions about its proper point of view. And this implies, in the present case, that we understand clearly the relations between Metaphysics and Logic on the one hand and between Metaphysics and Physics¹ on the other. Now, Philosophy, from the time of Descartes, has confused and complicated these relations. It abandoned all experimental study of nature, including living things and man himself, to the physical sciences. In that it is not to be censured, but it did more. It turned its back on the physical sciences, and degenerated into a subjective study of the content of consciousness. It occupied itself deducting, from *a priori* speculations, a body of doctrine about our concepts of the world and its constitution, the soul and its nature, the Divinity and His attributes.²

Now Scholasticism, with its deductive traditions, was bound to suffer from the infiltration of these new conceptions about the nature and scope of Philosophy. The natural tendency of Scholasticism had ever been rather towards the supra-sensible: it was always a Spiritualist

¹ For all practical purposes we may here include Mathematics with Physics.

² See I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1905, p. 27.

Philosophy, and abhorred the tenets of Sensism and Materialism. It would, therefore, have naturally been less antagonistic to the idealist current of thought that followed Cartesianism than to the glorification of the experimental study of physical nature. And hence it was, that the physical scientists, who were allowed to make a monopoly of the inductive method, could ridicule with impunity not merely the excessive subjectivism of German Idealists, but also the decadent Scholasticism that neglected the study of the physical universe and clung to the long-supplanted Physics of the Middle Ages.

Down to the last quarter of the last century many exponents of Scholasticism assumed this attitude of suspicion and hostility towards the physical sciences. But their voices passed unheeded, and were soon no longer heard outside the narrow precincts of their own schools. Some of them, failing, apparently, to reconcile the modern discoveries,—which they understood only imperfectly at best,—with the Physics of St. Thomas,—which they had allowed to get mixed up somehow with his Metaphysics, and which they felt themselves bound to defend at any cost,—seemed to content themselves either with closing their eyes to modern facts, or with endeavouring to make themselves and others believe that one explanation of things may be true in Physics and another in Metaphysics,—that there is really no common ground, no point of contact between these two sciences.

Others there were who accepted freely the new facts and laws brought to light by Physical research, but who failed, unfortunately, to extricate these new arrivals from the swaddling clothes of erroneous Metaphysics in which they were invariably wrapped by ‘anti-metaphysical’ scientists as soon as they were born. And these same scholastics made just the converse mistake when, on rejecting the erroneous physical theories of the schools, they thought they must reject its Metaphysics as well. This latter they did in fact. And so while the semblance of Scholasticism clung to them the true traditions of that system were lost sight of, and its genuine spirit was alien to their minds.

Even the semblance of Scholasticism wore off in due time. Soon it came to be treated in many Catholic schools with a very thinly-veiled contempt.

A growing ignorance and consequent misrepresentation of its real character as a system fostered that feeling in a large degree. All this was the outcome of an imperfect understanding of both the philosophy and the science in question; but none the less it had its pernicious effect—it drove many Catholic philosophers to reject Scholasticism as incompatible with modern science. Then, these latter openly discarded Scholasticism, and attached themselves to some one or other, or successively to many, of the shifting and unsteady systems of the day. Nor did they seem to see the incongruity of adopting, in their philosophical ramblings, principles quite at variance with some of the principles inseparably wound up with the theology of the Catholic religion, which they loyally continued to profess and practice. A recent writer in the *Revue du Clergé Français* says well of this class of philosophers:—

Ils reconnaissent que le point d'attache qui relie les vérités métaphysiques aux vérités religieuses s'y laisse à peine deviner. Ici sont les unes, là les autres. On ne sentait pas, en ce temps-là, le danger qui résulte de la separation des deux ordres, le naturel ou philosophique, et le surnaturel ou theologique. On vivait encore sous cette loi cartésienne : qu'on peut suivre, dans ses opinions, le plus grande liberté, pourvu qu'en religion 'on retienne constamment celle en laquelle Dieu nous a fait la grâce d'être instruit.'¹

So, it came about that while the false philosophies conceived in the sixteenth century,—alike only in the critical, sceptical spirit that animated them, and in their common contempt for the past, and for the authority that symbolized it,—while these philosophies were working

¹ Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode*, III^{me} partie.

Deux Centres du Mouvement Thomiste : Rome et Louvain, par C. Besse du clergé de Versailles. Extrait de la *Revue du Clergé Français*, No. du 1^{er}, du 15, janvier, et du 1^{er} février, 1902. (Paris, Letouzy et Ané, Editeurs, 17 rue du Vieux-Colombier). These three articles, reprinted in pamphlet form, are at once historical and critical. They are well written and very interesting. They give a full and life-like account of the rise and progress of the whole Neo-Scholastic movement.

themselves out in revolution, and irreligion and anarchy,¹ the Catholic Church found the philosophy she had long fostered now lying largely neglected, and apparently grown out of date,—a once powerful weapon against error now decaying because uncared for, and rusty for want of use.

II—MODERN SCIENCE AND THE NEW SCHOLASTICISM

Fortunately there had been, through all those generations, men who had gained in their own time, and handed on to others after them, a true insight into the genius of Scholasticism: men, too, who had closely watched and studied the findings of the physical sciences: men who were able to distinguish facts from theories, and scientific conclusions from hypotheses: men for whom an established physical law was one thing, and the philosophical explanation thereof another thing altogether: men who saw many of the schoolmen's physical theories exploded, without seeing therein any reason to fear for the soundness of the great, broad, philosophical framework in which those schoolmen had cast their teaching: men who could cordially welcome every new experiment, every strange discovery, each successive law of physical science, without taking over with them one scintilla of the metaphysical speculations in which Modern Philosophy had clothed them. These men saw that the real conflict of the experimental sciences was not at all with the Christian religion, nor with the scholastic metaphysics so largely embodied in its theology, but rather with the critical subjectivism that would deny the reality of material or extra-mental being, and reduce all things to a vapoury dream. But they saw that same science itself erring and

¹ 'Si quis in acerbiter nostrorum temporum animum intendat, earumque rerum rationem, quae publice privatimque geruntur, cogitatione complectatur, is profecto comperiet, fecundam malorum causam, cum eorum quae premunt, tum eorum quae pertinescimus, in eo consistere, quod *prava de divinis humanisque rebus scita, e scholis philosophorum jampridem profecta*, in omnes civitatis ordines irrepserint, communi plurimorum suffragio recepta.'—Leo XIII, *Encyclical Aeterni Patris*, 1879.

inconsistent on account of its half unconscious espousals with Materialist Metaphysics all the while it flattered itself on its 'emancipation' from all such 'reactionary' alliances with metaphysics of any sort. They even felt that the only metaphysic which could fit in with modern science, which could enlighten, explain, and direct it in its vast field of research, which could bring peace to the troubled minds of those for whom ill-interpreted physical phenomena would not square with unexplained religious principles,—was the little known and highly discredited Metaphysic of the schools.

During the third quarter of the last century some of these men began to make their voices heard in the chaotic world of philosophical thought. Naples, Bologna, Perugia, were the first centres in which the old ideas were ventilated anew. The coteries of Cartesians and Ontologists in the various Italian cities, including Rome itself, looked on those manifestations as a passing freak of some adventurous spirits, not to be taken seriously. But they were soon disillusioned; for the project caught the ear and the approval of Pius IX. Sanseverino,—whose *Philosophia Christiana cum Antiqua et Nova Comparata* was the first fruit of the new spirit,—died in 1865. His pupils, Signorriello and Talamo, with Cardinal Sforza, the Archbishop of Naples, continued to propagate his teaching. The latter, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Perugia, Cardinal Joachim Pecci (the future Leo XIII), drew up a refutation of the principles of Ontologism,—already censured by the Holy Office in 1861. Cornoldi founded his famous theologico-medical academy of St. Thomas at Bologna, and commenced to publish the *Scienza Italiana*. The new Scholastic movement was steadily gaining ground, when the providential election of Leo XIII to the Papal Chair placed it on an altogether new and firmer footing. Leo was not only great as a philosopher; he was a great man amongst great men. Raised by Providence to that high place whence his voice could be heard throughout the world, he spoke not only with the wisdom of a real philosopher but with the authority of one raised up to teach

the truth. From the moment of his accession the history of the new movement in Italy, and especially in Rome itself, assumes an absorbing and dramatic interest. Fathers Joseph Pecci and Cornoldi are called to Rome to give courses in the new Thomistic Philosophy,—the latter to give a free public course in the Gregorian University, in presence of the hostile professors, Palmieri and Caretti. This was during the academic year 1878-9; and the names of Lorenzelli, Zigliara, and Satolli become prominent as champions of the *Philosophia Antiqua Renovata*. In the August of 1879, Leo's famous Encyclical, *Aeterni Patris*, on Philosophical Studies, appears. Palmieri and Caretti are quietly sent away. Cornoldi, Zigliari, Lorenzelli, Satolli, Talamo, and Liberatore become the leading professors in the various Roman colleges. Lepicier, Lepidi, and Billot are of a later date.

For now a quarter of a century the new Scholastic Philosophy has been free to develop in Rome,—free, at all events, as far as extrinsic obstacles to the teaching of it are concerned. Before we can judge whether that development has been true to its early promise, we must see what we can gather from Leo's Encyclical about the spirit and the aim of the new Scholastic movement.

III—THE ENCYCLICAL 'AETERNI PATRIS' OF LEO XIII ON PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES

(a) THE WORTH OF SCHOLASTICISM

During the third quarter of the last century the Holy See had confined itself to the negative duty of checking the philosophical wanderings of those Catholics who had largely renounced Scholasticism. It merely indicated, in a general way, the necessity of a more serious study of the old and unpopular philosophy.¹ It was reserved to

¹ 'Le fait est qu'on n'attacha pas d'abord grande importance à cela. La route du moyen âge était encore barrée, et personne ne songeait à l'ouvrir. Les opinions d'un pape là-dessus étaient très respectables. Qui en doutait? Mais de là à s'organiser immédiatement et à devenir péripatéticien par amour des encycliques, il y avait loin. Il est remarquable au contraire que les grands mouvements de philosophie religieuse

Leo to lay his finger on the root of the many social evils of the day, and to point out to the world where the real remedy for them was to be found : to tell the world, 'quo tandem loco sit praesentium malorum radix, et unde petenda remedia.'¹

The root of the evils lay in the '*prava de divinis humanusque rebus scita, e scholis philosophorum jampridem profecta . . . communi plurimorum suffragio recepta.*'² And the remedy,—where was it to be found? The remedy consisted simply in this, 'ut ad fidei Catholicae normam ubique traderentur humanae disciplinae omnes, praesertim vero *philosophia* a qua nimirum magna ex parte pendet ceterum scientiarum recta ratio.'

Yes, but what is this *philosophia, ad fidei catholicae normam*? this *veri nominis scientia*, as the Pope called it? Catholic philosophers were hungering after truth, seeking it everywhere amongst current systems,—and failing, for the most part, to find it. Where, then, was it to be found? The Pontiff's solemn and emphatic answer to that ever-recurring question disappointed very many, and astonished many more. It was to be found, he said,—and it required no small courage to assert it,—in the well-nigh discarded Philosophy of the schools, in that Philosophy which had flourished with such splendour so far back as the thirteenth century, and whose most faithful and gifted exponent was St. Thomas Aquinas. This was the true Philosophy which had been abandoned by non-Catholics in the sixteenth century to give place to erroneous systems that are accountable for most of the social evils of the end of the nineteenth century :—

. . . judicamus *temere esse commissum* ut eidem suis honor

en France, et en Italie, du moins à cette époque, ont eu précisément un caractère d'opposition à la tradition thomiste. Ce n'était pas par fronde, puisqu'en ce temps-là, je viens de le dire, personne ou presque personne ne professait le thomisme ; c'était par absence totale de goût, d'entraînement pour une espece d'exercices qui paraissait oiseux.'—Besse, p. 9.

¹ Letter of Leo XIII to Cardinal de Luca, founding the Academy of St. Thomas, at Rome, 1879.

² Encyclical, *Aeterni Patris*. All further quotations are likewise from the Encyclical, unless otherwise stated. The italics are ours almost entirely throughout.

non semper, nec ubique permanserit. . . . atque in veteris doctrinae locum nova quaedam philosophiae ratio hac illac successit unde non ii percepti sunt fructus optabiles ac salutare, quos Ecclesia et ipsa civilis societas maluissent. Adnitentibus enim Novatoribus saeculi XVI, *placuit philosophari citra quempiam ad fidem respectum*, petita dataque vicissim potestate qualibet *pro libitu ingenioque* excogitandi. . . . Domestica vero atque civilis ipsa societas, quae ob perversarum opinionum pestem quanto in discrimine versetur, universi perspicimus, profecto *pacatior multo et securior consisteret*, si in Academiis et Scholis *sanior traderetur*, et magisterio Ecclesiae conformior *doctrina*, qualem *Thomae Aquinatis volumina complectuntur*. Quae enim de germana notione libertatis, hoc tempore in licentiam abeuntis, de divina cujuslibet auctoritatis origine, de legibus earumque vi, de paterno et aequo summorum Principum imperio, de obtemporatione sublimioribus potestatibus, de mutua inter omnes caritate; quae scilicet de his rebus et aliis generis ejusdem a Thoma disputantur, *maximum atque invictum robur habent* ad evertenda ea juris novi principia, quae paccato rerum ordini et publicae saluti periculosa esse dignoscuntur.

This is the Philosophy that even Catholics gradually abandoned and allowed to decline: a desertion for which the Pontiff reproaches them as for betraying a noble cause.

Hoc autem novitatis studium, cum homines imitatione trahantur, *catholicorum quoque philosophorum animos visum est alicubi pervasisse*; qui patrimonio antiquae sapientiae posthabito, *nova moliri, quam vetera novis augere et perficere maluerint*, certe minus sapienti consilio, et non sine scientiarum detrimento. Etenim multiplex haec ratio doctrinae, cum in magistrorum singulorum auctoritate arbitrioque nitatur, mutabile habet fundamentum, eaque de causa non firmam atque stabilem neque robustam, sicut veterem illam, sed mutantem et levem facit philosophiam.

And if certain Catholics would replace Scholasticism by any of the modern systems, whether it be Eclecticism, or Voluntarism, or Neo-Kantism, or Traditionalism, or Ontologism,¹ let them beware, lest, philosophizing, *citra quempiam ad fidem respectum*, they find their philosophy insensibly weakening the foundations of their faith, instead of supporting it and giving reasons for it. If they find such philosophy incapable of warding off the attacks of

¹ Cf. Besse, pp. 10-13.

irreligion and infidelity,¹ they will have only themselves to blame. 'Cui si forte contingat, *hostium impetu ferendo vix parum aliquando inveniri*, ejus rei agnoscat in seipsa residere causam et culpam.'

(b) FAITH NOT AN OBSTACLE TO AN AUTONOMOUS
PHILOSOPHY : MISCONCEPTIONS OF SCHOLASTICISM

The foregoing paragraphs bring us face to face with a very common misunderstanding of the scope and mission of Scholastic Philosophy. Non-Catholics have been taught to look on Scholasticism as a mere futile attempt at a rational defence of the Catholic religion, a bald introduction to Catholic theology, involving at least as many errors as the latter, and utterly unworthy of serious consideration as a system of philosophy. More through ignorance, perhaps, than through malice, they have persistently misrepresented the relations of Scholasticism to the theology of the Catholic Church. Presumably on the ground that it is no disgrace, even to a philosopher, to be ignorant of a system that has become antiquated, the moderns have grown accustomed to the tradition of dismissing Medieval Philosophy with the remark that it is an offshoot of a certain theology, chained down by the trammels of authority, devoid of any independent or original element of thought, and entirely undeserving of the attention of philosophers. Of course such an attitude merely betrays a profound misconception of what Scholastic Philosophy really is, and what the true relations are between Philosophy and Religious Faith, between reason and revelation.² For Leo XIII, the bare mention of that error is its sufficient refutation:—

Novimus profecto non deesse, qui facultates humane

¹ 'Il fallait se hâter, et, comme il n'y avait, en aucun genre, de principes arrêtés, on acceptait de toutes mains des arguments, des preuves, des démonstrations, associant un peu au hasard les noms et les programmes et empruntant souvent aux adversaires par tactique ou par indigence.'—Besse, p. 10.

² Schwegler, for instance, in his *History of Philosophy*, passes over Medieval Philosophy almost without mention. For an able and interesting discussion of the various views that have prevailed on the

naturae plus nimio extollentes, contendunt, hominis intelligentiam, ubi semel divinae auctoritati subjiciatur, nativa dignitate excidere, et quodam quasi servitutis jugo demissam plurimum retardari atque impediri, quominus ad veritatis excellentiaeque fastigium progrediatur. Sed haec plena erroris et fallaciae sunt ; . . . qui philosophiae studium cum obsequio fidei christianae conjungunt ii optime philosophantur. . . .

It must be admitted, indeed, that many Catholics have partly fostered that misconception in the minds of non-Catholics by acquiescing more or less in the idea that Scholastic Philosophy is first, and before all else, a system of thought officially subservient to the needs and to the defence of Catholic Dogma. This is simply mistaking what is accidental for what is essential. For, essentially, Scholastic Philosophy is an independent and autonomous system of speculative thought on the totality of things. It is, no doubt, in harmony with Catholic Dogma,—and, therefore, all the more certain of its soundness,—but this consideration is extrinsic to itself, to its own inner content. Harmony does not destroy autonomy. Not only the best Catholic philosophers, but the best Catholic theologians, and the authoritative exponents of Catholic doctrine have always and most clearly insisted on the autonomy of Philosophy as a science side by side with Theology. If non-Catholics, therefore, will continue to misunderstand the matter they have only themselves to blame ; it is gratifying to note that recently a truer conception of philosophical perspective has become apparent in the treatment accorded to Scholastic Philosophy by modern writers.

It was hardly to be expected that Leo XIII, dealing with Philosophy mainly from the point of view of its religious and moral and social bearings, would lay any stress upon this essential characteristic of Philosophy as a science. Nevertheless, when dealing with the relations of Reason to Revelation, of Philosophy to Theology, he

question, What is Scholastic Philosophy ?¹ see *Introduction à la Philosophie Néo-Scholastique*, par M. De Wulf, Docteur en Droit, Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. 1904. Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1 rue des Flamands, Louvain ; Paris, Alcan, 108 boulevard Saint Germain.

makes use of language which places his views on this particular point beyond all doubt : 'In iis autem doctrinarum capitibus quae percipere humana intelligentia naturaliter potest, aequam plane est, *sua methodo, suisque principiis et argumentis uti* philosophiam : non ita tamen ut auctoritati divinae sese audacter subtrahere videatur.'

(c) SCHOLASTICISM CALUMNIATED

A kindred calumny to that of intellectual slavery is the one we often hear to the effect that Scholastic Philosophy is narrow and illiberal, obscurantist and retrograde, and hostile to the advance of science. Such a charge never would come, and never has come, from anyone deserving the reputation of a true scholar. But it is made ; and the Holy Father takes the opportunity of repelling it. When he warns Catholics against the danger of exchanging Scholasticism for modern systems, he takes care to add these significant words : 'Quae cum dicimus, non eos profecto improbamus doctos homines atque solertes, *qui industriam et eruditionem suam, ac novarum inventorum opes* ad excollendam philosophiam afferunt : id enim probe intelligimus ad incrementa doctrinae pertinere.'

These are not like words of obscurantism or hostility to scientific research and progress. In themselves they are quite sufficient to give the lie to all such prejudicial charges. We could not expect more from a Pope speaking in the interests of religious faith ; but Leo was also a philosopher to whom the interests of truth for its own sake were ever dear ; and hence nothing less than a positive and warm approval and recommendation of scientific progress would satisfy him. When, therefore, he was exhorting all Catholics, for the defence and honour of their faith, for the good of society, and for the progress of learning, to revive and propagate the *auream sancti Thomae sapientiam*, he takes care to lay down, with the greatest emphasis,—*edicimus*,—that 'libente gratoque animo excipiendum esse quidquid utiliter fuerit a quopiam inventum atque excogitatum.'

Are not these words the expression of a liberal and

broadminded and enlightened outlook on the scope and mission both of Science and of Philosophy? Well, such was the spirit in which the Pontiff recommended a revival of the Philosophy of the schools.

(d) 'VETERA NOVIS AUGERE ET PERFICERE'

Such was to be the genius of the restoration he contemplated. Its guiding principle, its watchword, its motto has been, and still is, '*Vetera novis augere et perficere.*' A revival on such lines would surely have everything to recommend it: and those who had been attempting the like already, deserved to have such praiseworthy efforts encouraged in every way possible. So Leo thought, at any rate, when he decided to bring the project under the notice of the world at large:—'*Optimo itaque consilio cultores disciplinarum philosophicarum non pauci, cum ad instaurandum utiliter philosophiam novissime animum adjecerint, praeclaram Thomae Aquinatis doctrinam restituere, atque in pristinum decus vindicare studuerunt et student.*'

And it was not merely religious and social problems that were to benefit by such a revival, but every branch of human knowledge and activity,—including even the fine arts:—

Demum *cunctae humanae disciplinae* spem incrementi praecipere, plurimumque sibi debent praesidium polliceri ab hac quae Nobis est proposita, disciplinarum philosophicarum instaurazione. Etenim a *philosophia*, tamquam a moderatrice sapientia, sanam rationem rectumque modum *bonae artes* mutuari, ab eaque, tamquam vitae communi fonte, spiritum haurire consueverunt. Facto et constanti experientia comprobatur, artes liberales tunc maxime floruisse, cum incolumis honor et sapiens judicium philosophiae stetit; neglectas vero et prope oblitteratas jacuisse, inclinata atque erroribus vel ineptiis implicita philosophia.

(e) 'RETROGRADE, AS USUAL'

Now, all this was decidedly a large claim to make for the mere renovation of an old Philosophy, even were the project of such a restoration in itself feasible or

desirable. And it is very easy to imagine modern philosophers, even Catholic ones, shrugging their shoulders in dissatisfaction at the whole idea, and impatiently exclaiming : But, where is the real use of all this ? It may be all very well if we take it as the pious opinion of a holy Pontiff ;¹ but are we to be asked seriously to believe that the revival of an antiquated, medieval system at the end of the nineteenth century can be anything better than a retrograde step at the best, an attempt to move back the marked and mighty progress of human thought by five full centuries ? Well, we would answer such rhetorical individuals that there is no reason for such excitement or alarm. They are not asked to believe that any such disastrous steps are contemplated. But we fear we must venture to tell them that their alarms arise from a misunderstanding of the whole aim and object of the new movement. We are even tempted to remind them of a saying of one of our writers who was no less a philosopher than a true patriot,—Thomas Davis,—a saying which is here very much to the point : ‘ They who trample upon the past do not build for the future.’ However, let that pass ; and let us merely ask our very modern philosophers to remember that if thought may progress and truth be added to, yet truth itself is neither old nor new, or rather it is both. True wisdom is eternal : ever ancient and always new. But, also, it can be lost after it is found. Now, it is this true wisdom, and it alone,—in so far as it has been temporarily lost sight of by the modern world, and allowed to lie concealed in the works of the Middle Age Scholastics,—that the new movement is to bring forth from that hidden treasure into the light of day.

That the modern world is in sore need of that wisdom few, if any, will deny. No longer is it merely from the Church or from Christianity, but from God, that the modern world is moving or trying to move away. Not so much nowadays against simple heresy has the Church to do battle, but against the Infidelity that regards religion as

¹ Cf. p. 162 above, *note*.

a myth, or a mere matter of sentiment ; against the Naturalism that makes a God of nature, but knows no God above nature, and for which miracle is only a word without a meaning ; against the Rationalism that makes reason the measure of all truth, the test of all reality, the solvent of all mystery, and the proof against all that pretence which men call revelation ; against the newest blend of Evolutionism and Subjectivist Pantheism which interprets the deposit of Divine revelation—whether in the Scriptures or in Tradition—and the development of doctrine itself, as a natural evolution of the consciousness of some inherent divine element abiding in and identical with the race. If ever there was a time when true Philosophy was needed for the defence and shewing forth of truth, it is at the present day. Since the early ages of Christianity, when the Church closed in conflict with the great errors on the Incarnation, the Atonement, the end of man and the means thereto,—grace and nature and their relations,—she has never experienced attacks so fundamental and so searching in their character as those of the present time. And just as it was true Philosophy that fought the Church's battles against erring human reason then, so must it be in the twentieth century. But the *aurea sapientia* must be brought forth into the strife if it is to serve the cause of God and Truth. It will be of little use as long as it is allowed to lie mouldering within the academic precincts of the schools. There is a rougher arena and a sterner conflict in which those who wield the weapon of Christian Philosophy must have the courage and the zeal to use it.

Nor will anyone deny in the second place that such a movement must make for the benefit of the old Philosophy itself. Contact with new truths, as well as with new errors, will put its value to the test. Whatever elements are seen to be useless or erroneous in view of the changed circumstances of the scientific world, will be rejected ; and its vast content of truth will be vitalized by contact with modern thought. The questions that were far-fetched, cumbersome, or unpractical in the decadent form

of Scholasticism will be passed over, unnoticed except by the historian; the truth alone of Scholasticism is to be proposed to the modern mind. Again the words of Leo are unmistakably clear: '*Sapientiam sancti Thomae dicimus: si quid enim est a doctoribus Scholasticis vel nimia subtilitate quaesitum vel parum considerate traditum, si quid cum exploratis posterioris aevi doctrinis minus cohaereus, vel denique quoquo modo non probabile, id nullo pacto in animo est aetati nostrae ad imitandum proponi.*'

But that is not all. The new movement will have achieved so far but half its task. The other half will be to supplement the content of the older Philosophy by all the best fruits of modern thought,—*vetera novis augere et perficere*. Thus, its whole effect will be to liken its disciple to the scribe in the Gospel, 'who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old.'¹

IV—THE ENCYCLICAL ON PHILOSOPHY AND PHYSICS

We now come to the last and most interesting, because the most characteristic, feature of the Papal document, and of the new Scholastic movement to whose principles and tendencies it gives such clear and valuable expression: the relation between Scholastic Philosophy and the physical sciences. Here it is that we can get a full and complete insight into the genius that animates the whole movement.

Firstly, what are we to do with the erroneous Physics of the schools?—for example, with the doctrine of the four chemical elements, the inferiority of terrestrial to siderial matter and the incorruptibility of the latter, the relative perfection of circular or spherical, as compared with linear motion; the *locus naturalis*; the Ptolmaic astronomy; spontaneous generation—for these are but a few of the many physical theories and conceptions that prevailed during the Middle Ages. Well, the answer is very simple: In so far as they are erroneous or improved upon by more modern theories, we are simply to reject them *en bloc*. They never formed an essential part of

¹ Matt. xiii. 52.

the fabric of Scholastic Philosophy, and it will be all the better from getting rid of them.

Secondly, what is to be the attitude of the renewed Scholastic Philosophy itself towards modern Physics? Just the same as that of the Middle-Age Scholasticism towards the Physics of that time; just what the attitude of Scholasticism towards Science has ever been in the hands of its ablest and most accredited exponents. And what is that attitude? Well, let us describe it by first laying down clearly what it certainly is not. It is not what, by common misrepresentation, many believe it to be: an attitude of veiled hostility, of irreconcilable opposition to all scientific progress. Of course scientists have kept repeating the charge, and asking what fellowship can there be between Physics and Metaphysics; and by dint of repetition many have come to believe in the alleged antagonism. And if the scientists meant to designate by Metaphysics a certain subjectivist assumption or strain in most modern Philosophy, perhaps we should not be inclined to dispute the matter with them. But if they refer to the Metaphysics of the Schools we must beg leave to demur to the charge; for it is groundless and untrue:—‘*Qua in re,*’ says the Encyclical, ‘*illud monere juvat, nonnisi per summam injuriam eidem philosophiae vitio verti, quod naturalium scientiarum profectui et incremento adversetur.*’

How close and cordial the real relations were between the Physics and Metaphysics of the schools we have already seen in a previous article.¹ Such relations were the inevitable outcome of the Schoolmen’s very conception of these two sciences, and of the analytico-synthetic method they employed in both. The Encyclical is clear and emphatic in vindicating for the great Scholastics the employment of this combined inductive and deductive method, and the adoption of principles from which that intimate union between Physics and Metaphysics necessarily sprung:—

¹ *Vide* I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1905, pp. 36, sqq.

Cum enim Scholastici, sanctorum Patrum sententiam secuti, in Anthropologia passim tradiderint, humanam intelligentiam *nonnisi ex rebus sensibilibus* ad noscendas res corpore materiaque carentes *evehi*, sponte sua intellexerunt, *nihil esse philosopho utilius, quam naturae arcana diligenter investigare, et in rerum physicarum studio diu multumque versari*. Quod et *facto suo confirmarunt*: nam S. Thomas, B. Albertus Magnus, aliique Scholasticorum principes, non ita se contemplationi philosophiae dediderunt, ut non etiam multum operae in naturalium rerum cognitione collocarint: *imo non pauca sunt in hoc genere dicta eorum et scita, quae recentes magistri probent et cum veritate congruere fateantur*.

From all which it is pretty evident what the future relations between Scholasticism and modern Physics are to be. The groundless estrangement initiated by the disciples of Descartes, and fostered by the equally groundless misgivings of the later Scholastics, will be removed by the renewal of that close and cordial bond of union that once existed between those two great branches of human thought. The temporary aloofness which has wrought such mischief in both departments will give place to a better understanding all round. Not only will Philosophy benefit by the renewal of such relations, but even physical science itself, in its highest and best sense, perhaps, even more. For modern physical science (in the widest acceptation of the title) is growing indeed, and rapidly; but whether it is *progressing* in the true sense is not altogether so clear. It is accumulating facts, multiplying experiments, discovering laws, and applying its knowledge to control and utilize the vast and various forces of physical nature. But then it is practically unable to co-ordinate, and nearly voiceless to explain and interpret, the mysterious facts, and forces, and phenomena with which it is constantly coming in contact. It is knowledge, indeed: but not all knowledge is science. It gives power, therefore,—of a kind,—but power is not wisdom. It serves well enough the lower wants of man. It panders right richly to the importunate demands of the body. But, then, if it is man's kind ally in procuring bodily comfort and luxury, it is also his terrible ally in the slaughter of his fellow-man.

It enables him to replace the simpler savagery of his so-called savage ancestors by the scientific savagery of modern warfare ! Then, moreover, man is not all matter. The mind has its wants, too. But modern science has not wherewith to satisfy these wants : it is devoid of any message for the hungry mind of humanity. Not, indeed, that modern science in itself should supply all those demands. No one expects it to do so. Rather we blame it for claiming to be all-sufficient,—itself, that is, and the helpless, incoherent Metaphysic it has half-unwittingly assimilated. For this is the root of the evil. Science is sick for want of a sound philosophy to strengthen and sustain it. Since it got divorced from Scholasticism it has travelled far without finding better. It may travel still farther and fare worse, unless it decides to renew the old espousals. This is, likewise, the opinion of Leo, whose words here are worthy of careful consideration, for the profit of some of our scientists :—

Quapropter etiam physicae disciplinae, quae nunc tantum sunt in pretio, et tot praeclare inventis, singularem ubique ciant admirationem sui, *ex restituta veterum philosophia non modum nihil detrimenti, sed plurimum praesidii sunt habiturae.* Illarum enim fructuosae exercitationi et incremento *non sola satis est consideratio factorum*, contemplatioque naturae ; sed, cum facta constiterint, *altius assurgendum est*, et danda solerter opera *naturis rerum corporearum agnoscendis*, investigandisque legibus, quibus parent, et principiis, unde ordo illorum, et unitas in varietate, et mutua affinitas in diversitate proficiscuntur. *Quibus investigationibus mirum quantum philosophia scholastica vim et lucem, et opem, est allatura, si sapienti ratione tradatur.*

That last sentence suggests a final consideration. It is this : that the Philosophy of the schools is not only reconcilable with the most up-to-date conclusions of the physical sciences, that not only is it in the fullest harmony with them, as no other modern Philosophy is, but that it is also, and for that very reason, capable of aiding, explaining, and corroborating every new step that science takes along the steep but royal road to truth. It has

proved that capacity already. It has assisted scientists who followed its principles. Scientists from outside its pale have acknowledged the justice and truth of its teaching and its conformity with physical facts. 'Praeterea,' continues the Encyclical, 'hac ipsa aetate, plures iisque insignes scientiarum physicarum doctores palam aperteque testantur, inter certas ratasque recentioris Physicae conclusiones, et philosophica Scholae principia nullam veri nominis pugnam existere.'

Some of them have even been led so far as to see in the phenomena of modern Experimental Psychology, striking indications of the superiority of some Scholastic theories. Thus, for example, Professor Wundt, of Leipzig, does not hesitate to write, at the conclusion of his monumental work on the *Elements of Physiological Psychology*, these remarkable words: 'The results of my work do not fit in either with the materialist hypothesis or with the dualism of Plato or Descartes; Aristotelian Animism alone, connecting, as it does, Psychology with Biology, is the metaphysical conclusion to which Experimental Psychology points.'¹

In order that the new Scholastic Philosophy fulfil all those rich promises an important condition must be verified: *si sapienti ratione tradatur*. When Leo XIII wrote his Encyclical on Philosophical studies he meant very seriously every word that he said. No sooner had he spoken than he took action. Not content with what he could do in Rome, he sought for a suitable centre of the new movement in Northern Europe. Happy in his choice beyond measure, he fixed on the Catholic University of Louvain, in Belgium. There, at his own expense, he founded a Philosophical Institute, to teach and to propagate the Neo-Scholastic Philosophy.² It has been doing

¹ Wundt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 540; *apud* De Wulf: *Introduction à la Philosophie Néo-Scholastique*, p. 311.

² On this subject two articles that may be read with profit, have recently appeared in the I. E. RECORD: one on Experimental Psychology, by the Rev. T. P. H. Russell, July, 1903; the other on Neo-Scholastic Philosophy, by the Rev. J. Kelly, Ph.D., September, 1904.

so since its foundation, with an ever-increasing measure of success. From every point of view its history is of absorbing interest to all who follow the fortunes of present day Philosophy. An outline of its most salient features will form the subject of a separate article.

P. COFFEY.

IRISH LEXICOGRAPHY

A NOTE

IN an article contributed by the undersigned to the I. E. RECORD (December, 1904, and January, 1905), there are some misprints which, as one cannot be too careful in dealing with a subject of this kind, he desires to correct. Those found in the concluding portion of the article, the proofs of which were corrected during the hurry of the Christmas holidays, are more numerous and serious than those found in the earlier portion.

I. DECEMBER, 1904.—Attention is called to the following :—

P. 524, footnote, l. 4, <i>for</i>	<i>ar na</i>	<i>read ar na.</i>
" " " "	<i>bríann</i>	" <i>bríain</i>
" 530, l. 12,	" <i>oroc-éor</i>	" <i>oroc-éor.</i>
" " l. 19,	" <i>rppíonnlóir</i>	" <i>rppíonnlóir.</i>
" " l. 30,	" <i>imfniomac</i>	" <i>imfniomac.</i>
" " l. 35,	" <i>rmtipini</i>	" <i>rmtipini.</i>
" 531, l. 4,	" <i>crapfolar</i>	" <i>crapfolar.</i>

It may also be again pointed out that on p. 524 (l. 18) 1821 should be 1817, and on p. 525 (l. 18) 1877 should be 1864 (*vide* I. E. RECORD, January, 1905, p. 68, footnote 2).

II. JANUARY, 1905.—Attention is called to the following :—

P. 67, l. 14,	<i>for</i>	<i>Thigearna</i>	<i>read</i>	<i>Thigearna.</i>
" " footnote, l. 2,	"	<i>mbliaðam</i>	"	<i>mbliaðain.</i>
" 68, " l. 16,	"	<i>búša</i>	"	<i>búša.</i>
" 71, l. 23,	"	<i>'visible'</i>	"	<i>'risible.'</i>
" 73, l. 5,	"	<i>ppátaí</i>	"	<i>ppátaí.</i>
" 74, l. 21,	"	<i>mucaó</i>	"	<i>mucaó.</i>
" 76, l. 23,	"	<i>altóir</i>	"	<i>altóir.</i>
" " footnote, l. 3,	"	<i>úa.</i>	"	<i>úa.</i>
" " " l. 7,	"	<i>hairemge</i>	"	<i>hairemge.</i>
" 77, l. 5,	"	<i>'First'</i>	"	<i>'Second.'</i>
" 80, l. 28,	<i>after</i>	<i>'Irische Texte,'</i>	<i>insert</i>	<i>'First Series.'</i>
" 81, footnote, l. 10, <i>for</i>	<i>ḡáipoin</i>	<i>read</i>	<i>ḡáipoin.</i>	

On p. 75 (footnote, l. 11) attention is called to the fact that *amhán*, *amhántaét*, *amhánatíosaét*, though given under variants, are missing where the alphabetical arrangement would place them. It is proper to state here that they are to be found, as has since been ascertained, at the end of the Dictionary, under 'Some Additions and Corrections.'

M. P. O'H.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

CAN AN INTENTION 'PRO VIVIS' BE DISCHARGED BY A REQUIEM MASS?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly in your next, or subsequent issue, give a solution to the following difficulty:—

Can a Dead Mass be said for the living, or for an intention the purport of which is unknown to the celebrant? I was under the impression that in either case a Mass *de Requie* might be said. But in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, November, 1902, in an article entitled 'Complete Legislation regarding Masses for the Dead,' in the last paragraph, page 501, I find the following: ' . . . Frequently stipends are offered to celebrate Mass *ad intentionem dantis*, and at times it is impossible to find out whether they are for the living or for the dead. The question arises, can in such cases a Mass *de Requie* be celebrated? In most authors, moral theologians and liturgists, a Decree of the S.R.C. is quoted which says *affirmative*—but it is not found in the *Collectio Authentica Decret. S.R.C.*'

I do not know to what Decree precisely the writer here refers, but I find in Bucerone's *Enchiridion Morale*, edition 1887, page 95, the following:—

1. An licet sacerdotibus uti paramentis nigris et celebrare Missam de Requie ut satisfaciant obligationi, quam susceperunt, celebrandi secundum intentionem dantis eleemosynam, quando prorsus ignorant, quoniam sit illius intentio, pro defunctis necne? 2. An licet sacerdotibus uti paramentis nigris et celebrare Missam de Requie ut satisfaciant obligationi, quam susceperunt, celebrandi pro vivis? S.C.R. rescripsit ad 1^{um}, Affirmative. Ad 2^{um}, Affirmative, modo non diverse praescripti qui dedit eleemosynam.—S.C. de P.F. 13 Oct. 1856.

Again, in Schneider's *Manuale Sacerdotum*, edition 1881, a similar answer is given to each question, though the date assigned for the Decrees S.R.C. is slightly different, 29 Nov., 1856. But in a footnote to the second Decree it is said that this decision holds good only when no other vestments except black are left out for the celebrant.

Now I would ask (1) Is there no authentic Decree allowing a dead Mass to be said in either case? and (2) If there be no Decree on the subject, is there otherwise sufficient warrant to justify the practice, especially in the case when the celebrant does not know whether the Mass is to be offered for the living or for the dead?—Faithfully yours,

CLERICUS.

The Decree quoted by our correspondent from Buccerone is, no doubt, the same as that referred to by the writer in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. It is not, indeed, found in the new authentic collection. Van Der Stappen, however, is of opinion that it nevertheless exists. 'In Collectione Authentica Decretorum,' he says, 'non invenitur quidem sed revera existit.'¹ It is quoted in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*,² and *Monitore Ecclesiastico*,³ with apparent good faith in its genuineness. Granted, then, the existence of this decree there can be no doubt about the answer which the question proposed must receive. But, since the absence of the Decree from the Collection necessarily casts some doubts upon its authenticity, or at least on its abiding authority, we shall endeavour to justify on other grounds the conclusion it points to.

The faithful, as a rule, do not distinguish between the *rite* of a Mass and its *application*. What they desire, generally speaking, is that the fruits of the Sacrifice be offered up for a certain intention known to them. There may be, occasionally, an express understanding between them and the Priest as to the *quality* of the Mass requested. If this be so the precise contract must be carried out, and the particular Mass they want must be celebrated. Hence where, for instance, a Mass is requested with a view to honouring a certain Saint or Mystery and it is clear that a Votive Mass *pro vivis* is desired, the obligation will not be satisfied by saying a Requiem Mass, or even a Mass in conformity with the Office of the day whenever the Votive Mass is permitted.⁴

¹ Vol. ii. p. 373.

² Vol. xxviii. pp. 127, 128.

³ Vol. vii. p. 88.

⁴ S.R.C. Decr., nn. 321, 2461, 4031, ad iv.

The present query, we presume, abstracts from these special cases, and asks when, in a general way, a Mass is petitioned for the spiritual or temporal welfare of a living person, is the Priest free to say a Mass *de Requiem* in full discharge of his obligation. We believe that practically he is, and the following are the reasons for our opinion.

1. The following question was proposed to the Propaganda, which in turn submitted it to the Congregation of the Council :—

An Sacerdos in exequiis persolvendis Missam celebrans non recepto stipendio debeat pro ipso defuncto vel potius pro aliis petentibus et eleemosynan offerentibus sacrificium applicare queat.

The response was :—*Negative ad primam partem ; affirmative ad secundam.*¹ From which it follows that the celebration of Mass is one thing and the application another, and that a Priest may apply a *Requiem* Mass for the benefit of the living.

2. Again, the fruits of the Mass *ex parte participantium* may be classified under three heads. There is the *fructus generalissimus* in which all the faithful participate by virtue of the delegation of the Priest to pray in the name of the Church ; the *fructus specialissimus* which the celebrant also enjoys ; and the *fructus medius* or *ministerialis* which goes to those for whom the Mass is offered. Now this *fructus medii* seu *specialis* is the same in all Masses, so that as far as it is concerned a *Requiem* Mass may be as efficacious in promoting the desired object as any other Mass. Let us suppose that Mass is being offered for the recovery of a sick person. It is difficult to see how the celebration of a Mass in black vestments is less appropriate to this intention than the celebration of a Festive Mass, seeing that in neither case have the prayers a special fitness or aptness with a view to obtaining the favour sought for.

3. It is alleged that there is a custom among Priests on the Commemoration of All Souls of offering the Mass indiscriminately for any intention, and that this practice

¹ 27 Ap., 1895, apud *Acta Stae Sedis*, vol. xxviii.

has had a certain amount of approbation from the Congregation of Rites.¹ To these arguments might be added others based on the authority of theologians,² but enough has been said to justify our contention. So far, however, we have considered the question chiefly from the point of view of the Priest's obligation towards the person offering a stipend for the Mass. But do his obligations towards the Rubrics leave him equally free? De Herdt³ would require some slight excusing cause. But this cause is of so slender a nature that its presence may invariably be assumed. For instance, he states that it would be a sufficient reason to say Mass in black vestments if these were the only ones arranged on the sacristy bench. Now, it would not be difficult to find a reason as potent as the trifling inconvenience of having to prepare vestments of the proper colour.

Moreover, the necessity for a cause to justify departure from conformity to the Office of the day arises from the Rubrical law, *Quoad fieri potest Missa officio conveniat*. This requirement, however, has been considerably modified by the subsequent legislation of the Congregation of Rites sanctioning on a large scale Masses not in harmony with the Office, so that some would say that the fact that a *Requiem* Mass is permitted leaves the Priest free to select it even without any cause.

We have given, as far as we know, the authentic Decrees bearing on our correspondent's question. Apart from the authority of these Decrees, and in the absence of anything to the contrary, we have established that a Priest, who undertakes to celebrate a Mass *pro vivis*, may legitimately discharge his obligation by saying a *Requiem* Mass. Lastly, we have shown that to do this without being guilty of a want of regard for the Rubrics any reasonable cause will, at the very most, be all that is necessary.

P. MORRISROE.

¹ *Vide* S.R.C. Decr., n. 1275.

² *Cf.* Many, *De Missa*, p. 107; Lehmkuhl, vol. ii. p. 148 (1888); Schneider, *Manuale Sacerdotum*, ii. p. 41 (1900).

³ *Praxis Liturgiae*, i. n. 67.

DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH BISHOPS

At the usual quarterly meeting of the Standing Committee of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held on Tuesday, January 17th, his Eminence Cardinal Logue in the chair,

The following Resolutions were unanimously adopted and have been sent for publication:—

I.

RESOLVED : That in view of the insidious attempts now being made by the authorities of Trinity College and some of its Protestant supporters to induce by pecuniary bribes the youth of our Catholic schools to enter that institution so often condemned by their pastors, we feel it our urgent duty to warn our flocks against the danger of accepting those educational bribes.

The present attempt in no way differs in principle from the attempts made by Trinity College for the past 300 years, to wean away the Catholic youth of Ireland from their allegiance to their faith and their country. It is, in spirit, an offering of pecuniary bribes, in no way differing from those so often offered to Catholic boys to induce them to frequent proselytising schools in the West of Ireland and elsewhere.

Trinity College, unsectarian in theory, is Protestant in its government, its teaching, and its atmosphere. Numbers of its most distinguished men have recently boasted that the College is Protestant, and hope it will always remain so. It is no place for loyal Catholics. They cannot frequent its halls without the greatest danger of detriment to their faith, which is their highest blessing and greatest treasure.

As their pastors we call upon them in the most earnest manner to spurn this new bribe, as their fathers spurned similar bribes in the past. No true Irish Catholic will accept the proffered scholarships, and those who may be weak enough to do so may rest assured that their fellow-countrymen will never forget their recreancy in this crisis of our struggle for educational equality.

In vain have the Bishops appealed year after year to the Government to do justice to the Catholics of Ireland in the

matter of University education. In vain have Ministers responsible at various times for Irish administration acknowledged the reasonableness of the Catholic claim. In vain have our members of Parliament, representing alike the views of the laity and of the clergy, made an unanswerable case in the House of Commons for a University suited to the wants of the Irish people. At the dictation of an intolerant minority, the Government has abdicated its functions, and nothing is to be done unless it pleases intolerance to say when, and where, and how.

In such circumstances it is our duty to tell our people, whose vital interests are at stake, that they are fully justified in taking up the question in a way that will teach intolerance a lesson it badly needs.

Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges are no places for the intellectually gifted youth of a race that, through all the centuries since we received the faith, has prized religion as its most precious inheritance. It is intolerable that these institutions should hold their endowments, as if to serve the Irish people, when the small sections of the population which they do serve mercilessly bar out the bulk of the people from University education in any form acceptable to the nation at large. A monopoly so oppressive is already doomed, once public opinion is enlightened by a full discussion of the subject, and the eye of the nation fixed on the blighting influence of this degrading form of class privilege.

The device of trying to allure distinguished Intermediate students of Catholic schools into Trinity College by Scholarship bribes is quite in keeping with the history of that institution from the start. But it will only help to build up the determination of our people to have at long last, in a way that suits them, for higher education, their proper share of the income which Trinity College draws from eighteen Irish counties without showing any high example in its dealings with its estates.

If there is an objection against a fresh grant to provide a University for Irish Catholics, as restitution for the plunder of the past, or out of moneys drawn from Ireland in ruinous over-taxation, then the Irish Bishops, the Irish representatives and the Irish people, are bound to take all legitimate means to secure that the endowment of Trinity College and the moneys annually voted to the Queen's Colleges are made available for University education in a way the nation will endorse. There

is only one Irish nation ; but if there were two or more, as has recently been suggested by a distinguished authority, the revenues of those institutions can scarcely be said to go to the right one.

As the Government has shown that reason has no weight with them in the matter of educational justice if the old ascendancy chooses to object, it only remains for the Irish people to say that this ascendancy must altogether cease.

The whole country should rally round our Parliamentary representatives, and give them the whole strength of the nation's support in their endeavour to secure ordinary civic rights for Irish Catholics in educational, and all other matters.

We request the clergy to read this statement in the churches on Sunday, the 5th of February.

II.

RESOLVED : That it would be singularly inadvisable from an educational point of view to diminish the organising staff for music, domestic economy, experimental science, and manual instruction, in connection with the system of Primary education in this country, at a time when everyone interested in Primary education is disposed to help in developing those useful branches of it, and many managers had incurred no inconsiderable expenditure in providing the necessary equipment for the work.

III.

RESOLVED : That until duly qualified persons have been secured in sufficient numbers for organising and developing the practical side of Primary education, and until money is forthcoming, as it ought to be without delay to provide adequate salaries for the teachers, it is premature to arrange for even a suitable grade of higher elementary education in the National Schools, above the Sixth Standard.

✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, *Chairman.*

✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS,

Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,

✠ HENRY,

Bishop of Down and Connor,

} *Secretaries
to the
Meeting.*

DUTIES OF A MASTER OF NOVICES

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM
MAGISTER NOVITIORUM NEQUIT FUNGI MUNERE EXAMINATORIS
PRO ADMISSIONE AD PROFESSIONEM, NISI AGATUR DE NOVITIIS
NON SUIS

Beatissime Pater :

Prior Maioris Cartusiae ac Minister Generalis Ordinis Cartusiensis, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus, sequentium dubiorum solutionem humiliter postulat :

I. Utrum Magister Novitiorum munere Examinatoris, iuxta Decretum ' Regulari Disciplinae,' fungi valeat, etiam pro admissione ad professionem et quando agitur de suis Novitiis.

Quatenus negative :

II. Utrum saltem officium hoc exercere possit pro receptione ad habitum, imo, si agatur de Novitiis, quorum curam non habet, pro admissione ad professionem. Et Deus, etc.

Sacra Congregatio Emorum. et Rmorum. S.R.E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium prae-posita, omnibus mature perpensis, proposito dubio respondendum censuit, prout respondet :

' Ad. I. *Negative* ; ad. II. *Affirmative*.'

Romae, 14 Iunii 1904.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

PH. GIUSTINI, *Secret.*

DECREE REGARDING DIMISSORIAL LETTERS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM

DECRETUM

SUPERIORES GEN. CONGREGATIONUM GAUDENTES INDULTO CON-
CEDENDI LITTERAS DIMISSORIALES SUIS SUBDITIS, ILLAS
DIRIGERE DEBENT AD EPISCOPUM DIOECESEOS IN CUIUS
SEMINARIO PRAEDICTI ALUMNI, NULLI DOMUI ADHUC ADDICTI,
IAM AB ANNO, STUDIORUM CAUSA, COMMORANTUR

Cum, peculiari S. Sedis indulto, superioribus generalibus recentiorum Congregationum, in quibus vota dumtaxat simplicia nuncupantur, impertiri soleat, ad certum tempus, facultas concedendi suis subditis litteras dimissoriales ad ordines suscipiendos, ea tamen conditione, ut easdem litteras dirigant ad Episcopum dioecesis, intra cuius limites pia domus ordinandi

reperitur, nisi hic abfuerit aut ordinationem non sit habiturus, nova quaedam exorta est quaestio, quae ab Emo. et Rmo. S.R.E. Cardinali F. M. B. Richard, Archiepiscopo Parisiensi, huic S. Congregationi Ep. et Reg. neg. et consult. praepositae, nuper subjecta fuit.

Exposuit nempe praelaudatus Archiepiscopus non raro contingere ut huiusmodi Congregationum seu Institutorum sodales, ubi primam votorum professionem emiserint, quin certae Instituti domui inscribantur, ad seminarium Parisiense a suis superioribus, studiorum causa, mittantur, ibique per unum aut plures annos commorentur, vitam communiter decentes cum caeteris eiusdem seminarii alumniis. Adiciebat autem quaesitum exinde esse ad quemnam Episcopum, pro ordinatione huiusmodi sodalium, respectivi superiores generales mittere teneantur litteras dimissoriales, magnamque hac de re obortam esse contentionem, aliis alia sentientibus; quare enixe postulabat ut auctoritate huius S. Congr. decerneretur quid in praefatis casibus servandum sit.

Porro manifestum est tam legem veterem pro Regularibus votorum solemnium, ad rem, latam, quam recentes S. Sedis concessionem, illud uti certum praesumpsisse, quod quilibet religiosus seu Instituti alumnus alicui semper monasterio seu Instituti alumnus alicui semper monasterio seu domui sit addictus: quod quidem, iuxta exposita, reapse non obtigit.

Itaque eadem S. Congr., universa rei ratione mature perpensa, decernendum censuit litteras dimissoriales, in casibus de quibus supra, dirigendas esse ad Episcopum dioeceseos, in cuius seminario praefati alumni studiis dant operam, dummodo tamne seu postquam ipsi saltem per integrum annum ibidem commorati fuerint; servata in reliquis forma ac tenore indulti respective concessi.

Facta autem de praemissis relatione SS. D. N. Leoni d. Prov. PP. XIII in audientia habita ab infrascripto cardinali, die 30 Maii 1899, Sanctitas Sua sententiam Sacrae Congr. probare dignata est, eamque uti legem ab omnibus, ad quos spectat, servari iussit, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria memoratae S. Congr., die 7 Iunii 1899.

S. Card. VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LIFE OF PIUS X. Benziger Bros.

THIS is a volume of 400 pages, to which the author, with a modesty quite unusual among his countrymen, forgets to prefix his name. The authenticity of the Life is, however, sufficiently vouched for by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, who, in an interesting preface, with a few light touches, sketches in outline the life, history, and character of our Sovereign Pontiff. Incidentally, a few remarkable details of the last Conclave are furnished by His Eminence.

The title of the book is scarcely adequate to its contents, as fully half the volume is occupied with a sketch of the Life of Leo XIII and with the history of the Conclave. The story of Pius X is told in considerable detail, chapters being devoted to the years of his youth, of his life as curate in Tombola, as pastor in Salzano, as Bishop in Mantua, and Cardinal Patriarch in Venice.

The author has consulted the most reliable sources of information in the compilation of his work, notably Schmidlin's *Life of Pius X*, and the more comprehensive Life of the same illustrious Pontiff written by Mgr. Anton de Waal, Rector of the German Campo Santo at Rome; for the life of Leo XIII he has had recourse to such well-known authorities as O'Byrne, Keller, Galland, and Justin M'Carthy. The volume is profusely illustrated; the number of illustrations, good ones too, exceeds 200; the book is well bound in decorated linen.

C. M.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ELOQUENCE. Translated from the Spanish of Don Antonio de Capmany by the Rev. W. MacLoughlin, Mount Melleray Abbey. Dublin: James Duffy & Co.

THE original of this work was published in Madrid in 1777. It is an able treatise on Rhetoric. The translation is fluent and idiomatic. The translator divides the work into four parts, *i.e.*, 'On the Qualities of the Oratorical Talent,' 'On Oratorical Language,' 'On Style,' and 'On the Ornaments of Eloquence.' He contributes a preface of eleven pages, to which he supplies,

in an appendix, thirty-five pages of notes. In the notes, the learned translator delivers his soul on the Old Irish MSS., Modern Irish Harps, the injustice of Irish Taxation, and Irish University Education, Tonic Sol-fa, Irish Music and the distinctive Irish Scales, Crushed Civilizations, the difficulties of the English Tongue to foreigners, and on a host of other topics equally interesting.

C. M.

THE SONS O' CORMAC AN' TALES OF OTHER MEN'S SONS.
By Aldis Dunbar. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.
Price 6s.

THIS is a collection of twelve folk-tales told to children in dialect by an old gardener. The stories are very clever, picturesque, and, like all good tales of faërie, full of unconscious poetry.

C. M.

STRONG ARM OF AVALON. By Mary T. Waggaman.
Benziger Brothers. Price 85 cents.

THIS is a fine moral story of boyish heroism. The scene is laid in Maryland in the days of the Lord-Protector, Cromwell. The persecution by the dominant Puritans of the Catholic Faith, the hunted Priesthood, and the confiscation of the estates of the Catholic settlers, the bold but futile stand for freedom of conscience made by the latter at Providence, their temporary exile, and their ultimate success in the days of the Restoration are the leading incidents of the tale. There is a strength and manly fibre in the book that will recommend it not only to boys, to whom it is especially commendable, but to all who like to read of the chivalrous deeds of noble natures and generous hearts.

C. M.

THE PESHITTA PSALTER. By Rev. W. E. Barnes. Cambridge University Press. 1904.

THIS new text of the Western Syrian translation is immeasurably more accurate than that hitherto in common use, viz.: the text edited by Gabriel Sionita in 1625, reprinted not without mistakes in the Paris Polyglot (1645), repeated in Walton's Polygot (1645), and copied, not without some more

mistakes, by Lee (1823, 1825). The work now before us comes as a boon to the student. It is the result of seven years' labour. Rev. Mr. Barnes has collated for it eight printed editions, twenty-eight MSS., and the works of several Syrian ecclesiastical writers, from Aphrahat (fl. 337-345) to Barhebraeus (1226-1286). Among all the MSS. used, one now preserved in the British Museum is considered to be the best by the learned editor. He remarks, 'But on the whole "C" (B.M., Add. 17, 110) seems to me the most valuable authority we possess for the Peshitta text of the Psalms.'

It should be noted that this edition is not a reconstruction of the version common to all Syrians before the division into Eastern (Nestorian) and Western (Jacobite) texts: it is a corrected Western text, the Eastern readings being given in the copious *Apparatus Criticus*.

Owing to the affinity between the Syriac and Hebrew, the Peshitta version of the Psalter cannot but be regarded as one of the most useful aids to its understanding that we possess. It would, however, be a mistake to imagine that the Peshitta Psalter consists exclusively of the work of a Semitic translator, who in his knowledge of his native tongue possessed a great advantage over speakers of any European language. As the learned editor of the work before us says (Introduction, p. xxxiv.): 'The earliest MSS. (those belonging to the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries) exhibit a text which is not a simple translation from the Hebrew but a translation which bears upon it the marks of the influence of the Septuagint.' And three years ago he wrote in the *Journal of Theological Studies*: 'The Syriac translators must indeed have known that their own knowledge of Hebrew was far in advance of the knowledge possessed by the LXX, and yet the stress of Greek fashion had its way now and again. The Syriac transcribers on the contrary were ignorant of Hebrew and ready to introduce readings found in a Greek version or recommended by a Greek father. So the Peshitta in its later text has more of the LXX than in its earlier form. It is only in the Psalter (so it seems to me at the present stage of my work) that any general Greek influence bringing in a new characteristic is to be found. That characteristic is a dread of anthropomorphisms from which the Syriac translators of the Pentateuch were free.'

In conclusion, it may be observed that this scholarly edition

is certain to be most useful to all that make a special study of either Syriac or of one of the most important books in the Old Testament. We wish it a wide circulation.

R. W.

ECCLESIASTICUS (HEBRAICE ET LATINE). Fr. Peters.
Herder. 1905. Price 3s.

ONE of the most interesting discoveries made in recent times is that of large portions of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus. At present nearly the whole of the original is in our hands. It had been lost for centuries, and even though St. Jerome said he saw it, rationalists and other opponents of a deuterocanonical book would not believe him.

The recovery of what Jesus the son of Sirach translated, enables us to understand the value of his and of the ancient second-hand versions. The text of Father Peters' is the faithful reproduction of the Oxford and Cambridge facsimiles, and is therefore much more accurate than the printed texts hitherto in use. His Latin version, critical notes, and glossary make this as good a book as anyone can desire.

ELEMENTA PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE. Auctore Dr. Seb.
Reinstadler. 2 volumina. Friburgi : B. Herder.

THE appearance of a second edition of Dr. Reinstadler's Elements of Scholastic Philosophy affords us an opportunity for recommending to students of Philosophy a work that may be called the key to their efficiency both as philosophers and future theologians. Its author tells us that the 'Elements' owe their origin to the Encyclical of Leo XIII on the Study of St. Thomas. Under the influence of that masterful pronouncement no more succinct manifestation of Thomistic teaching could be found than is offered by these two volumes. It is difficult without having seen them to form an adequate idea of the careful and splendid work they contain. They cover the whole ground of Mental and Moral Science in an admirably concise yet not superficial way.

The author displays an ability for combining brevity and clearness, accuracy and finality. Of course he has not attempted to go deeply into his expositions, nor to discuss every metaphysical puzzle ; his work leaves problems still unsolved

But as a manual for a two years' course of Philosophy his book comes very near to being perfect.

Though we have praise for the work as a whole there are many things in it after which we have put interrogation marks. For instance, when treating of the real distinction between essence and existence in finite beings he says that the opinion of those who do not hold a *real* distinction is probable. We should like to have some reasons for his statement. He quotes Father Lepidi; but we could never be convinced by the distinguished author's reasons. Clear recollection have we of what we would call the weak answers he used to give when objected to, that if there was not a real distinction then every finite being would be an *esse subsistens*; an *esse irreceptum*. However, 'unusquisque in suo sensu abundet.'

Elsewhere he states as a thesis, 'Anima humana est per naturam suam immortalis.' Well, though we thoroughly *believe* that the soul is immortal, we can find no reason for saying that it is so 'per naturam suam.' Incorruptible, certainly, it is; but incorruptibility is not a convertible term with immortality.

There are many other questions—especially in his treatise on Ethics, where he has to dissent from the views of non-Catholic philosophers—where we should wish for a fairer presentation of their theories and more constructive reasoning in their refutation. This is to be expected. A manual is always a manual. Looking at the 'Elements' in this light, they are unquestionably of great worth. It is with great pleasure we introduce them to our readers.

A. J. H.

FATHER DAMIEN, APOSTLE OF THE LEPERS OF MOLOKAI.

Translated from the French of the Rev. Philibert Tauvel, SS.CC. With an introduction by Father Damien's brother, Father Pamphile de Veuster. London: Art and Book Co. 1904.

THIS volume is a permanent record of the life and labours of Father Damien. It is not, however, the last word on the Apostle of the Lepers. It gives the main facts of his life; but there are many interesting deductions from these facts that find no place in the volume. Neither do the very interesting discussions to which they give rise. Father Damien's life in the fuller and broader sense has still to be written.

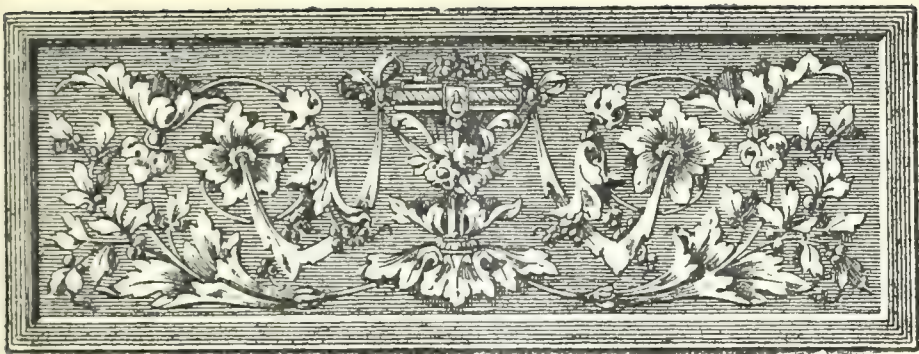
SERMONS PREACHED IN ST. EDMUND'S COLLEGE CHAPEL.
Collected and arranged by Edwin Burton, Vice-President. With an Introduction by the Archbishop of Westminster. London: Burns and Oates. 1904.
Price 5s.

IF a great increase in the number of sermon books were any indication of an improvement in modern preaching there could be no doubt that we are advancing. But is it an indication? We fear not. And judging from the general run of new sermon books to which reviewers under pain of being considered churlish are bound to pay more or less stale compliments on their appearance, we fear that in matter as well as in style there are very few indeed that deserve genuine praise.

The volume now before us has the advantage of variety. It contains sermons by Cardinal Manning, Canon Oakely, Archbishop Ullathorne, Bishop Hedley, Mgr. Ward, etc. In matter the sermons are instructive, solid, well thought out and well arranged. In style they are rather cold for our taste. Irish preachers who are inclined towards the florid style may, however, read them with advantage.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE MOTHER OF GOD.
By Archbishop Ullathorne. London: Art and Book Co.

THIS is a reprint of a well-known book of Archbishop Ullathorne's, which it was thought well to bring out on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception. It is needless to say that it is a good book on the subject from every point of view.



THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HUMAN LIBERTY—I

IT seems to be the universally accepted opinion among non-Catholics that the Catholic Church is the avowed and uncompromising adversary of human liberty, and that, on the contrary, the churches and chapels and the philosophies of the Reformation are the sole depositaries and advocates and defenders of the inestimable prerogative of human freedom. And as the Church is conceived by them to substitute unduly the principle of authority for the exercise of independent individual judgment, so she is represented as unfavourable to the development of personal initiative, to independence of character and to confidence in our own powers; as opposed to the independent study of religion, history, philosophy, and even the experimental sciences; and, in the world of economics, as a most serious obstacle and hindrance to the material growth and prosperity of a nation.

Catholics, needless to say, do not accept this appreciation as a fair presentation of their Church's attitude towards personal, intellectual, religious and economic freedom. They, who live within the Church and have practical experience of the working of ecclesiastical authority in matters of faith and morals, are satisfied that submission to Church authority does not produce civic

or religious enslavement, but secures for the members of the Church wise and unerring direction for the legitimate use of liberty; they have the conviction that defective education and backwardness in material prosperity are due to other causes than to Church authority; and it is to them a subject of unceasing wonder that the non-Catholic world should be ever ready to receive with favour the most extravagant systems of theology and philosophy that deny the very existence of human liberty, and should reserve its denunciations for the Catholic Church, because, while solemnly defining the existence of human liberty as an article of faith, she insists that in its use and exercise Freedom shall not degenerate into mere licentiousness, but shall be guided and governed by law.

I am not going to advance proofs, in these articles, for the existence of Freewill, nor reply to the difficulties which are urged by Determinists against its existence. I shall content myself with the more modest undertaking of submitting a comparative statement of the teaching of the Catholic Church and of the non-Catholic world, ecclesiastical and philosophical, on this vital question of the existence of Freedom of the will. But first I will premise a brief explanation of the various meanings attached to the word Liberty, as obviously it would be impossible to compare the teaching of different Churches and Schools on this question unless the sense in which the subject is understood by all be well defined.

Liberty is generally conceived as the opposite of restraint, bondage, servitude; and besides a definite literal philosophical meaning admits of many more easy and metaphorical acceptations. Sometimes, as in the philosophy of Spinoza, it signifies that calm, deliberate, unbiassed *use of reason*, which delivers its judgment on the great issues of life without fear or favour or prejudice, making its judgment to correspond faithfully to the innate evidence of things; and on the contrary we speak of the insane and the inebriate as slaves to their hallucinations, and of the passionate and the avaricious and the unclean as being slaves, even in their mental judgments, to their

vices and passions and prejudices. Again the word Liberty is taken to signify *the beatific state*, and is styled, the Liberty of Glory, where the Blessed transported from the world of the servitude of uncertainty, ignorance and error, of temptation, passion and sin, of disease and death and decomposition, shall enjoy the freedom of truth and sinlessness, and incorruption and immortality in the kingdom of the Father. I shall have, farther on in the course of this article, to refer to the liberty of action of the Blessed in heaven; but in the sense just explained the personal freedom of action is not so much contemplated as the immunity of the *beatific state* from the corruptibility of the present state of probation. Closely allied to the preceding is the usage popular among theologians and preachers who, when they wish to extol the dignity of *the state of grace in this life*, describe it as a state of special liberty, the Liberty of Grace, in which men are translated from the tyranny and slavery of sin into the glorious freedom of adopted children of God. Finally, in the strict philosophical acceptation of the term, there is *the Liberty of Nature*; which may be intrinsic, *ab intrinseco*, consisting in immunity from internal determination to one action or line of action, and extrinsic, *ab extrinseco*, consisting merely in immunity from external compulsion.

When we pass from these definitions, which are of a very general character, to consider the special essential elements of intrinsic and extrinsic liberty, we find a considerable diversity of exposition in the schools of Idealist Determinism, Mechanical Determinism, and Indeterminism. Idealist Determinists ascribe to man, besides his bodily organisation, a supersensible nature, conceived, at least by the more orthodox, as an immaterial soul with intellect and will, and acts of reason and volition. The will, they say, is beyond the reach of external compulsion, but is not endowed with the power of self-determination. Every volition is infallibly determined by a chain of antecedents, by the sum of the character, disposition, principles, views and feelings of the individual who elicits the volition. A definite volition will follow a definite

series of antecedents as certainly as a stone falls to the ground in obedience to the law of gravitation, though the necessity is called moral in the one case and in the other physical; and this definite volition is the only one possible in the circumstances. Many Idealist Determinists candidly confess that in their view man is free only from external violence, but not from intrinsic determination of nature; that he is subject to what they call moral or philosophical necessity, in opposition to the physical necessity of the Mechanical Determinists. But some of the Calvinist and Presbyterian¹ determinist theologians, while contending that every volition is inexorably determined by a chain of internal antecedents, claim nevertheless that man is a free agent, free internally as well as free from external compulsion, and that he is morally responsible for his actions. They call this freedom the *Liberty of Certainty* and the *Liberty of Rational Spontaneity*. They reject the theory of *self-determination of the will*, as it appears to them to separate the will from the agent, to detach it from the other faculties of the soul and to make it independent of and out of sympathy with them. And they advocate the theory of *self-determination of the agent*: which implies, they say, that the agent is the efficient cause of his own act, and that the grounds or reasons of his determination are all within himself; that he is determined, not by any external influence, but by the sum of what constitutes him at the moment a particular individual, by his character, disposition, principles, feelings, to which for supernatural acts would be added the power of the divine supernatural influence.

Mechanical Determinists unequivocally deny the existence of Freewill and moral responsibility. And yet they too may claim that they safeguard the *self-determination of the agent*, and consequently the internal liberty of certainty and spontaneity. No doubt they deny the existence of a spiritual soul with immaterial faculties and acts. Man is dependent for his cognitions and volitions,

¹ Cf. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. ii., part ii., ch. ix.

in the first instance, on the action of the external world. Some external object will make an impression on the senses : this impression is transmitted to the brain through the afferent nerves : from thence an answering impulse is sent back to the muscles by the efferent nerves, or the motion is transformed into what is called thought in the brain itself. Every new effect or consequent, however, follows mechanically from its group of antecedents. But it might be said that once an external object has made an impression on the senses, the agent is thenceforward independent of external compulsion, and that all the subsequent phenomena that appear within the human organism derive their origin mechanically, by the self-determining power of the agent, from the sum of what constitutes him at the moment a particular individual, his senses, nerves, brain, muscles, disposition, character, principles and feelings. In reality the theories of Idealist and Mechanical Determinism differ rather in relation to the constitution of man and spirituality of the soul, than to the existence of human liberty. The self-determination of the Idealist Determinists merely signifies the self-sufficiency and self-efficiency of the agent ; that his volitions are independent of external compulsion, and have their sole principle in the agent himself, in his will, his intellect, his disposition, feelings and principles ; but, assuming a definite group of antecedents, it expressly denies to the will or to the agent the power of electing, in the last instant, what the next volition or act shall be.

Finally, in Indeterminist Schools internal Liberty is taught to be a power by which, assuming all the conditions required to elicit a volition, taking account too of the totality of the agent's disposition, feelings and principles the agent is able, by the self-determination of his will, to elicit the act or abstain from it, or elicit an act of an opposite or specifically distinct kind. This freedom of the will is not synonymous, as Determinists sometimes assert, with 'ability to do something.' It presupposes the ability to elicit an act. We do not speak of the existence or the non-existence of human liberty in reference, for

example, to the act of flying; we say that it is impossible for man to fly. Nor, in modern usage, do we speak of the existence or the non-existence of liberty to perform supernatural acts by our own natural powers; we simply say that it is impossible. But assuming the ability and the conditions required for eliciting an act we might describe freedom of the will as 'the ability to elicit or abstain from eliciting a particular act,' by the self-determining power of the human will. This Liberty is called Freewill and the Liberty of Indifference and the Liberty of Contingence. A free volition, however, is not a motiveless volition. A man, for example, may be deliberating with himself whether he ought to stay at home and attend to his business or take a vacation on the continent for the benefit of his health; and whether he elects to stay at home or to travel for the benefit of his health, his choice will be guided by reasons, it will not be a motiveless choice, but a choice between motives. Man can will nothing which is not conceived to be good from some point of view. And the great dignity of the faculty of Freewill consists in the sovereign independence with which it invests man in the midst of objects of finite good. He stands independent in the midst of a world of objects soliciting his will, lawful objects and unlawful objects, worthy objects and unworthy objects; and he can choose or reject according to the self-determining power of his own will.

With these preliminary observations, I will now proceed to submit a statement of the teaching of the non-Catholic world and of the Catholic Church on the subject of human Liberty. I shall take the word Liberty in the sense of Freedom of the will, and shall endeavour to tell what the non-Catholic world teaches about the *existence* of Freewill; what the Catholic Church teaches on the same subject; and finally, what all teach about the need of limitation and direction in the *legitimate use* of Freewill.

I.

I think I shall have presented a sufficiently complete statement of the views of the non-Catholic ecclesiastical and philosophical world on the existence of Freewill if I have described what the Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican, and Presbyterian Churches teach on this subject, and what is taught in the philosophical schools of Kant, of Pantheism, and of modern Positivism and Evolution.

I. The teaching of the Lutherans on Freewill varied very much during the evolution of the Reformation. Luther himself asserted 'that man is devoid of freedom, that every (pretended) free action is only apparent, that an irresistible divine necessity rules all things, and that every human act is at bottom only the act of God.'¹ In the controversies on Synergism or co-operation of man with God the Lutherans taught that man remains quite passive and that God alone is active. 'Even so early as the celebrated disputation at Leipsig, Luther defended this doctrine against Eck, and compared man to a saw that passively let itself be moved in the hand of the workman. Afterwards he delighted in comparing fallen man to a pillar of salt, a block, a clod of earth, incapable of working with God.'² Hence our post-reformation theologians teach that Luther denied to fallen man, though moved by divine grace, the power of eliciting supernatural acts, and that he held that such acts are produced and infused by God and merely received by the passive inactive human subject.³

Nor was his more moderate and scholarly lieutenant Melancthon less extreme on this question in the beginning of the Reformation. He declared that the term 'freewill' was alien to Scripture, and deplored the introduction of

¹ Moehler, *Symbolism*, etc., translated by James Burton Robertson, p. 32.

² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

³ Cf. Suarez, *De Gratia*, l. v., c. iv., nn. i. seqq. Salmant, Tr. xiv. *De Gratia Dei*, d. i., c. ii., § ii., nn. 81, 82.

this word and the word 'reason' from pagan philosophy into the Christian Church :—

He comprised all things in the circle of an unavoidable necessity and predestination, and declared the doctrine, that God is the sole agent, to be a necessary part of all Christian science.¹ . . . In his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, in the edition of the year 1525, he had the hardihood to assert that God wrought all things, evil as well as good ; that He was the author of David's adultery and the treason of Judas, as well as of Paul's conversion.² . . . Perceiving, however, after more diversified experience and maturer reflection, especially after the controversy with the Catholics, the prodigious abyss into which such a doctrine must precipitate the Church, he subsequently abandoned and even combated it. On the other hand we are unacquainted with any such recantation on the part of Luther ; and the Formulary of Concord gives an express sanction to the writing of the latter against Erasmus. This doctrine of the Servitude of the Human Will has had the greatest weight ; and its influence, according to Melancthon's assurance, pervades even the whole religious system of the Lutherans.³

The denial of Freewill and the doctrine that God alone is active in the work of spiritual regeneration soon began to bear lamentable fruits among the followers of the reformers. Many, the leaders complain,⁴ scandalised and depraved by these doctrines gave themselves up to a dissolute life, ceased to frequent the public ecclesiastical services, abandoned all religious exercises and impiously proclaimed their intention of continuing in contumacy against God, or of waiting until He should convert them violently and against their will. In these circumstances the Lutheran doctrine on liberty had to be more distinctly formulated, and a distinction was made between civil or political liberty and spiritual liberty. Man, it was taught, is free in his civil and political capacity : he is free in his external movements : he has the power of locomotion, he can walk to church and read or hear the word of God : but the supernatural conversion comes from God alone,

¹ Mochler, p. 32.

² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴ *Solid Declar.* ii. ; *de lib. arbit.* s. 33, p. 640.

somewhat as it is conceived to come at the revival meetings of the Methodists.

Lutherans then would agree with Catholics, against the Pelagians, that man can perform no salutary act without the aid of divine grace ; but in this case there is question not of *liberty* nor of *necessity*, but of absolute *inability*. But in the Lutheran theory, unregenerate man, even under the influence of a divine supernatural motion, can give God no co-operation in the work of justification, nor has he the power of determining whether he shall assent or dissent, but remains absolutely passive in the hands of God, like a saw that is moved by the hand of the workman. Finally, Lutherans conceded to man a certain political and civil liberty ; which however is believed to signify merely the *ability* to perform civil and political acts, but not the power to perform an act or abstain from performing it by the self-determination of the will ; a liberty, that is to say, of spontaneity and immunity from external violence, such as is advocated by modern Idealist Determinists. In all departments, therefore, of life, in the religious, political, social and domestic spheres, in the natural and supernatural, spiritual and corporal orders, every human action is determined proximately and necessarily by God, or follows necessarily from a series of antecedents decreed by Him, and can be denominated *free* only by reason of its spontaneity and of the will's immunity from external violence.

II. The Calvinist doctrine of Freewill is closely connected with the notorious Calvinistic theory of Predestination and Reprobation. There appeared in course of time two schools of Calvinists—the Supralapsarians and Infralapsarians. The Supralapsarians teach that antecedently to and independently of the prevision or consideration of original sin, and the merits of the elect or demerits of the reprobate, God selected from the human race, about to be created, a certain number for eternal glory, that He might have subjects in whom He could manifest His divine mercy and goodness, and the remainder of mankind He destined for eternal damnation, that He might have sub-

jects, the vessels of wrath, in whom He could manifest His avenging justice. This law of human destiny was accompanied by a divine scheme, which prescribed the means by which the order of providence, in relation to the Predestination of the Elect and the Reprobation of the Reprobate, should be executed in the successive generations of men unto the end of time. In this scheme of divine providence God decreed for the elect, whom He was to create for eternal glory, regeneration, efficacious justifying faith and final perseverance, and determined in the most absolute manner all the events of their lives and the whole series of acts, political and spiritual, natural and supernatural, virtuous and vicious, which should fill in the span of their mortal existence; and determined in an equally absolute manner for the reprobate, whom He was to create for eternal damnation, all the acts of their lives, and in particular their unbelief and the sins, original and personal, by which they should be kept on the broad road that leads to destruction, that He might have subjects in whom He could show forth His justice by punishing them for their sins. Calvinists always say that the reprobate are punished *for their own sins*. No doubt the sins of the reprobate are the proximate cause of condemnation; but if God preordained sin and impenitence in order that He might have subjects in whom He might manifest His avenging justice, He is Himself the remote cause of sin and reprobation.

And yet, say the Supralapsarians, man is free and God is holy! Yes, man is free; free from external violence, and with the freedom too of internal spontaneity and voluntaricity. For, is a man not free when he does what he likes and abstains from what he dislikes? And God will have so preordained and adapted the nature and acts of men in the decrees of His eternal providence, that the elect in accepting justifying faith and rejecting unbelief will be doing what they like and abstaining from what they dislike; and the reprobate, in their unbelief and their avarice and their lust and their drunkenness and their murders, will be doing what they like, what is pleasing to

their vicious natures, and abstaining from what they dislike, a life of faith and virtue. And God is just and holy, they tell us! The relation of God to sin was felt by all the leaders of the Reformation to be a subject of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. If God, it could be asked, had absolutely and efficaciously *intended* and *decreed* all the sins that are committed in the world by the elect and the reprobate, that He might show mercy and grant pardon to the former and punish the latter, how comes it to pass that the same acts are sinful in man and punishable with eternal torments, and remain just and holy and consistent with infinite sanctity in God? The Calvinists replied to this difficulty in various ways. The sinner, they said, is justly punished for his sins because he violates the divine law; but God is holy because, though He decrees the sinful acts, He violates no law, for God is above all law! And again: God, no doubt, has absolutely and efficaciously decreed the infidelity and all the sins and crimes to be committed to the end of time, but God has willed and decreed these evils for a pure motive, for a holy end, to exercise avenging justice on sinners, and therefore God is just and holy; but the reprobate perform these acts not through love of justice, not for a worthy end, but from unworthy motives and for sinful ends, actuated by avarice, lust, covetousness, etc., and are consequently justly condemned and punished! And again we are assured that, though it may be difficult to reconcile this theory of Predestination and Reprobation with the will of God as revealed in Scripture, it is in perfect harmony with the mysterious hidden decrees of divine providence.¹

The Infralapsarians² sought to mitigate somewhat the severity of the Supralapsarian theory of predestination and reprobation. The Supralapsarians conceived the decree of reprobation to be antecedent to the prevision of original sin and independent of it; the Infralapsarians taught that the divine decree was consequent on the prevision of original

¹ Cf. Moehler, p. 42.

² Cf. *Canones Synodi Dordrechtanae*, art. xv. (apud Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*).

sin. To manifest His own glory and communicate His goodness to creatures God decreed to create the world, to elevate man to a supernatural state and to permit the fall. And from the mass of fallen mankind He chose a certain number for eternal glory to be vessels of mercy, and the remainder He left, as He left the fallen angels, to suffer the just punishment of their sins. To this law of divine providence regarding the end and destiny of mankind, there corresponds an order of providence defining the means by which the different orders of men shall be borne on to their final destiny. The Son of God became incarnate to redeem the elect, and died for them alone. God confers on the elect regeneration, faith, repentance and the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. These, however, are but the signs of their predestination and not the cause of their final glory, which is the gratuitous gift of God through the merits of Christ. All the acts of the elect are preordained by God, their regeneration, faith, occasional sins, repentance; and yet are they also free, free from external violence and free with the freedom of spontaneity and voluntareity.

And the reprobate, the vessels of iniquity, what is the divine providence in their regard, what is their liberty? Infralapsarians merely tell us that they are unredeemed, and that they are left, like the fallen angels, to suffer the just punishment for their sins. They are left without grace and in the necessity of sinning and of impenitence. Their acts, like the acts of the elect, are preordained by an immutable divine decree; each infallibly and inevitably follows its own particular divinely ordained chain of antecedents; and on their journey towards the divinely preordained goal of reprobation, though they may be free from external violence in their civil and political actions, and their acts may be spontaneous and voluntary, of free-will, or of the power of election by the self-determination of the will, they have none.

III. The doctrine of the Anglican Church on Freewill is defined in Article X. of the Thirty-nine Articles:—

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.

Though the Article is entitled, *De Libero Arbitrio*, it can be seen that it treats, not of Freewill or Determinism, but of the *inability* of fallen man to prepare himself for justification. According to modern usage this old Pelagian subject of controversy is not treated as a question of Freewill or Determinism, but of the necessity of grace and of the ability or inability of man to perform salutary supernatural acts without the aid of divine grace. The Freewill problem might be thus proposed: in the supernatural order, assuming the prevenient and assistant grace of God, under the influence of the divine supernatural motion does man retain the power of dissenting, as he has the power of assenting? And in the natural civil and political order has man merely the *ability* to perform natural acts, as the brute beasts have, mere spontaneity of action and immunity from external violence, or is he endowed with the power of election by self-determination of the will? The Anglican Articles contain no definite teaching on these points, and consequently we may assume that the profession of Determinism by clergymen or the laity is not incompatible with the official teaching of the Anglican Church.

And when we pass from the official Articles of the Anglican Church to the writings of her divines, we find that freewill in the civil and political and sinful order is identified with mere *ability* to perform certain acts, mere spontaneity or immunity from external violence; that in the supernatural order, man has no power of dissenting under the influence of a supernatural motion; and that all human actions, natural and supernatural, though they can be immune from external violence, are subject to a law of necessity. I will quote from a few of the authors edited for the Parker Society:—

We deny not [writes Rogers¹] that man, not regenerate, hath freewill to do the works of nature, for the preservation of the body and bodily estate ; which thing had and have the brute beast and profane gentiles, as it is also well observed in our neighbour churches. Besides man hath freewill to perform the works of Satan, both in thinking, willing and doing that which is evil.

And Bradford writes² :—

That all things are done by coaction or compulsion is false, and out of God's providence and predestination cannot be gathered or maintained. All and every thing that hath been done, is, or shall be, in consideration of God's providence as it is with God, are of necessity, but yet not of compulsion or restraint : as for example, you shall see that necessity is one thing and constraint is another thing. God is good of necessity ; but who now will say, then, that He is so by coaction or enforced thereto ? The devil is naught by necessity, but not of coaction : good men do well of necessity, but not by compulsion : wicked men do evil of necessity, but not of constraint. A thing that is done willingly is not to be said to be done by constraint. God is good willingly, but not by compulsion : the devil is naught willingly, but not of enforcing : good men do good willingly, but not constrainedly : wicked men do transgress willingly, but not compelled. So that it is plain, though all things be done of necessity, yet are they not of compulsion and enforcement.

IV. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian bodies in all the English-speaking countries have adopted the Calvinist theory, Supralapsarian or Infralapsarian, of Freewill, Predestination and Reprobation. In the ' Westminster Confession ' God is said to have appointed the elect unto eternal life, and ' the rest of mankind He was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of His own will (whereby He extendeth or withholdeth mercy as He pleaseth) for the glory of His sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of His glorious justice.'³ Presbyterians are allowed to interpret the ' Confession ' in a Supralapsarian or Infralapsarian sense, and

¹ *On the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 104.

² Vol. i., p. 213.

³ Cap. iii. § 7 (*apud* Niemeyer).

to be themselves Supralapsarians or Infralapsarians. In the milder form we, as it were, start from original sin. From the mass of fallen men God selects the elect to be 'vessels of mercy': Christ died for them alone: God has preordained for them regeneration, faith and final perseverance: sin cannot deprive them of their final crown: their faith and the sacraments and good works have no merit, but are merely external and visible signs of their election to glory: they can have infallible certainty that they belong to the body of the elect: God has preordained the whole series of their acts; and though they can be free from external coercion, and their acts are spontaneous and voluntary, they have no power of choice by the sole self-determination of the will. And the reprobate? God, we are told, was pleased to pass them by *and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin*, to the praise of His glorious justice. Calvinists and Presbyterians always teach that the reprobate are punished for their own sins, and carefully avoid any reference to God's relation to these sins. But, in this theory Christ has not died for the reprobate; and though they may receive some temporary ineffective spiritual favours during life, they are left by God in the necessity of sinning. Moreover, according to Calvinists and Presbyterians, God has preordained absolutely and inflexibly all the phenomena of the universe and the acts of man; and though the reprobate be free from external compulsion, and their acts are spontaneous and voluntary, they have no power of choice of action by the self-determining power of the will!

The recent troubles in the United Free Church of Scotland have awakened public interest in this truly hard and repulsive theory. The Free Church which was formed by the Secessionists from the Established Church in 1843, or Disruptionists as they are called, was remarkable for its extreme Calvinist teaching. So, too, were the United Presbyterians. But conviction began to change both in the Free Church and among the United Presbyterians from Calvinism to Arminianism. And when in 1900 a majority of the Free Church members and the entire body

of the United Presbyterians entered into union in the United Free Church of Scotland, Foreordination and Freewill were left open questions. They had already abandoned the principle of an Established Church and had adopted the principal of Voluntaryism. And in the famous lawsuit for the temporalities of the old Free Church the House of Lords gave judgment in favour of the remnant of the old Free Church that had not entered into union with the United Presbyterians ; as the party that adhered to the opinions and principles in which the denomination had originally united. We may rejoice at the emancipation of the United Free Church from the bondage of Supralapsarianism and Infralapsarianism ; but there is reason to fear that the emancipation has taken place, not by a change into the path of orthodox Christianity, but from the extreme of Calvinism to the opposite extreme of Rationalism.

V. Passing from the teaching of the Protestant Churches on the subject of Freewill to the teaching of the philosophical schools, I will begin with the philosophy of Kant, whose philosophical system is esteemed very highly by the Protestant world. In his *Critique of Practical Reason* Kant emphatically asserts the supremacy of the moral law. Consciousness tells us, he says, that we *ought* to perform certain actions and refrain from others. We have no immediate consciousness, however, of Freewill ; but if we would construct for ourselves a consistent scientific theory of the sense of obligation of which we are conscious we must postulate the existence of God, the immortality of the soul and Freewill. The will is free ; for the law that says, thou oughtest, implies that thou canst. These truths are therefore postulates for an adequate subjective conception of moral duty. But pure reason cannot prove either the existence of God, or the immortality of the soul, or Freewill ; and we can have no rational certainty of their real objective existence !

We notice in this a peculiar affinity between the philosophy of Kant and the religious systems of Protestantism. The various Protestant Churches and Congregations have

adopted certain formularies of faith to maintain some degree of unity among their members. But these Churches and Congregations expressly disavow all claim to be able to decide infallibly for their communicants whether the truths contained in the formularies are objectively true or not; the truths are required for the profession of Christianity and for membership with the Churches, but whether they represent objective truth or not, the Churches confess themselves unable to decide.

VI. I will next briefly describe the theory of Freedom advocated by Spinoza, whose doctrine of *the unity of substance* supplies the philosophical basis of all modern materialism. Spinoza distinguishes in man the *state of nature* and the *state of reason*. Considered in the *state of nature* man, both in corporal and spiritual activity, is a part of the physical universe, subject to all its laws, and in particular to the law, that the strongest wins. According to the character of his constitution and the nature of his environment he is necessarily swayed by the varying emotions of joy or sadness, love or hatred, hope or despair, etc. In this *state of nature*, which he calls *the state of servitude*, Spinoza teaches that man is subject to the most rigid mechanical determinism:—

Tout le monde attribue à Spinoza la doctrine du fatalism ou du déterminism, et même du nécessitarism le plus implacable. Personne n'a soutenu avec plus de dureté la doctrine du péché naturel. A ceux qui lui reprochaient de rendre le péché nécessaire, il répondait: sans doute il est fâcheux de n'être qu'un cheval; mais il est impossible à un cheval d'être autre chose qu'un cheval.¹

But, writes Spinoza, considered in the *state of reason*, man is free. Not that he ceases for a moment to be a part of nature and to be subject in all his actions to mechanical law; but he contemplates all things from the point of view of eternal reason, *sub specie æternitatis*. Like the stoic philosophers he recognises that the world is ruled by

¹ Paul Janet, *Principes de Métaphysique et de Psychologie*, vol. ii. p. 52.

inflexible law, becomes indifferent to sickness or health, riches or poverty, humiliation or glory, success or failure, and enjoys true liberty by realizing the infinite empire of necessity.

In developing his doctrine of *the state of reason* Spinoza appears to have imitated very closely the work of Christian theology, and to have conceived the relations of reason to the substance of the world which he calls God, somewhat as Christian mystic theologians describe the relations of man to the infinite Being who rules the world. He had observed that an excessive love of unattainable objects causes grief and sorrow and a sense of disappointment, and that the recognition of the necessity of things alters our attitude towards them. He concluded, then, that we could overcome the emotions caused by the external world by understanding that the world is ruled by necessity. Man *in the state of reason* should conform himself to the infinite eternal substance of which he is *a mode*. When he begins to identify himself with God, that is, with the substance of the world, and to see all in God, he attains a certain beatific state and vision, and an intuition that everything is governed by necessity, that all the phenomena of the universe are but the necessary modal evolutions of God Himself, the substance of the world. At this stage of *the state of reason* there is no longer, as it were, *meum et tuum*, success and failure are accepted with equanimity, we shall hate no one, despise no one, ridicule no one, envy no one, be angry with no one, we are emancipated from the servitude of the emotions by remembering that everything is ruled by grinding necessity.

VII. Finally I come to modern philosophers, and especially to the evolutionary school of philosophers and scientists. The growing tendency of philosophers to Determinism during the nineteenth century has been much observed. The most notable among the recent Determinists in these countries were John Stuart Mill, Dr. Bain, and the philosopher, *par excellence*, of Evolution Mr. Herbert Spencer. Mr. Mill maintains that volitions

do in fact follow determinate moral antecedents with the same uniformity and the same certainty as physical effects follow their physical causes ; and that if we knew a person thoroughly, his character, disposition, principles, habits, desires, and the inducements that are acting on him, we could foretell his conduct with as much certainty as we can predict any physical event. Man can alter his volitions and his conduct only by altering the antecedents. And if he makes any change in the antecedents, and consequently in his volitions and conduct, he is determined to make this change and indeed necessarily determined by some other group of antecedents.

The views of Dr. Bain on Freewill and moral responsibility can be learned from the following amusing passage :—

The schoolboy, on being found guilty of a breach of discipline, will sometimes defend himself by saying that he was carried away and could not restrain himself. He is frequently answered by the assertion that he *could* have restrained himself if he had chosen to do so. Such an answer is a *puzzle* or a *paradox*. The offender was in a state of mind such, that his conduct *followed according to the uniformity of his being* ; and if the same antecedents were repeated, the same consequence would certainly be reproduced. In that view, therefore, the foregoing answer is *irrelevant, not to say nonsensical*. The proper form and the practical meaning to be conveyed is this : ' It is true that, *as your feelings then stood*, your conduct resulted as it did. . . . But I now punish you, or threaten you, or admonish you, in order that an *antecedent motive* may enter into your mind, as counteractive to your mind, spirit, or temper on another occasion ; seeing that (acting as you did) you were plainly in want of a *motive*. I am determined that your conduct shall be reformed ; and therefore, every time that you make such a lapse, I will supply more and stronger *motives in favour of what is your duty*.'¹

So when a child commits a breach of discipline his conduct follows the uniformity of his being. Then the teacher will necessarily correct or abstain from correcting the child according to the uniformity of his own being. If he administers correction, the child, having got a new

¹ Quoted as italicised by Dr. Ward, *The Philosophy of Theism*, vol. ii., p. 79.

element among the antecedents to his volition, will necessarily reform his conduct ; and if he fails to administer correction, the child will necessarily continue the breaches of discipline.

Mr. Spencer thinks that the illusion of freewill ' consists in supposing that at each moment the *ego* is something more than the aggregate of feelings and ideas, actual and nascent, which then exists.' And he adds :—

To reduce the general question to its simplest form : psychical changes either conform to law or they do not. If they do not conform to law, this work, in common with all works on the subject, is sheer nonsense : no science of psychology is possible. If they do conform to law, there cannot be any such thing as freewill.¹

The philosophers and scientists of the agnostic-evolution movement are unanimous in rejecting the doctrine of Freewill. They cannot, they say, permit a break in the continuity of the process of nature. And as the movements of the inanimate world, and the vegetable and sentient activities of the vegetable and sentient kingdoms are admitted to be governed and determined by natural law, they conclude that the volitions of man cannot constitute an exception, that they, too, are subject to rigid Determinism by the laws of nature.

II.

So far I have been attempting to present a statement of the teaching of the Churches of the Reformation and of the principal modern non-Catholic philosophical schools on the question of the *existence* of Freewill. It is truly astonishing that such a multitude of Christians and of eminent philosophers and scientists should deny or question Freewill. And it is not less astonishing that those same religious bodies and philosophical schools should still seem to regard themselves as the great apostles of freedom, and denounce the Catholic Church as the irreconcilable foe of liberty. Yet the Catholic Church has always advocated and de-

¹ *Psychology*, vol. i., p. 500.

fended the doctrine of the *existence* of Freewill and its necessity for moral responsibility.

She solemnly defined the existence of Freewill and condemned the Determinist errors of the Reformers in the Council of Trent. Later, she condemned the teaching of Jansenius : that for merit or demerit in the present state of fallen nature liberty from external compulsion is sufficient. She would say to men in reference to the Christian religion : Even when the motives for accepting Christian revelation have been fully and convincingly proposed to you, and assuming also the divine supernatural motion, you have the power of accepting the divine revelation and you have the power of rejecting it. She would say, in reference to the Catholic Church : When the motives for submitting to the Catholic Church have been fully proposed to you and are approved by you, and assuming the divine supernatural motion, even then you have the power of submitting to the Church, and you have the power of determining to remain outside the fold. She would say, in reference to ecclesiastical precepts : With the aid of divine grace you have the power to go to Mass on Sundays and holidays, to frequent the Sacraments, to fast and abstain when commanded, etc., and you have the power to transgress all these commandments. She would say, in reference to the civil order : Governments have the power to make good laws and to govern for the well-being of their subjects, or to adopt a system of mis-government ; and citizens have the power to be loyal or disloyal subjects. She would say, in reference to the economic order : Assuming in a country the requisite economic conditions for success you can determine by your intelligence, industry, perseverance and sobriety, to create for yourselves wealth and prosperity ; and you have the power of determining on a life of intemperance, idleness, squalor and misery.

The existence of moral responsibility, of right and wrong, she would say, postulates the existence of Freewill. She would say to the Pantheists and Mechanical Determinists : We cannot impute moral responsibility to the ocean, nor censure it for its storms and the shipwrecks it causes ;

we cannot blame the volcanic mountain for streaming forth its lava and desolating the country side ; we cannot blame the rain, nor the snow, nor the cold ; we cannot predicate morality or immorality of the vegetable or animal kingdom. But in your theory every human act is as physically predetermined by the laws of nature, as is the storm of the ocean or the earthquake or the volcano. And consequently men cannot be held to be morally responsible for their acts. And she would say to the Idealist Determinists : No doubt you concede that our volitions are spontaneous and voluntary, and that they are free from external compulsion. But every volition follows necessarily and unavoidably from the sum of its group of antecedents. It is God who has preordained this chain of antecedents. We cannot hold man accountable for an act which follows necessarily from a chain of causes preordained by the Almighty. And though you ascribe man's condemnation to his own sin, this can only be the proximate cause ; and God Himself who, in your doctrine, preordains the causes that lead necessarily to sin, and denies to the reprobate sinner the means of repentance, must be accounted the real though remote author of both sin and reprobation.

III.

But now the positions are changed. The Churches of the Reformation and the non-Catholic philosophical Schools deny *the existence* of Freewill, and the Catholic Church defined it as a truth of faith. But when it comes to the question of the *lawful use* of liberty, the Catholic Church prescribes many limitations ; and the Churches of the Reformation and the philosophers, who themselves deny the *existence* of liberty and advocate *Determinism*, now declaim against the Church for her unwarrantable hostility to human liberty. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church continues to warn the world and to protest against the abuses of human liberty ; and she can fairly taunt her adversaries with inconsistency and shortsightedness.

I have distinguished already between the *existence* and

the *use* of liberty. The former is sometimes called *philosophical* or *physical liberty* and the latter *moral liberty*; and it is obvious that the Church might define the *existence* of liberty, and condemn certain demands made for the *use* of liberty. The Catholic Church would say to us: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to reject Christianity; but you are not free *morally*, it would be unlawful for you to reject Christianity. She would say to us: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to leave the Catholic Church; but you are not free *morally*, you cannot within grave sin leave the Church established by Christ. She would say: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to disregard the commandments of God and of His Church; but you are not free *morally*, you cannot do so without sin. She would say to governments: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to misgovern your people; but you are not free *morally*, it would be unlawful to do so. She would say to the citizens: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to be disloyal subjects; but you are not free *morally*, for disloyalty is sinful. She would say to men, in whatever station in life: You are free *physically*, you have the power, to select between good and evil; but you are not free *morally*, it is sinful and unlawful to select evil.

Finally, the Church can say to her adversaries that in censuring her for the limits she sets to human liberty they are acting inconsistently with their philosophical principles. She can say to the Mechanical Determinists: According to your philosophy all the acts of man are inflexibly determined by the laws of nature, all things follow from the decree of God, as Spinoza says, by the same necessity with which it follows from the essence of a triangle that its three angles are equal to two right angles; why, then, do you blame the Head of the Church and arraign him as tyrannous and intolerant when he condemns false doctrines and reprobates immoral practices? Are not all his actions, according to your philosophy, mechanically determined by the processes of that nature to which you offer unlimited testimonies of admiration?

And she can say to the Idealist Determinists: According to your doctrine every action follows of necessity a particular group of antecedents; and the various groups of antecedents have been preordained by divine decree from eternity. Why, then, do you condemn Papal decrees and definitions? Are they not the necessary term of a chain of causes preordained by God? Have they not, then, God as their author?

It is Tertullian who says that the idea of God is ineradicable. I think we may say the same of Freewill. And all these condemnations of the Catholic Church are so many eloquent testimonies that even the most aggressive Determinists cannot extricate themselves from practical belief in Freewill, from the belief that Church authorities might have determined to act otherwise.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

[To be continued.]

FASHIONABLE DEVOTION AND THE NOBLER SIDE OF CHRISTIANITY

IN a former article I stated, or insinuated, some reasons which make it expedient that prompt action should be taken with a view to remedying existing abuses and preventing their further development—for in the matter of religious perversion to live is to grow. I shall here concern myself with the consideration of one ground of urgency : a reason identified with the good rather of the individual than of the body corporate of the Church. For all this exuberance of devotion-run-riot is God-given energy misdirected or misapplied ; energy which, if rightly used, would mean much for God's honour and the soul's sanctification.

It is a little exasperating, the tenacity with which so many of our pious people hug false or distorted ideals, and the seemingly absolute good faith with which they pursue what is perilously like a shadow, mistaking it for a grand reality. It cannot be a far cry to a crisis when a candle lighted at a shrine—I speak no fiction here—is beginning to be considered a not unworthy substitute for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass ; nor does it remove the crisis one inch further off that a temporal favour—obtained as the result, perhaps, of a novena—is looked upon as something like earnest of a glorious resurrection.

It would be unfair to deny that our devotees pray for spiritual benefits, too. But have we here the same energy, the same earnestness, or the same insistence ? Are not the spiritual requests sometimes thrown in, rather for purposes of self-deception, and to keep up appearances, as it were, before the court of heaven ? I am afraid I could describe this kind of prayer with a fair degree of accuracy by referring to the letter of the school-boy, who wanted some pocket money and wrote home to inquire most solicitously about the health of all his kinsfolk, relegating the great motive of his writing to a postscript.

This half-ingenious device, and also some other characteristics of the manner of prayer used at certain devotional altitudes, are not too unfairly portrayed in an enclosure which has been sent me rather recently, as a reward, I suppose, for my evidence of interest in this matter. It is entitled, 'The Fashionable Lady's Prayer.' I am not prepared to state that it has ever been in circulation as a form of prayer to be seriously made use of; but I leave it to my readers to say whether it is altogether a libel or a caricature:—

. . . Give me, O Lord, I pray Thee, an humble heart, and a new green silk dress with point-lace trimmings. Let me not be fond of this vain and deceitful world, like other women. . . . Bless my children, and please send them a good nurse, for I have neither the time nor the inclination to look after them myself. And now, O Lord, take care of me while I sleep and pray keep watch over my diamonds. Amen.

The noblest definition of practical Christianity ever penned is that of the Lesser St. James¹: 'Religion clean and undefiled before God and the Father is this: to visit the fatherless and the widows in their tribulation, and to keep oneself unspotted from this world.' It is a prose rendering of the warning words of his Divine Master to the disciples: 'Be your loins girt and your lamps lighted,' words which, on the authority of St. Gregory, give the sum of Christian ethics as charity and self-denial.

Charity and self-denial! Strange words, verily, in the ears of the world of to-day; words whose sound is not very welcome, I make bold to say, in the world of fashionable devotion.

Philanthropy is, I admit, a word which is very much in evidence; but there is scarcely a word in the language which has so effectively succeeded in breaking away from its native meaning. The dictionaries give it as 'love of mankind,' but the philanthropists reduce mankind to one individual, and who he is we know. What is philanthropy, as we see it? It is just self-advertisement reduced to a

¹ Ep. i. 27.

fine art, and masquerading under the sacred name of Christian charity. Every day that passes, fame, and honour, and title, and place, and power, are commodities bought and sold in the public markets, all under the hallowed ægis of philanthropy. Apart from religion, the love of the rich for the poor is a name for something that is not, while the love of the poor for the rich has not the reality even of a name.

And within the household of the faith, and amongst the favoured children of the household, does charity rule, as it is meet she should, queen of the virtues, in thought and word and deed?

Charity in deed—how shall we measure it? To do good to the souls of our brethren is, I take it, the highest form of Christian charity, and its readiest expression is prayer. Yet I surely cannot be accused of making a very intemperate statement when I say that it is quite possible there are amongst us many devout souls that fail to fulfil this elementary Christian duty. They have their likes and dislikes in a very marked degree, and they do not try very hard to control their temper, even when they go on their knees. We are not under obligation to exchange words with everybody, but we are bound to extend to all the charity of our prayers; and in a special way are we bound to pray for those whom we are tempted to hate: ‘Pray for those that persecute and cumber thee.’ This is a duty of the highest order of importance, since it is founded on the greatest of the Christian virtues—do we all discharge it faithfully? It would be well if, when we go on our knees, we had before our minds the solemn words of our Divine Lord: ‘If thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there remember that thy brother hath anything against thee; leave thy offering before the altar, and go first to be reconciled to thy brother; then coming thou shalt offer thy gift.’

I am afraid, however, that even this warning would not remedy the evil I refer to; for, of course, and more especially if we are very devout, it is we who have the grievance against our brother and not our brother against

us. And so, with easy minds, we tithe the mint, and anise, and cummin, and leave unfulfilled the weightier things of the law.

Let me now consider for a moment charity of deed, in its relation to the temporal necessities of the poor. At first sight, pious people seem to have an unblemished record in this respect. At first sight—yes; but to give alms to the poor is not necessarily an exercise of the virtue of Christian charity. We are reminded of this by no less an authority than St. Paul: ‘If I should deliver all my goods to feed the poor, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.’ The public funds to which we contribute help to support a good many benevolent institutions, and, therefore, the paying of taxes may be made an act of true charity. But with us in Ireland, Christian charity and taxes are words in meaning far as the poles asunder. The tax-gatherer holds his warrant ultimately from a Government which we have very little reason, as Irishmen, to love: he is therefore not a very welcome visitor. Then we pay so much for which we get no return, that if we pay at all we pay grudgingly; and it is only the cheerful giver that God will love. From a Christian point of view, it is a great pity that this is so, that we so often and so thoroughly spoil our chance of winning an eternal reward. It is folly, but folly which is to a great extent excusable—and it is folly which preaching cannot cure.

And what of our voluntary contributions? Here we are the masters, we control the giving and can have our voice in the spending—do we cast our bread upon the running waters, or drop it into a stagnant pool?

Truly divine, bespeaking a thorough comprehension of the littleness of our nature and its insatiable thirst for praise, are the saving words of our Blessed Lord: ‘When thou dost an alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth; that thy alms may be in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee.’

‘Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth.’ Saints or sinners, monthly communicants, weekly communicants, or daily communicants, how many of us

can say that we follow the model thus set for us upon the Mount? Can any honest thinkers flatter themselves with the belief that we are not all slowly but surely becoming identified with the types bodied forth in the words: 'When thou dost an alms-deed, sound not a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may be honoured by men.'

Every modern effort of charity must be advertised, and no contributions for any purpose have attained their full dimensions until they are incorporated in a published subscription list. I confess that I always feel something like a sense of relief when I come across an anonymous contributor. I likewise plead guilty to the accusation that oftentimes when I read a list of subscriptions in a newspaper, the memory will force itself upon me of the words of the great Rewarder and Judge: 'Amen I say to you, they have received their reward.'

Let me here bring under the attention of my readers two very important principles of Christian ethics. The first, which is almost a postulate, states that the character of an action is determined for good or evil by its motive. The other, though not so universally admitted, is, I believe, equally true—namely, that any base motive, no matter how insignificant in itself, or how secondary as a force, mars the whole character of an action, and, therefore, makes supernatural reward impossible. Be the principal purpose of that contribution of yours the most sacred that can be named; if vanity enter in as a secondary motive of the giving, the noble is degraded and the pure defiled. The little leaven leavens the whole mass, and the action is no longer, in the sight of heaven, a sacred act of charity, but a sin of petty vanity.

Viewed in the light of these principles, it is fairly evident that newspaper advertisement has blighted, and is bound to blight, many of the fairest blossomings of Christian charity. Publication has nowadays become such a recognised sequel to every external work of charity, that it is very often a motive peeping out from the background of our intention; with the inevitable result that

our chief purpose, however noble and immaculate in itself, becomes fatally fouled by the contact.

Nor is this evil merely co-extensive with newspaper advertisement; it is gradually penetrating, and seems destined to penetrate more searchingly, into the lanes and byeways of charity. There is a publicity which is narrower than that of a printed advertisement, but which can be equally destructive of purity of purpose, and of founded hope of eternal recompense. The trumpeting of charity, with varying degrees of loudness, is the fashion—and fashion is a tyrant. And just as those who begin by receiving charity quite reluctantly and with a blush of shame, soon grow, by force of habit, into the callousness of shameless asking; so too, many, who begin to give by stealth, end, through force of environment, by being slow to give at all without some faint flourish of trumpets.

What has all this got to do with fashionable devotion? you will say. Very much, I answer. For, unfortunately, the mischief is more thorough than might appear—it affects not merely the head of the household, but all the other members as well. These latter are often doubly losers: they fail to be partakers in the blessedness of giving, perhaps, because, by a positive act, they do not share in the sacred willingness to give; while it only too often happens that the fatal leaven of vanity does its deadly work in them all.

The other day I came across a rather true, and very pregnant sentence of Mr. Bart Kennedy. He speaks with the weight of experience and the force of sympathy, when discussing the question of what he anathematizes as organised charity:—

When the rich help the poor there is always a sting in the gift. But the poor help the poor as Christ intended.

The first part of the statement has a significance deeper even than the writer intended. For as surely as there is a sting in the gift so surely is the giver stung before the gift is given. And while the poison of the sting, in as far as it affects the recipient, may pass,

the poison injected into the giver by his own action lasts unto eternity. True Christian charity is, after all, the only charity that is kind. It alone is the mercy which 'blesseth him that gives and him that takes.' But, can the devotion of fashion always believe that it possesses this attribute and yet not deceive itself?

There is a charity called Christian which is willing to publicly open its purse for any benevolent purpose, but refuses to soil its skirts by contact with an earthen floor. And there is a higher degree of this virtue, not unknown to us here in Ireland, which is not at all unwilling to hold stately converse with poverty, but disdains to exchange courtesies with those benighted mortals who hold a place in the social scale a few degrees lower than itself—except indeed they can lay claim to the redeeming grace of an alien faith.

Of the charity of speech in its relation to some phases of modern piety, I feel half-reluctant to speak at all, lest I may speak too strongly. Let my excuse be pressure of conviction and honesty, that is, charity, of purpose.

I think I am safe in saying that charity in speech is not of the essence of fashionable devotion. This latter is often a confirmed gossip; prone to speak at random, to speak needlessly, and to speak bitinglly. There are two classes of secrets which tax it very much to keep—the secret of its own virtues, and the secret of its neighbours' faults. It does not always succeed in letting well alone—it has the unhappy knack, often without meaning any harm possibly, of reopening old wounds and creating new ones. By random shots of gossip it only too frequently succeeds in killing friendly intercourse between brethren, and in wounding friendly feeling.

It does not change its spots on the Sundays or Festivals. Fresh even from the Sacred Eucharistic Banquet, wending its pious way from the church door to its own breakfast table, it can sometimes be seen to bite and wound as unconcernedly as though such a solemn event as a Holy Communion had never hallowed the circle of its life.

Speaking generally, in practice it often admits only

nine Commandments in their fulness. The eighth precept is recognised only in so far as it puts a ban on plain, unvarnished lying, and on calumny of the first degree. Its full observance necessitates a degree of self-repression which would be too great a curb on the iniquities of a petty tongue, and the kindred iniquities of a little mind.

And its thoughts? They often compass all the littleness of its words, and more beside. They can be unkind, unjust, and envious. The old principle, 'Evil is to be proved, but not presumed,' it finds it more congenial to read backwards. More likely than not, some unworthy motive lurks behind every action of its neighbour which pales the effulgence of its own bright shining. Seriously to wish ill, it is afraid; honestly to wish well, it is often unwilling. If the evil which actually comes upon another is very serious, to rejoice of course it dare not; if the evil is only slight, it sometimes does not scruple to be glad; salving its conscience with the afterthought that crosses will do people good. Where there is question of another's success, its code of morals is even more elastic. Whether the measure of such success be small or great, it is inclined to consider another's gain its own peculiar loss, and to be sorry accordingly.

It is possible to hold in respect the religious selfishness of an olden time, which prayed for grace and salvation both earnestly and long, covered itself with sackcloth and ashes, and used the discipline even unto blood—but had neither the inclination nor the wisdom to put forth a helping hand to its brethren. But its latter-day substitute, which struts about with an open Manual of Piety in one hand and a lighted candle in the other, self-constituted by right divine a *censor morum*, ever seeing the mote in another's eye and never seeing the beam in its own,—it is absolutely provoking: it is depressing—for who is there that can minister to a mind so diseased?

It considers itself mortified in body because it drinks nothing more hurtful than strong tea. But it has no stomach for the fasts of the Church. Whenever possible,

and in every way possible, it tries to avoid them, and accordingly finds dispensations wonderfully convenient. It has always, of course, a cause at hand—generally, let us presume, really sufficient, sometimes, may I dare to say it, honestly exaggerated and thereby endowed with the quality of sufficiency. If it must fast, then it must, and does—grudgingly. It makes everybody around it aware and feel that there is a heroic work of penance in progress. On a fast day the sands of the hour-glass run slowly out, and its temper is proportionately the quicker. It has naturally a sharper appetite, and not unnaturally a sharper tongue; and all day long it bears on its face the clear impress of a grievance. To sum up its attitude: it has the interest of the bond-slave, but not the love of the child. It is afraid altogether to shirk the cross, but not generous enough to shoulder it bravely for Christ's sake. And it fails to hear the divine words spoken on the Mount, as they are breathed into its ear in an angel's whisper:—

When you fast, be not as the hypocrites, sad. For they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Amen, I say to you, they have received their reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thy head and wash thy face; that thou appear not to men to fast, but to thy Father who is in secret; and thy Father, who seeth in secret, will repay thee.

The church, of course, is its inheritance, and it reigns there. Nor does it fail to exercise, on occasion, some of the privileges of sovereignty, as, for example, a quiet chat, or a quiet laugh, or some other little amusement of this kind. Its entry into God's house is not unfrequently characteristic. If there happen to be poor folk at the holy water stoup before it, it has an objection to participate in the initial ceremony. If its devotion is not thus impeded, it dips its fingers daintily, and then proceeds to make some lightning passes before its face, which it persists in calling the sign of the cross. Having entered the church, and made a reverence which often partakes of the character of a genuflection, it selects a seat. It frets mightily if there be dust around;

not precisely because such a thing is out of place in the Holy of Holies, but because dust does not look well on one's dress. During the service—especially if it be Sunday Mass—it sometimes manages to keep one eye on its prayer book and one on its brethren in front. All its vocal organs are charged with suppressed devotion—with the limitations I have already mentioned—and yet, when Mass is over, it can tell with perfect accuracy the minutest details of dress which characterized every well dressed woman that knelt between it and the altar. Might I add that dress and fashion sometimes supply it, even in the church, with matter for unkindly thoughts, and, on its way home, with matter for unkindly words.

This modern self-denial, though humble and devout, is mostly gifted with views. The character of such views is somewhat typified in the novels written by fourth-rate female scribblers, in which the hero and heroine are saints of the first order, while all who differ from, or oppose, them, are villains in the same degree. In other words, all its views are strong convictions, almost articles of faith. Theoretically, it admits such mental conditions as suspicion, surmise, and opinion; but within its mind's practical horizon, these states, as ordinarily defined, have no place. Not being by nature very logical, it forgets that a conclusion cannot be wider or stronger than its premises. In fact, it sometimes reverses this principle, for it may happen that the strength of its conviction bears something like a proportion to the weakness of the evidence which supports it, more especially if a neighbour's character is at stake.

And the number of its views is beyond counting. Being a little learned, it is not at all anxious to plead ignorance, above all in matters of religion. It considers itself to have come very near to the fulness of spiritual knowledge, if it ever has had the misfortune—I beg pardon, good fortune—to have put a difficulty in faith or morals to a priest, which he was unable, on the spur of the moment, to answer.

By the way, it has views about the clergy too, not

excluding even the bishop of the diocese. It is sometimes of opinion that, were it the bishop, its appointments would be more happy, and its removals less arbitrary. The parish priest often gets on its nerves too. He can't keep his church properly; he can't succeed in bringing together a decent choir, and won't go to the trouble of getting church music that will attract and not repel; he is unhappy in his choice of subjects for preaching, as well as in the manner of his address; and of course, he will not listen to a word of advice. Lastly, there is that poor young curate, so full of zeal to be sure, but so uncultivated, you know. He does not know even how to walk, or how to trim his hair. He has not tact enough to manage a sodality, and has such a knack of 'tripping at every hand's turn.' He is a mass of zeal, but a bundle of indiscretions. And even he will not brook friendly correction. Is it not really too bad?

Might I humbly venture a remark, in the presence of such exalted sanctity and such profound wisdom? It is just possible, you know, that those whose chief business in life is to work for the salvation of souls, and who presumably have been called to that high office, and have, therefore, received grace sufficient for its proper discharge—it is just possible, I repeat, that they know their business a little better than those whose chief business ought to be to save their own souls, and who are not called by God to be the critics or advisers of their spiritual guides. And may I make a further suggestion which might serve, in any event, as a sedative in all such cases of disappointment and anxiety? It is just a hint thrown out by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews: 'Obey your prelates, and be subject to them. For they watch, as being to render an account of your souls.' Yes, if the bishop, and parish priest, and the curate, are guilty of faults or mistakes or indiscretions, in the discharge of their pastoral office, it is they, and not you, that shall have to render the account.

Fashionable devotion naturally considers that it requires very special spiritual direction—as it certainly does

—and is at great pains to select a suitable confessor. In the cities and large towns, where the opportunities of choosing are manifold, this work of selection is a very delicate and laborious one, whose process is necessarily very slow. Perhaps, at last, it finds a director to its liking and is at rest, at any rate for a period; or, it may be, that all have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. In the event of such a calamity, nothing remains to be done but to tolerate a few, in turn. But whether its direction is in the hands of one or in the hands of many, it not unfrequently happens that though the confessor is nominally the guide, the real direction comes from the other side of the screen.

A willing, unquestioning obedience is, of course, the highest form of self-denial. Even fashionable devotion is quite prepared to make this admission. And it is likewise quite ready to render the homage of cheerful obedience to all rules and regulations whatsoever—provided it is allowed to make, or apply, or interpret them itself. It gives its whole-hearted approval to the law which puts under a ban the reading of literature, whether openly indecent or moderately suggestive. But, since suggestion can injure only those who are still weaklings in grace, and have not yet attained to a position of stable equilibrium, it has very little scruple in reading books of the latter kind: being honestly convinced that for it, moderate suggestion is absolutely harmless.

In the matter of books directed against faith, it allows itself even a larger license. It forgets that faith is not a birthright, but a gift which may be lost. And even though it may not suffer shipwreck, it may suffer injury. Its sight may be dimmed and its hearing deafened, with consequent multiplied danger to the best interests of the soul. And thus it comes to pass, that no matter how hostile to religion or to its ministers, no matter how scurrilously abusive, no matter how insidiously misleading such a book may be, it is scarcely ever considered forbidden fruit by your fashionable devotee. Nay, fashionable devotion has been known, within a rather recent date,

to sit under the pulpit listening, with pious ears and humble demeanour, to a preacher thundering against such a book as I have been describing, and then straightway betake itself to the nearest book-stall, to see what manner of monster this book might be, which could work such mighty havoc in souls of little faith,

Sometimes it betrays itself utterly. Happen upon it, when, just in the wake of its morning devotions, comes the pattering of rain on the window panes, destroying the hope of a day's outing on which it had set its heart. Put its petty, mutinous mutterings side by side with the noble words of self-renunciation coming from the aged lips of that poor, unlettered woman on the mountain side, as she looks out from her cottage door upon the self-same downpour, which is extinguishing for her the last faint hope of a living harvest return. Then say, which is more worthy of reverence and of imitation, which is the more worthy of the Cross and of the Resurrection, the self-denial of self-deception, or the self-denial of faith.

Modern fashionable devotion, contrasted with the nobler side of Christianity, exhibits the two characteristics of unreality and pettiness. Like the disciples on the way to Emmaus it often perhaps thinks and speaks of Christ, but in a petty way: and therefore its eyes are holden. It sometimes recognises Him more fully, that is, His teaching and His spirit, in the breaking of Bread; but this virtue does not abide with it. And the domestic mischief that is being done is best illustrated by the words of Christ Himself in His great sermon to the multitude:—

Not everyone that saith to Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of My Father who is in heaven, he shall enter into the kingdom of heaven. . . . Everyone that heareth these My words and doth them not, shall be like to a foolish man that built his house upon the sand.

Did fashionable devotion concern itself less about the many things and more about the One thing; would it likewise remember that the Crucifix and the Tabernacle are placed in the centre of the sanctuary, that they

suggest the chief subjects of Christian meditation, and the true centre of Christian worship ; it would, perhaps, savour more of the publican and less of the pharisee ; there would thus be more ground for hope, and less need for a ' devil's advocate.'

I have said nothing which any Catholic, whether priest or layman, who has the interests of religion at heart, and who has eyes to see and ears to hear, with a mind to understand, will not admit as true. All that I have said has been uttered simply by way of friendly remonstrance, and in the hope of doing some good ; if I have spoken strongly, it has been quite beside my purpose to adopt a tone of censure. Were I inclined to throw a stone at all, I think I should direct my aim towards a different target, one set in a higher plane. For, real and lasting reform means that piety put on a larger mind, a greater soul ; and a necessary prelude to such renovation is that it fix its gaze on larger and higher ideals. It surely follows, that, the teachers in Israel, the informers of youthful mind and the moulders of youthful character, must make up their minds to a reformation in their methods.

A last word, and—happily—a tribute : if you will, a moral. Not only do our Catholic folk of the hill-sides reign far above the common herd, in grandeur of Christian faith, and patient, quiet resignation, and smiling self-denial ; I do believe, moreover, with a faith in which many share, that the home of the sweetest, kindest, most self-forgetting charity upon earth, is beyond the doors of the rustic cabins of Ireland.

D. DINNEEN.

DANTE ON TEMPERANCE

(Purgatorio, XXIV. 145-154.)

WHEN Dante, with Virgil and Statius, was passing from the Sixth Circle of Purgatory, in which the sin of gluttony is punished, he met an Angel shining with surpassing splendour, who pointed out the way to the next Circle. Then a gentle breeze blew upon his face, and he felt the flapping of the Angel's wings, which shed around a perfume as of early summer flowers. This passage is understood to represent the serene enjoyment of those who lead a temperate life, and may be considered not inappropriate to the coming season of Lent.

E quale, annunziatrice degli albori,
 L'aura di maggio muovesi ed olezza,
 Tutta impregnata dall'erba e da fiori ;
 Tal mi senti' un vento dar per mezza
 La fronte, e ben senti' mover la piuma,
 Che fe' sentire d'ambrosia l'orezza.
 E senti' dir : ' Beati cui alluma
 ' Tanto di grazia, che l'amor del gusto
 ' Nel petto lor troppo disir non fuma,
 Esuriendo sempre quanto è giusto.'

And as, the harbinger of morning dawn,
 The air of May comes up and fragrance breathes,
 All laden with the scent of herbs and flowers ;
 E'en such a breeze I felt upon my brow,
 And well I felt the waving of the plumes,
 Which shed ambrosial odours all around ;
 And heard the words : ' Blessed are they whom grace
 ' Doth so illumine that the sense of taste
 ' Kindles within them no undue desire,
 ' Hungering always as much as is just.'

GERALD MOLLOY.

‘IRISH LEXICOGRAPHY: A REPLY’ (!)

WHAT purports to be a ‘Reply’ to the concluding portion of an article which recently appeared in these pages,¹ has been given to the world. It is at once a curiosity and a marvel. The vituperation with which it is burdened I pass by. The residue, so far as it may be regarded as a reply, is a tissue of evasions and unsupported assertions, occasionally reinforced by bluster. We are told that it is the work of a single afternoon. I have no intention of wasting half an afternoon upon it. A ‘Reply’ which is such an utter fiasco, I should not notice at all, only that it may serve a useful purpose to expose the writer’s tactics, albeit very briefly and inadequately, and show how essentially dishonest they are.

In the second and subsequent paragraphs (page 121) a childish and petulant complaint is made. In my article some account was given of the genesis of the Dictionary. This account was not based on the ‘Council’s Preface,’ and did not claim to be. The information on which it was founded was obtained from various sources and on different occasions, many of them far apart, between the inception of the undertaking and its completion. It was in part gleaned from Circulars and Reports, in part from correspondence or conversation with various persons associated more or less intimately with the enterprise. The gist of this information I set down, as a matter of public interest, as clearly and accurately as I could. If my account does not square with the ‘Council’s Preface,’ I fail to see how that affects me. I am not responsible for the document in question.

I pass from this point. Notwithstanding his rage, real or simulated, and despite certain passages obviously designed to foster a contrary impression, the writer of the

¹ I. E. RECORD, December, 1904, and January, 1905. The ‘Reply’ appears in the issue for February, 1905.

'Reply' by no means selected his materials at random: there is method in their selection. Though he has written an article almost as long as that to which he affects to reply, he prudently passes by in silence all the more important and damaging criticisms on the Dictionary. He selected, *at random*, a number of points which, though by no means unimportant, are certainly of minor importance; and he evidently made his selection with a keen eye to the requirements of his special brand of dialectic,—alighting, *by chance*, on such points as promised to lend themselves readily to a policy of bluff and gratuitous assertion, and to evasion of the real issues. The leading features of his tactics are obvious enough, nor is there anything very complex about them. If a word is not found in the Dictionary, roundly deny that there is any such word; say nothing at all, when everyone happens to know that there is such a word; or say, in fine, that the slip containing it has disappeared, hinting mildly that you have an action-at-law against some person or persons unknown. If a variant is not in its proper place, proclaim in a voice of thunder that it is a 'gross corruption,' or a 'mere misspelling;' or bluster along through half a paragraph, and when you think the real point of the discussion is sufficiently obscured, then clinch the matter once for all by shouting aloud that if it is not there, it is somewhere else, or if not somewhere else, then something else is either there or elsewhere; and so on. Never forget, however, for it is a cardinal feature of the tactics, that it is of prime importance to keep up a vigorous and sustained fusilade of personal abuse against the other side. *Viola tout!*

These tactics, so reputable, are so much and so constantly in evidence in the 'Reply,' that, for those capable of following the discussion, it were the veriest work of supererogation to give examples. They practically constitute the writer's entire stock-in-trade.

In the second paragraph on page 7, will be found a gem of the new dialectic. It had been pointed out that *sean gáipe* had been insufficiently, and probably wrongly, explained. *Faeteasó gáipe* was referred to in connection

therewith for the sake of illustration ; and it was then incidentally remarked that the latter was not given in the Dictionary—the meaning being, of course, that it was not in its proper place. How is this dealt with ? The main point is glossed over. Carried away by a wave of righteous indignation, the writer relegates ζεαν ζάιηε and the question affecting it to the shades ; and paying no further attention to the principal, he thenceforth concentrates all his attention upon the accessory. He triumphantly proves that if the incriminated phrase is not in its proper place, or even in the Dictionary, two variants, or ‘gross corruptions,’ or ‘misspellings’ thereof, are somewhere or other to be found therein. Here we have the new dialectic characteristically exemplified. There need be very little misgiving as to how tactics of this kind ought to be characterized.

As to his attempt to prove that Coneys is wrong in explaining ραεεαδ ζάιηε, suffice it to say that it is as unsuccessful as it is ludicrous, and will doubtless occasion many a ραεεαδ ζάιηε in its own good time.

The last paragraph on page 131 is worthy of more than average attention. Here the new tactics are seen in operation to very great advantage. In this instance it is sought to carry the position by sheer bluff, by vehemence and stridency of asseveration. Peter O’Connell, I have no doubt, knew what ελαδαρ meant. Does he equate ελαβαρ therewith ? The writer of the ‘Reply’ does not furnish a clear answer, though he seems to suggest a negative answer : ‘the form ελαδαρ is given by Peter O’Connell.’ Whatever Peter O’Connell may have thought, the writer of the ‘Reply’ has no misgivings : ελαβαρ and ελαδαρ for him mean, beyond all question, one and the same thing. I know nothing of the meaning of ελαδαρ, except in so far as I have been indirectly enlightened by Peter O’Connell, for I cannot remember that I have heard it used, or that I have hitherto met it. There are some few things, however, that I do know. I know that in Δη Βυαιεαρ, as pointed out in my article, as well as elsewhere, ελαβρα or ελαβαρ is explained to mean ‘a mantel-piece.’ I know, furthermore, that Irish

speakers from Kerry have more than once told me the Irish of 'clevy' was clabap or clabpa. I know likewise that, although in West Munster both words would be pronounced alike or nearly so, in the Uéire no one ever pronounced clonn as colamán (columán) is pronounced, and that it would be utterly impossible to confound them, or mistake one for the other: hence my doubt of their affinity. I know, in fine, that in the Uéire (certainly in the Eastern portion) clonn, as I have heard it used, is not 'an essential part of the building,' and does not mean 'the cross-beam that supports the chimney breast;' that its relationship to the cross-beam is just the same as the relationship of the ridge-board thereto, namely, that both are above it, altogether not at equal distances; but that it certainly is applied indifferently to 'a mantel-piece' and to a 'clevy' or primitive overmantel. An nua atá tú a loig, geóba tú iriú ar a gclonn é le hair an coinneópa ar goipe uirt.

'As stated by the reviewer, however, clabap is not in its place, the slip containing it having dropped out accidentally' (page 131). What a dreadfully commonplace explanation! It is a matter for genuine regret that it was not ruled out as a 'misspelling,' or as a 'gross corruption'; for as fabairt is a misspelling of faḡairt or faḡairt (page 136), though manifestly faobairt, because included in the Dictionary, is not, why may not clabap be a 'misspelling,' or a 'gross corruption' of clabap. No doubt, 'See clabap' constituted an obstacle,—a very trivial one, however.

So it is of no importance, we are left to infer, whether méao (méao) is masculine or feminine or both. In the compilation of a dictionary, at all events, it ought to be a matter of prime importance. I have shown that historically it is feminine; that away down through the whole range of Irish literature it is usually feminine, although, apparantly at least, it is not invariably so. In the spoken-language, too, it is sometimes feminine, as the writer of the 'Reply' now grudgingly admits, although seemingly he has yet much to learn as to the extent to

which his admission is true. But suppose it were established that in the spoken-language it is without exception masculine, is literary usage to count for nothing? Does the Dictionary eschew everything except the spoken-language? If so what becomes of its claim to take account of recent Irish literature? The writer's attitude towards the spoken-language is regulated by the requirements of the moment. The spoken-language becomes a fetish when it suits; but when a change of front is a matter of urgency, then it becomes a mass of 'gross corruptions.'

As to the difference in meaning between *méao* and *méio*, he is not very luminous. As I have already made clear, I am quite well aware of the distinction that has been formulated. My point is that there seems to be no historical warrant for it; and that, so far as it has developed in the spoken-language, the explanations given are not always consistent, any more than is the actual usage. According to the common explanation *méao* means 'size, bulk,' and *méio*, 'number, quantity.' It is quite true that *méao* is the form generally, if not always, used to denote 'size, bulk,' but unquestionably it is not confined to this function. Both in the literature, as I have shown, and in vernacular use, it is frequently employed to denote 'number, quantity.' *Méio*, on the other hand, seems, as far as I have observed, to be rarely, if ever, used where there is question of 'size, bulk.' There seems, then, notwithstanding the theory of distinction, to be some over-lapping.

The writer of the 'Reply' actually waxes funny over the *Western People* list. In doing so he, at one and the same time, exemplifies his peculiar style of dialectic and demonstrates his radical unfitness to deal with local lists of words either scientifically or justly.

According to his own statement, for I have not gone so minutely into the matter, the list contains 251 'words.' [Quotation marks retained.] At the outset he selects from amongst them about a half-dozen words, mostly mimetic. Having disposed of these to his entire satisfaction, he then endeavours by sundry head-shakes to

convey the impression that the others are of a similar character. When he has thus disported himself for a brief space, he next proceeds to deal with a further selection, and whilst so engaged he contrives to make such an utter exhibition of himself as must move the very stones to pity him. One who can see nothing in *τοῖλλρεάν*, *καλαραν*, *εἰλλτεος*, *ῥαῖδαῖρτ*, *ελεαδαῖρ*, *βόριάν*, *αμαῖρ*, etc., but mere misspellings of *τροῖλλρεάν*, *κολράν*, *εἰλτεος*, *ῥαῖδαῖρτ* (*ῥαῖδαῖρτ*), *ερεαδαῖρ*, *βαῖδαῖρ*, etc. [spellings given in the 'Reply' here followed], is utterly and painfully ignorant of the difference between a genuine variant and a mere misspelling (or alternative spelling), and quite as ignorant of the rudiments of the science in which he would pose as a master. The man has yet to be born who could 'misspell' *εἰλτεος* into *εἰλλτεος*, or *ῥαῖδαῖρτ* into *ῥαῖδαῖρτ*. Perhaps, however, this statement is too sweeping, for the writer of the 'Reply' manifestly thinks himself equal to the feat. That *εἰλλτεος*, *ῥαῖδαῖρτ*, etc., existed before anybody either spelled or misspelled them, even the writer of the 'Reply' should nevertheless know: if he does not, it assuredly is not because the knowledge is not sufficiently elementary. Where two words differently spelled are pronounced alike or practically so, the two forms are not, of course, variants in the technical sense; and either spelling must be historically wrong, though phonetically both may serve their purpose equally well. But where the pronunciations are radically different, however much the forms may be allied in sense; where they involve radical difference of vowel sound, or of consonant sound, or of both, to advance the theory of misspelling, or to describe one form as a mere misspelling of the other, is pitiful. *ῥαρ* and *βορ* are real variants presumably, as they are given in the Dictionary; but *μεαῖ* and *ῥμεαῖ* are, according to the new lexicography, mere 'misspellings' of *βεαῖ*. *εἰλλτεος* is, of course, a misspelling of *εἰλτεος*; but *ενοῖαρτ*, *ενοῖαρτ*, *ενοῖαρτ*, are genuine variants, as are also *επόζαῖ*, *επόζαῖ*, *επουαῖ*, *επόζαῖ*, *επουαῖ*, for all are given in the Dictionary, and may sooner or later be found by whoso has patience to force his way

through a lexicographic jungle. Cleabair is a mere misspelling of cneabair; but corcóg, cuirceóg, cruiceóg, cuirceóg, cuirceacóg are all variants, for the hospitality of the Dictionary has been vouchsafed to them. Fadbairt is a misspelling of faḡbairt or faḡbairt; but who will dare assert that faḡbairt, faḡbairt, and faobairt are not variants of the most genuine type, for does not the Dictionary enshrine them? Who can adequately characterise tactics such as these here exposed? Query: When is a variant not a variant? Answer: When the editor of a dictionary does not wish to include it, or, when not having included it for any reason whatever, he is obliged to resort to bluster and subterfuge to escape from an *impasse*. The whole thing is even more pitiful than contemptible. To be detected employing such tactics would cause a blush to suffuse the countenance of the 'Metalman,' hardened old sinner as he is, while attempts so clumsy to bolster up a forlorn cause will, if he should ever become cognisant of them, inevitably occasion him a faeteaḡ ḡáire, or wring from him a veritable rḡbairt ḡáire.

'Other words are given in the Dictionary just as they stand in the list' (page 136). Where? In alphabetical order or under variants or synonyms? We are not told. *As a rule*, a word, for practical purposes, is not in a dictionary, unless it is given in its proper place. There is an essential difference between forms that differ but slightly in their endings, and forms whose initials differ. So also is there a very important difference between words varying slightly in their endings and words whose spellings have scarcely anything in common except that they begin with the same letter. It suits the author of the 'Reply,' however, to ignore the difference. I wrote: 'In some cases, this [not giving words in their proper place], save for consistency, does not matter very much, for the proper place for several of them [words found in the Dictionary under synonyms and variants, but not in alphabetical order] would be immediately before or after the words under which they are found.'¹ It suits the writer of the

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1905, pp. 74-5.

'Reply' to overlook this also. Because, therefore, Murray's *Dictionary* places 'clevy' under 'clevis,' the proper place, forsooth, for *veitgíneac* is under *bolgac*, for *cloðarían* under *finuioe*, for *biopóos* under *rcuol*, for *bioplacán* and *bpeiliúcán* (both genuine variants, and not 'mere misspellings,' or 'gross corruptions,' for they are included in the Dictionary) under *bpeallacán*, etc., etc., etc. Therefore, also, the proper place for *amap* (*amair*), if it had not been ruled out as a 'mere misspelling,' would be under *umap*. Therefore, in fine, the fact that such words, when not sent into exile on some plea or other, may be found somewhere in the Dictionary by students who, when in search of a word, have leisure to read the volume right through, is seriously regarded as a satisfactory arrangement, and as a sufficient reply to one of my criticisms.

Talk of my discoveries. Why they pale in the light of those made by the author of the 'Reply,' or made for him by others, for, at more than one point in the 'Reply' there is unmistakable internal evidence of collaboration. He has actually discovered that there are some misprints in the Vocabulary to the *Trí Sgéalt*, and that I have inadvertently dropped a vowel,—or mayhap it was the printer,—in writing one word in a fairly lengthy list, and omitted an accent in writing another. *Eureka!*

His sneers at the editing of the *Trí Sgéalt* I pass by. The editor of the book can deal with that matter, should he care to do so. It is no affair of mine.

The method pursued by the author of the 'Reply' in dealing with words found in the vocabulary to the *Trí Sgéalt* is neither better nor worse than that elsewhere adopted. As to *tioppaō cpeacailceac*, etc., it should be pointed out that the Vocabulary in which they occur contains no references. Had references been given, I should doubtless have looked them up in the context. I was unable, at the time, to find leisure to read the book through; and that they might be found in the Notes did not occur to me. There are misprints and misprints. These were not obvious misprints. Such forms, to put it

mildly, were not inherently impossible. I found them in the vocabulary of a work prepared for the press and seen through the press by a competent editor. I did not assume, *without proof*, that they were misprints: I assumed them to be variants. Intrinsically as I have said there is nothing to show them to be misprints; and it is only the writer of the 'Reply' who claims to be familiar with every form spoken from Tory to Sgeilg mhíeíl, or even throughout the length and breadth of Munster, and to be able to summarily classify all such forms as genuine words, or variants, or 'gross corruptions,' or 'misspellings,' or misprints.

As to *tioppac* it is certainly not a misspelling of *teapbac*: as well say, allowing for difference of meaning, that *droll* is a misspelling of *drill*. We are told that *tioppac* fairly represents the pronunciation of *teapbac* in Munster. Another of the author's whirling assertions. It does nothing of the kind. That it does in portions of Munster I neither affirm nor deny, for the simple reason that I do not know. But certain it is that there are large tracts of Irish-speaking Munster where *tioppac*, as a variant of *teapbac*, has never been heard, and would not be understood. There are thousands of Munster speakers who use the standard form (assuming that *teapbac* and *tioppac* are variants, and not different words), though many of them shorten it in pronunciation to *teapac*. Here again we have the writer's methods forcibly illustrated. Nothing like a good bold statement, except, when convenient, an equally bold denial.

Pursuing the writer of the 'Reply' in this fashion is becoming somewhat monotonous; but we must follow him yet a little. We are told there is no such word as *báine*. Why? The reason is not made very clear. It may be merely because he says so, or because there is such a word as *báimne*. *A pari*, there is no such word as *uile* because there is such a word as *uile*, and no such word as *gáine* because there is such a word as *gáimne*, and no such word as *cime* because there is such a word as *cimne*.¹ But really this is too silly. I wont

¹ This, though the literary form, is not found in the Dictionary.

trouble myself to contradict him. I will only say that his statement may well be left to be disposed of by the fact that the authenticity of the word is vouched for by Father O'Growney's having used it.

'It would be absolutely ridiculous to insert all diminutives in -ín as leading words' (page 125). *Cúirín* is, therefore, not given as a leading word. Nor is it given at all, though the impression is clearly sought to be conveyed that it is given under *cúior*. Why is it not given? Because, perhaps, it is merely a diminutive of *cúior*. *Fúirín* is, however, merely a diminutive of *féar*, and *beirín* of *bean*, and *béirín* of *béal*; yet they are all given as leading words. *Cuirlín* is merely a diminutive of *cuil*; yet it is given under that word. *Beirteín* is merely a diminutive of *beart*; yet it is given both as a leading word and under *beart*. Perhaps there is room for doubt after all as to why *cúirín* has been treated as an outlander. The editor of the *Trí Sgéala* did not know what it meant, nor, presumably, the collector of the Stories. Of many Irish speakers old and young whom I questioned about it, not one understood it. It would be interesting to know the precise moment at which the writer of the 'Reply' became aware that it was 'merely a diminutive of *cúior*.'

The writer of the 'Reply' ventures to break a lance in defence of his treatment of the word *griogaire*, and needless to say he does not cover himself with glory in his Quixotic enterprise. I ventured to express a doubt as to whether it was accurately or adequately defined; and, instead of unsupported statement, I assigned reasons for doing so. These reasons are sought to be disposed of by a couple of whirling asseverations, which the reader by this time will have learned to value at their proper worth. 'The well-established use' notwithstanding, the question still remains whether it is 'well-established,' or established at all, that the definition given is adequate. Metrical considerations rule out *griogim* and *griugim*, whilst the context from which my extracts were taken, and, as I think quite obvious, the extracts themselves, show the

meanings given to be clearly inadmissible. Perhaps, too, the following, with which he cannot be unacquainted, may awaken a misgiving even in the mind of the writer of the 'Reply'—*Ἰησοῦς ἡγεῖται ἡ ἀγάπη αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ βυρῶ.*¹

The views of the writer of the 'Reply,' as to the value of translations and their originals as an aid towards recovering the meaning of obscure words, are amusing in a very rare degree. To notice them seriously would spoil their humour. One is, however, tempted to ask how much of the meaning of the words, etc., found in the Glosses could have been recovered, or at all events determined with any certainty, without the context of the lemmas. Whatever value translations may have as literature, and their value from this point of view is indeed varied, they form one of the most valuable sources to which the lexicographer can betake himself. The original is there to furnish the key to the meaning of many words and idioms which could not otherwise be explained, or at best only conjecturally. To tap this source means work in abundance. It is much easier to wade through dictionaries, and 'to shovel in to [one's] retort,' if not 'without discrimination or selection,' yet without verification or correction, such materials as lie to one's hand. When the meaning of a word is unknown or doubtful, it is doubtless easier to fix it by a daring conjecture, assisted by the context when there is one, than to resort to the more labourious methods by which such problems are satisfactorily solved.

The man who was recommended for a bank-clerkship, because he possessed 'withering powers of denunciation, combined with the wildest humour,' has long contributed to the gaiety of nations. But what about the translator who when 'reduced to straits for an exact word . . . casts about for *some* substitute rather than leave a blank' ? (page 131). Here surely we have an unconscious bit of autobiography. The writer's soul must, when he indited

¹ O'Rahilly, p. 224.

this, have been harrowed by the memory of his awful wrestlings with a work which he translated 'once upon a time.' There are translations and translations, and so are there translators and translators; and, of a verity, the chasm that yawns between, let us say, the Irish translator of the *Imitation* and the translator who is responsible for *Ḑuan na nḡolag* is sufficient to make the average brain dizzy.

Why waste further time and space upon a 'Reply' which for the ground that it purports to cover is not a reply, and which does not even attempt a reply to most of the criticisms passed upon the Dictionary, especially the most serious of them;—those calling attention to wrong definitions, insufficient definitions, and the absence of well-known leading inflections of words. If abuse and bluster and evasion and shirking the real issues, and calling variants 'misspellings' or 'gross corruptions,' and denying, without a particle of proof or attempted proof, the existence or authenticity of words, were alone requisite for a reply, then indeed were the 'Reply' of the editor of the Dictionary truly crushing. The character of that 'Reply' may be gathered from the specimens already given. In its dealing with other points it is equally ineffective and unconvincing, equally unscrupulous, and characterised in all respects by precisely similar tactics. Lengthy as it is, it takes account, as has been stated, of only a fraction of the criticisms passed upon the Dictionary, that fraction having been carefully selected for reasons sufficiently obvious.

For all we know to the contrary *búir*, for the writer of the Reply, may still mean 'gentle,' and *dicne*(*ad*) equate with *dicme*, and *anam-cáirdeas* not mean 'spiritual direction.' Possibly some person or persons unknown may still 'brandish the battle-staff.' *biopógs*, *veilgínead*, *clabhrán*, etc., may have found their way into their proper places, and *bapópann*, *éapnoct*, *éagcorz*, *oirpéoil*, *riapamail*, *ríitche*, *caillteanar*, etc., etc., into the Dictionary. The system of cross-references may have so righted itself as to leave nothing to be desired.

Ἑσχατῶν, too, may still mean 'unsearchableness;' but we know that about εἰσπάλαι and 'perverse,' the author of the 'Reply' is unable to make up his mind. The treatment of the heteroclitics may have continued to get right by some mysterious and hitherto unknown process. The hundreds of synonyms, variants and 'misspellings,' to be found anywhere and everywhere in the Dictionary, except where they ought to be and could readily be found, may have silently re-arranged themselves. The vast number of words missing from the Dictionary, not words hidden away in 'the monuments of the language that are still locked to everybody' (such words were *expressly excepted*¹), but ordinary words to be found in sources accessible to everybody (in such works, *e.g.*, as O'Reilly and O'Brien and O'Rahilly and Κορμακὺς καὶ Κορναλλί, to mention only a few), may have since made their appearance therein. All this and much more may have been silently effected by the touch of some magician's wand. But how curious soever we may be for information, the author of the 'Reply' leaves us in blank ignorance.

Such then is this famous 'Reply.' Abortive as it is, it is doubtless the best that its author, aided or unaided, could produce. As an attempt to buttress the Dictionary, or to show that my criticisms of it were undeserved, or unduly severe, or other than 'even-handed and just,' it is an arrant and grotesque failure. If the review erred at all it certainly was not in the direction of severity.

I did not offer my services to review the work in question. I had no desire whatever to embark upon such an undertaking, quite the contrary, for I could not have been blind to the fact that if, scorning the office of logroller, I set down my real opinions, I might prepare for the noisy attentions, not only of the editor, but of the coterie whose most substantial interest in life seems to be to exclaim in chorus, as his publications appear, 'Great is Allah, and Mahomet is his prophet.' I undertook a very unwelcome task, only when I had been asked and pressed to do so.

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1905, p. 82.

Having done so, however, I soon became aware that within the limits of 'Book Notices' of the usual character, I could not do justice to the merits, and certainly not to the shortcomings, of the two works entrusted to me for review. I had consequently to undertake an article. In the disjointed fragments of time that I was able to reserve for the purpose, I examined the two works in question as carefully as I could. In my article I said of them exactly what I thought. If unfortunately I should ever again find myself engaged in a similar task I shall, no matter from what source the book or books may come, do precisely the same thing. There need be no fear that I shall be deterred from doing my duty to the public and to Irish scholarship, according to my ability and knowledge, by apprehension of a recrudescence of the mudslinging and vituperation which I have been obliged to encounter.

We are informed that it was not intended to put the Dictionary on the market 'as a work infallibly perfect or sufficiently full for all purposes.' Nobody, as far as I know, ever said or assumed that it was. But if it was not meant to be a fairly accurate, carefully arranged and reasonably adequate school-dictionary, what, one may inquire, was it meant to be, what purpose was it meant to serve, and what on earth is its *raison d'être*? It will, I imagine, scarcely be contended that it was meant that, in addition to the Dictionary, the student should keep constantly by his side a copy of O'Reilly, as well as copies of all existing works furnished with vocabularies. We are seriously told that the work 'is capable of improvement and development.' What astounding intelligence! A statement so original and so startling is surely entitled to take its place beside a famous pronouncement which was alleged to have caused 'a smile to ripple over the map of Europe.'

I now take a final leave of the 'Reply.' I am not entirely without hope that, when the writer thereof recovers his equanimity, he may feel obliged to me for having honestly endeavoured to make him more careful. Be this as it may, I certainly do think that a long-suffering

public should vote me its thanks for having sought to save it from the further infliction of publications containing whole pages of recorded and unrecorded 'Errata' of every description.

M. P. O'H.

DR. O'QUEELY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM

A GREAT STATESMAN AND PRELATE

MALACHY O'QUEELY (or Keely as the name was also spelled) was one of the most remarkable prelates and ecclesiastical statesmen of his time in Ireland. As Archbishop of Tuam, and concerned with the Confederation proceedings at Kilkenny in 1640, as also one of the parties to the famous Glamorgan Treaty—a draft of which was found with him at Sligo when he was slain by the Parliamentary forces and the existence of which document subsequently formed a count in the indictment against Charles I—Dr. O'Queely undoubtedly occupied a very prominent and influential position in Irish public life. Apart from such distinction, however, as an ecclesiastic he was still more distinguished than as a statesman, and a few particulars concerning his career may not be uninteresting historically.

Malachy O'Queely was the son of Donatus O'Queely and a native of the County Clare, 'lineally descended from the lords of Conmacnemarra, where they ruled as princes long before and after the Norman invasion.' Being a youth of great promise and parts he was sent to the Collège de Navarre at Paris, and his academic career there was exceptionally brilliant. After going through the usual theological course he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and he then returned to his native land to take up the difficult and perilous task of missionary work in his native county. He was subsequently appointed Vicar Capitullar of the Diocese of Killaloe. At Paris, in the Sorbonne, he made the acquaintance of Edmund O'Dwyer, a learned and an able man who subsequently became Bishop of Limerick. This friendship lasted all through their lives and they were brought often together in public affairs. On the 11th of October, 1631, Dr. Malachy O'Queely was consecrated Archbishop of Tuam by the Most Rev. Dr. Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel—his

immediate predecessor being the justly celebrated churchman, Florence Conroy, so great a scholar and so erudite a man as to be universally known at the time and since by the designation and distinction '*flos mundi*.'

The consecration ceremony took place in the Church of St. Nicholas in Galway—a building since appropriated to Protestant purposes. Among the consecrating prelates were Dr. Boetius Egan, Bishop of Elphin, and Dr. Richard Arthur, Bishop of Limerick. A curious incident occurred, which nearly marred the progress of the pious proceedings. The Archbishop-elect had received and presented a draft of the Bull nominating him to the See of Tuam. This Dr. Walsh did not consider himself justified in accepting, and conscientiously thought he should, on such a solemn occasion, have the original document. This was not forthcoming and the ceremony was about to be postponed when, at the very moment, there arrived in the harbour a ship from Rome having on board a priest bearing the Bull. Dr. O'Queely at once assumed the active control of the vast archdiocese, and in 1664 he sent to Rome as his proctor, Dr. Edmund O'Dwyer, bearing a report as to the condition of the archdiocese at the time, and the document contains many interesting particulars as to the number of churches and other information concerning the parishes. Along with this report to the Propaganda Fide Dr. O'Dwyer carried a memorial to the Pope (Urban VIII) respectfully praying His Holiness to bestow the Cardinal's hat upon the distinguished Luke Wadding, 'in consideration of the great services he had rendered (as the memorial justly says) to the Irish Catholics then in arms.' The Archbishop of Tuam, and nearly all the Irish bishops had signed the document. When Dr. O'Dwyer had reached Rome the Pope was dead, and the memorial happening to fall into the hands of the modest Wadding, he hid it away in the archives of St. Isidore Convent, where, only after his death, it was discovered. On the recommendation of Dr. O'Queely, Dr. O'Dwyer was subsequently nominated coadjutor for Limerick, his native city, and he was consecrated in 1645. Returning to his diocese

his ship, with valuable vestments and books, was captured by pirates off the coast of Smyrna, and the Bishop of Limerick was actually sold as a slave and as such condemned to work in a mill. A resident of the place recognising him as a man of learning and education procured his liberation and actually paid his ransom, and, freed from bondage, Dr. O'Dwyer returned to Limerick, where he lived and laboured for many years.

He was the first Irish bishop who introduced the missionaries of St. Vincent de Paul into Ireland. Unfortunately troubles came thick upon him in later years, and he was compelled to leave his see, and going to Brussels, Dr. O'Dwyer died there in exile and in actual want, finding a pauper's and a nameless grave. The great diplomatist, Rinuccini, was at this time in Ireland organising the Catholic forces to withstand the Parliamentarians, and he had almost succeeded in the difficult task of securing union, combination, and cohesion in their councils. He was the brains of the Confederation, and his staunchest supporter in his policy was Dr. O'Queely. He kept the people from committing any excesses and at the same time he organised the available Irish forces, instilling into them a spirit of patriotism that dared great deeds. A native regiment was organised comprised of the leading Galway families, conspicuously the Burkes, Blakes, O'Flaherties, and Kellys. The Archbishop never, as some historians of the 'Froude fiction fabrication' stamp say, assumed the military dress. He never doffed the crozier and donned the sword; but being a brave and an honest man, he felt that his fitting place in the peculiar circumstances of the country was in the camp, and there he was on that ill-fated day at Ballysodare, in the County Sligo, when the Irish chieftains were surprised, attacked and defeated by the Parliamentarians under Sir Charles Coote and others.

In the October of 1645, the Archbishop attended the assembly of the Confederated Catholics at Kilkenny, to welcome the Nuncio, Rinuccini, just arrived in Ireland from Rome, and bearing a letter from the Pope (Innocent X), among other things, highly praising Dr. O'Queely.

Writing to his legate, the Holy Father, in a letter still extant, said :—‘ You (Cardinal Rinuccini) are to be guided by him. Although each of the four archbishops is remarkable for zeal, nevertheless he of Tuam is to be your confidant, and among the bishops he of Clogher.’ The Catholics resolved to protect themselves by force of arms, for ‘ the ferocious English general, Sir Charles Coote, was appointed by Parliament President of Connaught, with full powers and authority to extirpate the Irish Papists by fire and sword.’ Such was his commission, and well and truly did he discharge the task as history tells us. For his services in the war Coote obtained large grants of land in Connaught, taken from the poor Irish, who were fighting as much for the English king as for the maintenance of their ancient faith and who, for such loyalty to the crown of England, as usual, suffered proscription and loss of lands. And it is a curious coincidence that in the very month of October, 1904—two hundred and sixty-three years after their confiscation—the same lands so given to the Cootes were sold by their descendants to the occupying tenantry, and their possessions have now practically passed over to the old owners.

The war in the October of 1641 was fought out fiercely between the parties. Sligo was in the hands of the Scotch Covenanters and, being a principal port in Connaught, then as now, thither the Confederate Army proceeded, commanded by Lord Taaffe and Sir James Dillon. It is said that, when leaving Kilkenny to proceed to Sligo with the Irish Army, the Archbishop had a presentiment of coming danger—a vague foreboding of personal peril. Yet he bravely proceeded with the soldiers, by his presence and by his wise counsels moderating the usual excesses of the camp and causing such good order, discipline, and good conduct to prevail that it was a model army. Crossing the Shannon a great crowd of people came out to meet the bishop, impelled thereto by a curious tradition common among them concerning a violent death to an Archbishop of Tuam. A kind of prophecy existed there—so strong that it drove the country people out to see the

man whom they believed was going to his doom. Even the Archbishop himself credited the prophecy somewhat, for suffering from some dropsical affection as he was being lanced he told the doctor who performed the operation (a Dr. Nicholson) that he was not destined to live long. The general belief in the existence of the prophecy is undoubted, for the Nuncio actually mentions the existence in a letter to the Pope of a popular belief in the violent death of the bishop and the bishop's implicit faith in it, and added that 'the Irish had the habit of indulging in the folly of prophesying.'

On the 17th of October, which happened to be a Sunday, as the Irish chiefs and generals were dining with the Archbishop in his tent, at their encampment at Ballysodare, some six miles from Sligo, their alarmed outposts brought in word that the English troops were actually upon them, and soon the attack commenced in real and deadly earnest. The unfortunate Irish never suspected that the enemy would be so soon, or at all, acting on the offensive, but such was the sad discovery that was made by that unprepared force. All was confusion and disorder. The Irish could make and made no stand, for they were taken completely unawares. The English troops, under Sir William Cole, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Charles Coote were well in hand, and there was nothing but slaughter and flight for the Irish—their disorganised camp was taken, as it were, by surprise. The Archbishop, by the entreaty of General Dillon, vainly tried to save himself by flight, but as the report says, 'being obese and of great stature he lacked the necessary speed.' The Scotch soon noticed him and surrounded him. His faithful and devoted secretary, Father Thaddeus O'Connell—a Priest of the Order of St. Augustine—and another Tuam priest, bravely lost their lives in the attempt to protect their beloved bishop. They were ruthlessly cut down and so was he, and his mangled corpse was almost unrecognisable from the countless wounds inflicted upon it by his cruel and merciless foe, whose blood-thirsty zeal was redoubled when they saw it was not a soldier but an unarmed priest they were slaying. Several

Irish leaders were taken prisoners, among them were Murtagh O'Flaherty, William O'Shaughnessy, and Garrett Dillon, and the despatch from the Parliamentarians to London announced the victory as 'the good news from Ireland.' The Irish numbered 1,000 foot and 300 horse, and the account given by the English of the Archbishop's death is of historic interest, and reads thus :—

In the pursuit their commander and President of that province was slain, the titular Archbishop of Tuam, who was a principal agent in these wars. Divers papers were found in his carriage. He had for his own particular use an order from the Council of Kilkenny for levying the arrears of his bishopric, and the Pope's Bull and letter from Rome. The Pope would not at first engage himself for the sending of a Nuncio for Ireland until the Irish agents had fully persuaded him that the re-establishment of the Catholic religion was a thing feasible in this kingdom, whereupon he undertook the solicitation of their cause with Florence, Venice, and all other estates, and to delegate his Nuncio to attend to the affairs of this kingdom.

Amongst the papers found with the Archbishop was a draft of the proposed treaty, purporting to be from Charles I to the Earl of Glamorgan—called the Glamorgan Treaty in history—to negotiate with the Catholics on the basis of recognition and freedom of the practice of their religion. The Scotch, not content with killing the defenceless bishop put a price upon his mangled body, and sold it to his friends for thirty pounds—'thirty pieces of silver.' Subsequently the Scotch also sold their king for as many thousands, determined to make money by the living and dead. One Walter Lynch, of Galway, to his honour be it said, paid the money and brought the body of the bishop to Tuam where, amid the most sincere manifestations of popular grief, after High Mass *de requiem* in the Cathedral, he was buried in the old Catholic Cathedral of St. Mary's, then for some short time used by its original owners for its original purpose of Catholic worship, but soon after and for ever to pass out of their hands to 'predominant Protestantism.' It is said that Bridget Birmingham, Lady Athenry, wife of Francis, the nineteenth Baron of that name, and daughter of Luke Dillon of Loughglynn and a sister of Captain Dillon

who was commanding one of the Irish regiments at Ballysodare, subsequently caused the remains of Dr. O'Queely to be removed from Tuam and buried, it is believed, in the Birmingham tomb at Athenry.

Throughout not alone the archdiocese, but all through Ireland, the news of the death of Dr. O'Queely was received with 'great, general, and genuine grief.' In Limerick where, shortly before in the Cathedral a *Te Deum* was sung for the victory of O'Neill at Benburb, the whole place was draped in black, and a requiem sung for the great and good man, the great Archbishop of Tuam—the most remarkable of his time in Ireland.

RICHARD J. KELLY.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

MARRIAGE OF 'PEREGRINI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Happening to reside in a part of Ireland much frequented by foreign travellers, my *confrères* and myself are often asked on emergencies to assist at the marriages of *peregrini* from England and parts of the United States where the decree *Tametsi* was never published, the following paragraph, from the pen of Professor Harty, in the November I. E. RECORD arrested my special attention. He says of such persons that 'marriage attempted between them in Ireland, without the license of their own Rector, who is their parish priest in the sense of the decree *Tametsi*, is invalid.'

From this categorical statement it is clear that the Professor has no doubt about his interpretation of the law : hence I take the liberty of asking him to give us in the I. E. RECORD the full benefit of the reasons that have inspired this great confidence in a matter so obscure, that no express trace of his view can be found in the older theologians. With them, following in the wake of Trent, it is always, to parody the court clerks, 'the *parochus*, the *proprius parochus* and no one but the *parochus*.' Of course they, as well as the Fathers of Trent, knew that there were *missionaries* and *missionary rectors* in abundance ; and yet they passed them over in silence.

It remains, therefore, for the Professor to justify Feije and Tanqueray in their, to me, novel extension of the Tridentine term *parochus* to those having merely delegated jurisdiction.

SACERDOS.

I. With much pleasure we comply with the request of our respected correspondent. In the November I. E. RECORD we discussed the case of two people from England who wished to be married in Ireland. They retained their domiciles in England. They did not acquire a domicile or a quasi-domicile in Ireland. We held that they could not be validly married without the license of their own

Rector, who is their Parish Priest in the sense of the decree *Tametsi*. We believed and still believe that opinion to be the only safe view. In the present number of the I. E. RECORD we intend to justify this statement. The special difficulty raised by our correspondent springs from the fear that the Rector, not being a Parish Priest in the strict canonical sense, cannot be the Parish Priest of his subjects in the sense of the decree *Tametsi*. We think it well, for the sake of completeness, to briefly treat some preliminary questions before we show the error of our correspondent's view.

From time to time some theologians have put forward strange views on the marriage of people who belong to a place where the decree *Tametsi* has not been published, and who wish to get married in a place where the decree has been published, without having acquired even a quasi-domicile there. Some, *v.g.* Carriere, maintained that such people are not bound by the Tridentine law, since they are not bound by it at home. Others, *v.g.* Rosset, held that they are bound by the law, but that they must be married before the Parish Priest of the place where the marriage takes place. They deduce this teaching from the axiom: *locus regit actum*. Others again, *v.g.* O'Kane, held it to be probable that they cannot be validly married at all in these circumstances. To be validly married they must either acquire a domicile in the place, or return to a place where the Tridentine decree has not been promulgated. In their view the Parish Priest of the place where they are *peregrini* cannot assist at their marriage because he is not their *proprius parochus*. Their own Rector cannot give license to another Priest to assist at the marriage, since he is not authorised by the decree *Tametsi*, which has not been published in his place, to assist at marriages.

The last view which we have mentioned need not detain us long. It is against the almost unanimous teaching of theologians and canonists, and, moreover, is opposed to the plain meaning of the Tridentine decree. We have searched in vain through the theologians for any serious

support of this opinion. The decree of Trent states that people cannot be married in a place where it has been published without the presence of their own Parish Priest or of another Priest by his license. This form of speech clearly indicates that they can be married, provided they secure the presence of their own Parish Priest or of his delegate. Consequently, their own Parish Priest is authorised by the Council of Trent to assist at their marriage.

The opinion of Carriere, which states that the law of Trent does not bind in the circumstances under consideration, seems to be opposed to two generally admitted principles. One of these is that a general law of the Church binds all who happen to be in a place where it urges. Thus the law of abstinence, when it is a general law of the Church, binds every Catholic in the place where it is in force. In the same way the law of clandestinity binds everyone who happens to be in the place where it is in force. The second principle to which this opinion of Carriere is opposed is the principle, *locus regit actum*. Contracts, to be valid, must have the formalities of the place where they are made. Hence the fact that the law of Trent has not been promulgated in the place from which the contracting parties came does not prove their freedom from the law when they are in a place where it has been published. We are not surprised, then, that when the case came for decision before the Roman authorities they decided against the view of Carriere. We shall afterwards quote a decision in connection with the next view to be considered, which was given in 1899. We shall at present give some previous decisions which refer to this view in particular. Thus, the following question and reply indicate the mind of the S. Con. Concilii :—

Vir et femina unius dioecesis, in qua decretum S. Conc., cap. 1, sess. 24, de Reform. Matrim., non fuerit publicatum, peregrinantes in loca ubi dictum decretum erat publicatum, intra se secreto, sine paracho matrimonium per verba de praesenti contraxerunt, mutato proposito redeundi in patriam, in alio loco domicilium constituerunt, cohabitando uti vir et uxor; dubitatum fuit an dicantur legitimi conjuges. Die 4 Febr., 1580, S. Congregatio (Concilii) respondit negative, et quod

teneantur contrahere juxta formam Concilii in loco domicilii constituti.

The S. Pen. gave the same reply, 28th March, 1815. The S. Inquisition gave a similar reply, 14th December, 1859. Hence the opinion of Carriere is rejected by nearly all theologians.¹

The opinion of Rosset, which teaches that the marriage must take place before the Parish Priest of the place where the marriage is celebrated, received in former times much more support than the view of Carriere. That opinion cannot, we think, at present be looked on as having sufficient probability to be safe in practice. (a) The teaching of Rosset seems to be clearly opposed to the decree of the Council of Trent. That decree states that people bound by the law of clandestinity must be married in the presence of their Parish Priest, or at least of another priest with his leave. Now, who is the Parish Priest of the persons in question? Is he the Parish Priest of the place where the marriage takes place, or the Parish Priest of the place to which the people belong? By what right the Parish Priest of the place where the marriage takes place can be called, as the Council of Trent in the context calls him, the *proprius parochus* of the parties to be married we know not. That the axiom, *locus regit actum*, does not make him so seems clear, because that axiom holds also in the case of those who come from a place where the decree *Tametsi* has been promulgated, and yet in their case he is admittedly not their *proprius parochus*. A parity with *vagi* does not prove him to be the *proprius parochus* in the case, because there is no such parity. *Vagi* have no *parochus* to turn to but the *parochus* of the place. It is from him they are to receive the other Sacraments. In this they differ essentially from *peregrini*, who remain subject to their own pastor. Hence no parity with *vagi* exists. Neither can it be said, with any show of reason, that the Parish Priest of the parties has not been autho-

¹ Cf. Feije, n. 342.

rised to assist at their marriage. He has been authorised to act as witness at the marriages of his subjects, whenever his subjects are bound by the law of Trent, which requires the presence of their *proprius parochus*. The literal meaning of this phrase must be adopted unless proof to the contrary be given. We have never seen any such proof.¹

(b) Whatever be said about the probability of the opinion of Rosset in former times we can scarcely allow it any safe probability at present because of a decision of the S. Cong. Con., 29th January, 1899.² A lady having a maternal domicile in London was married in Paris in the presence of the curé of the parish where she had taken up her residence for a short period (six weeks), and in the church of that parish. The curé had not the license of the Rector of the lady's parish in London, or of the curé of her husband who belonged to a different parish in Paris. The marriage turned out unhappy, so the lady brought an action in the ecclesiastical court of Paris demanding a declaration of the nullity of the marriage. She demanded this declaration on the ground that the curé of the Parisian parish, not having the license of the Rector of London or of the curé of the husband, could not validly assist at the marriage. The validity of the marriage was defended on the plea that the curé could validly assist at the marriage because he was the curé of the parish where the lady had taken up a temporary residence, and of the church in which the marriage was celebrated. The decree *Tametsi* not having been promulgated in London, it was maintained that the curé could, without any delegation from the Rector of the lady or the curé of the husband, validly assist at the marriage. The archiepiscopal court declared the marriage null. The matter was then carried to Rome. The S. Cong. Con., after a prolonged consideration of the case, confirmed the decision of the inferior court. 'An sit confirmanda vel infirmanda sententia curiae archiepiscopalis Parisiensis in casu? R. Sententiam esse con-

¹ Cf. Lehmkuhl, *Casus Consc.*, vol. ii., n. 991.

² See *Canoniste Contemporain*, 1899, p. 227, for a full statement of the case, also *Acta S. Sedis*, xxxii., p. 346.

firmandam.' Hence the Parish Priest of the place where the marriage takes place is not the *proprius parochus* of those who belong to a place where the decree *Tametsi* has not been published.

In opposition to the argument derived from this decision it may be urged that the S. Cong. Con. does not state in its reply what the reason for its decision is, and that consequently we cannot deduce any proof from the decision for our doctrine. In reply we remind our readers that we have in the *Acta S. Sedis* the whole official process through which the case passed. From that official process we know that the question on which the decision of the Cong. depended was whether or not the *parochus* of the church where the marriage took place could, by his own authority, assist at the marriage. The decision can mean nothing else than a denial of his power.

Again, it may be said that in the case one of the parties belonged to France where the decree *Tametsi* is in force. Perhaps the other party was rendered subject to the full obligation of the decree by that fact. In the case, however, which we are discussing both parties belonged to a country where the decree *Tametsi* is not in force. We reply that it is the unanimous opinion of theologians that, on account of the indivisibility of the matrimonial contract, the freedom of one party is sufficient to give freedom to both. This principle was expressly admitted in the case by both sides. Hence, if the lady could be treated as if she were virtually a *vaga* the marriage would be valid.

Finally, it may be said that the decision was given only in a particular case and cannot consequently be made a general law. To this we reply that the decision involved the decision of a general principle and consequently can be applied to other cases where the same principle holds.

II. It is certain, then, that the Parish Priest of the place to which the *peregrini* belong is the Parish Priest whose presence is demanded at their marriage by the Council of Trent. Is the Rector of an English parish the *proprius parochus* in the sense of the Tridentine decree? This is

the question which our correspondent raises. We have no hesitation in answering in the affirmative. To avoid misunderstanding we wish to make our position perfectly clear. There is a difference of opinion amongst theologians as to whether the Rectors of parishes in such places as England, Scotland, the United States, and Holland, where there are no Parish Priests in the canonical sense, are formally or merely virtually Parish Priests in the sense of the Council of Trent. There are some who maintain that they are only virtually Parish Priests in the sense of the Tridentine law. There are others who maintain that they are formally Parish Priests in the sense of that law. All modern theologians, whose works we have been able to consult on the point, maintain that they are at least virtually Parish Priests in the Tridentine sense, so that they can assist validly at the marriages of their subjects, and delegate other priests, at least in particular cases, to assist at such marriages. Even amongst the older theologians we can find few who were opposed to this teaching. The disputed question is of no practical importance to us at present. A great deal can be said on the question, but we shall content ourselves with proving that, beyond all doubt, the Rectors of whom we speak are at least virtually Parish Priests in the sense of the decree *Tametsi*. We shall prove this by giving in the first place some authoritative decrees on the point, and in the second place by giving the views of theologians old and new. This teaching, as we shall see, is by no means novel to the great theologians and canonists.

(a) AUTHORITY STATEMENTS.—Pius VII laid down, 27th May, 1804, that the Missionary Rectors of Holland, though not Parish Priests in the canonical sense, are Parish Priests in the sense of the Tridentine law :—

Parochum proprium Catholicorum in Hollandia commorantium, ibique matrimonium inter se contrahere volentium, esse pastorem vel compastorem illius civitatis vel loci, in quo alteruter ex contrahentibus domicilium vel quasidomicilium habet: ideoque nonnisi coram illo, aut coram alio sacerdote de illius licentia, valide posse matrimonio copulari.

This decree is so clear it needs no commentary.

The Holy Office, 14th November, 1883, gave a very important reply to the Bishop of St. Hyacinth, Canada, who asked a question about the validity of the promulgation of the decree *Tametsi* in the missions and quasi-parishes of his diocese. These missions and quasi-parishes, he explained, were not parishes in the strict canonical sense, though they had priests attached to them who visited them at regular intervals or lived permanently in them. The question asked was :—

An valida fuerit promulgatio decreti *Tametsi* in missionibus et in quasi-parochiis supradictis? *R.* Juxta exposita affirmative et ad mentem : mens est ut in locis ubi haberi nequeat parochus, validum est matrimonium celebratum coram duobus testibus.

In this reply of the Holy Office there are two statements which make our position clear. It is stated that the decree *Tametsi* can be validly promulgated in places where there are no canonical parishes. Now, *parochia* and *parochus* go hand in hand according to the decree *Tametsi*, because we find the two mentioned side by side in the decree. Hence as parish must be taken in a wide sense, so, too, Parish Priest must be taken in a wide sense to embrace those priests who are attached to missions and quasi-parishes. Again, the reply calls these priests *parochi*. That looks very like saying that they are in the position of Parish Priests in the strict sense so far as the marriages of their subjects are concerned.

In this connection it is well to bear in mind that the Council of Baltimore, with the approval of the Propaganda, stated authoritatively that many missions of the United States which are not parishes in the canonical sense are subject to the decree *Tametsi*. Moreover, the Fathers of Baltimore (n. 133) called the Rectors of the United States *parochi* in connection with marriages.

Finally, there is a general principle that a priest who is deputed to take full spiritual charge of a parish has a right to assist at the marriages of his subjects. This principle has been more than once sanctioned by the

Roman Congregations. Thus, the S. Cong. Con., 2nd July, 1758, declared that such a priest can assist at the marriages of his parishioners, '*cum deputatus dicatur ad universam curam animarum.*' A priest having this general delegation can certainly depute another priest to take his place, at least in particular cases. This has been decided by the S. Cong. Con. in a case mentioned by Fagnani in cap. 2, *De Cland. desp.*, n. 33 :—

Ita Rota dixerat in una *Barcinonen.* vicarios temporaneos ad nutum amovibiles parochialis ecclesiae posse matrimoniis *tamquam parochos* interesse. Ideoque in casu praesenti S.C. sensit posse et matrimonio interesse et alii dare licentiam ut intersit, hujusmodique matrimonia esse valida.

The Rectors of whom we speak are certainly deputed to take complete spiritual charge of the parishes over which they are placed. So it follows that they can *tamquam parochi* assist at the marriages of their subjects, and give other priests license to assist at these marriages.

(b) TEACHING OF THEOLOGIANs.—The opinion which we are proving is held by practically all the great theologians and canonists. We doubt if any modern theologians or canonists of note deny this doctrine. At least after a diligent search we have been unable to find any who have any doubts on the matter. Some theologians speak expressly of Rectors such as are found in England, Holland, Scotland, Canada, and the United States. Others do not mention these Rectors specially but state generally that priests who are deputed *ad universam curam animarum* have power to assist at the marriages of their subjects and to depute other priests to assist at these marriages. We shall principally speak of those theologians who expressly mention Rectors.

DR. MURRAY, *De Imp. Matr.*, cap. xiv., n. 473 : Petrus et Maria ex Hibernia in Scotiam, cum intentione ibi perpetuo manendi, migrarunt. Post aliquod tempus, volentes matrimonium in natali solo contrahere, in Hiberniam ad id revertuntur, ibique, cum licentia pastoris domicilii Scotici, in matrimonium conjunguntur, statim in Scotiam redire intendentes. Dubium de validitate hujus matrimonii movebatur, ex eo quod pastor ille non fuit proprius parochus ad mentem

Concilii; tum quia (a) in Scotia nunquam promulgatum est decretum Concilii; tum quia (b) pastor ejusmodi non est proprius *parochus*: in Scotia enim non sunt, sicut in Hibernia, parochi proprie dicti. Censeo rationes istas vanas esse, et matrimonium esse validum. Quoad rationem primam, nihil est in decreto Concilii quo significetur necessitas ejusmodi promulgationis in parochia concedentis licentiam. Quoad secundam, in regione ubi non sunt parochi, sive olim fuerint sive non, locum parochi tenet is qui pastor seu missionarius vocatur, ut constat ex decreto, supra, n. 367 [dec. Pii VII].

This case, solved by Dr. Murray, is exactly the case with which we are concerned.

FEIJE, *De Imp. et Disp. Matr.*, n. 297, not. 2: Hinc qui in locis missionum, ut in Anglia, non sunt veri parochi sed rectores missionarii vel simplices missionarii, quibus curam principalem fidelium intra certos limites degentium episcopus seu Vic. Ap. commisit, delegare possunt ad casum particularem, tanquam delegati ab episcopo vel ad universitatem causarum, alium sacerdotem coram quo et testibus illi fideles matrimonium contrahere valent etiam in loco ubi decretum Tametsi viget, ut et ipse delegans ibi sic valide assisteret.

GENICOT, *Theol. Mor.*, vol. ii., n. 496: Requiritur assistentia parochi, non cujuslibet, sed qui proprius sit saltem alterutrius contrahentium. Proprius autem pastor ille est in cujus paroecia vel (ubi nondum canonice erectae sunt paroeciae) quasi-paroecia sponsus vel sponsa domicilium vel quasi-domicilium habet.

WERNZ, *Jus Matr. Eccl. Cath.*, n. 176: Veris et proprie dictis parochis titularibus sive inamovibilibus aequiparantur: . . . missionarii vel curati, qui v.g. in America septentrionali vel Canada missiones sive *quasi-parochias* administrant.

DE BECKER, *De Spon. et Matr.*, cap. vi., p. 95: Sub voce 'parochi proprii' non est intelligendus tantummodo parochus proprie et stricte dictus, sed etiam . . . rector amovibilis vel inamovibilis de quibus loquuntur Concil. Plenar. Baltimor. II. et III.

TANQUEREY, *De Matr.*, n. 418: Quinam sub nomine parochi veniant relate ad matrimonium? Omnes qui in parochia curam animarum habent, cum generali licentia sacramenta ministrandi, quamvis non sint canonice parochi in sensu stricto, videlicet:—(a) non solum parochi inamovibiles, sed etiam amovibiles, et rectores missionum in Statibus Amer. Foederatis. . . .

PUTZER, *Commentarium in Facultates Apos.*, n. 16: Quoad matrimonia ab utroque catholico contracta certe requiritur, ut contracta sint coram Ecclesia i.e. coram parochio (missionario) et duobus testibus,

SMITH, *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law*, vol. i., n. 649 (ninth edition): All our rectors, even those who are not irremovable, possess parochial or quasi-parochial rights which are laid down partly in the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore . . . and also in the statutes of provincial and diocesan synods. These rights of our rectors necessarily imply corresponding duties on the part of their congregations, and other rectors. Thus, for instance, a rector with us has the right to administer baptism, marriage, etc.

Hence, according to Smith, Rectors of the United States have parochial or quasi-parochial rights with regard to marriage.

SLATER, *Principia Theologiae Moralis*, p. 536: Obligationes vero horum quasi-parochorum [in Anglia], sive oriantur ex officio sibi commissio, sive ex jure positivo, fere sunt eadem ac sunt parochorum obligationes, excepto onere missam ex obligatione applicandi pro populo.

Having the duties of parish priests these Rectors have, of course, the rights of parish priests also, so far as the sacrament of marriage is concerned.

The CONSULTORS, *Acta S. Sedis*, xxxii., p. 346, of the S. Cong. Con., in the case mentioned above (29th January, 1899) held that the English Rector was in the same position as parish priests in the strict canonical sense.

SANCHEZ, *De Matr.*, l. iii., Disp. xxxi., n. 13: Parochi non proprietarii qui praeferuntur toti parochiae, per episcopum, ut curam ejus gerant: vel quia proprius parochus non est sacerdos, vel quia ipse episcopus est immediatus parochus totius dioecesis, ut contigit Hispali, Cordubae, Granatae, et in aliis dioecesibus, in quibus non sunt beneficia curata, possunt delegare assistentiam matrim. alii sacerdoti.

Sanchez quotes about a dozen authorities for his view. He mentions, it is only fair to add, Soto and Ledesma as holding the opinion that these priests, being delegates, cannot delegate their power to other priests.

We refer our readers to the following theologians and canonists who agree with our opinion inasmuch as they hold that a priest who is *delegatus ad universam curam animarum* in any parish can assist at and depute others

to assist at the marriages of the faithful belonging to the parish. We have already quoted Fagnani in connection with a decision of the S. Cong. Con. We beg to add Schmalzgrueber, tom. 3, n. 190; Gasparri, *De Matr.*, n. 911; Santi (Leitner), *Praelectiones Juris Canonici*, l. iv., p. 151; Bassibey, *De La Clandestinité*, n. 137; Palmieri, *Opus Theol. Morale*, vol. vi., n. 835; Lehmkuhl, *Theol. Moral.*, vol. ii., n. 777.

We fear that we have wearied our readers by quoting so many theologians in favour of a teaching which we venture to call the unanimous opinion of modern theologians, and the practically unanimous opinion of the older theologians. We hope that we have convinced our respected correspondent that the view which we held is not novel. The older theologians, *v.g.*, Sanchez, Fagnani, did not, as we have seen, devote their whole time to the consideration of 'the *parochus*, the *proprius parochus*, and no one but the *parochus*,' if by *parochus* is meant the *parochus* in the strict canonical sense. We hope that the authority of Pius VII is sufficient to prove that the Fathers of the Council of Trent did not pass over in silence the Rectors of such places as Holland, who are only delegates of the Bishop in the ruling of the districts in which they exercise their pastoral office. We hope that the consensus of opinion of modern theologians is sufficient to banish any lingering doubts about the position of Rectors in America, England, and Scotland.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

PURIFICATION OF CORPORAL IN CERTAIN CASES

REV. DEAR SIR,—The reply with which I am favoured in the January number of the I. E. RECORD, regarding the purification of the Corporal in the circumstances previously mentioned, does not appear to me entirely satisfactory.

The rubric in the Missal *Si qui communicandi*, etc., (t. 10, n. 6) is very clear; and it does not appear to me that there is sufficient reason for setting it aside. It would be difficult to

admit that the rubric *Si deprehendit*, etc. (*Rub. Missal, de def.*, t. 7, n. 2) and the other authorities referred to are in conflict with it.

This latter rubric *Si deprehendat*, etc., seems to me to be capable of an interpretation which would not contravene the rubric (t. 10, n. 6) which requires that when Communion is to be given the particles, consecrated on the Corporal, should be put into the pyxis *after* the consumption of the Precious Blood. It seems capable of being interpreted as referring to the fragments of the large Host which is consumed by the celebrant. So too, perhaps, the other authorities mentioned.

And if the interpretation be adopted which sets aside the rubric *Si qui*, etc. (t. 10, n. 6), and if it be maintained, as a supporting reason, that unless the fragments of the Communion particles be consumed the Sacrifice will be in a sense incomplete, then a serious difficulty will arise: for it should then be concluded that the Sacrifice would be incomplete—and therefore should be forbidden—in the following set of circumstances, which I think may be said to be practical. A priest says two Masses in the same church on the same day; and (there being no danger whatever of irreverence) allows the chalice to remain upon the altar during the time between the two Masses. It is an occasion of very great devotion, and the pyxis at hand is not sufficiently large to contain the number of particles necessary for the communicants. The priest (if he does not consecrate all upon the corporal, in which case the same difficulty would arise) consecrates in the pyxis as many as it can contain, and on the corporal about as many more as will be required. Now, in this case he cannot collect the fragments of the Communion particles off the corporal before the consumption of the Precious Blood, nor until he has given Communion. And if it be maintained that the consumption of the fragments of the Communion particles, which are upon the corporal, is necessary to the completion of the Sacrifice, then the Sacrifice, in the circumstances, must be said to be incomplete, and therefore forbidden. But as far as I know there is no prohibition. Of course it may be said that these fragments, instead of being put into the pyxis with any Communion particles which might have remained over, could be consumed by the priest when he returns to the altar after having given Communion; but then it would be necessary for him to adopt some such method as that which De Herdt

describes as being *indeccens et reliquiarum perditiones periculo obnoxius* : and it is not clear that the rubrics require this.

Besides, might it not be asked : If the consumption of the fragments of the Communion particles were necessary for the completion of the Sacrifice why should not that of the Communion particles themselves ? or, how may those which remain over be lawfully reserved in the tabernacle ? or, how again may an exception be made in regard to the fragments of the particles consecrated in the pyxis ?

A similar difficulty would arise in another, and more practical case ; namely, where (the other circumstances being the same as those just mentioned) the ciborium is not on the altar, but in the tabernacle, and contains consecrated particles.

It appears to me, then, that the rubric which requires that when Communion is to be given the particles should be placed in the ciborium after the consumption of the Precious Blood (t. 10, n. 6) need not be set aside, and accordingly should be observed.

With this view of the meaning of the rubrics referred to a priest would, after receiving the Sacred Host, purify that portion of the corporal on which it rested, putting the fragments (if any) into the chalice before receiving the Precious Blood : and upon returning to the altar, after having given Communion, he would collect the fragments of the Communion particles off the corporal and put them into a pyxis together with any Communion particles which might have remained over.—
Yours faithfully,

C. D.

If our correspondent consecrated the particles in the ciborium, which he seems to have had convenient, we should be spared the difficult task of endeavouring to satisfy him. As it is we feel our efforts towards this end shall be wasted unless he realizes that the comparatively trivial direction about putting the consecrated particles into their receptacle *post sanguinis sumptionem* must yield to the more important portion of the same Rubric directing that the corporal is to be carefully purified, and that the fragments are to be received in the chalice in the ordinary way. ‘*Quod (fragmentum) si fuerit, accurate ponit in calicem*’ (tit. 10, n. 5). ‘*Si quae in ea fuerint fragmenta*

in calicem immitit' (n. 6). Confining ourselves to the original hypothesis we affirm our conviction in the correctness of the course we recommended, and nothing short of an authentic decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites shall make us change our view. We suspect that the reason why the Rubric directs that particles consecrated on the corporal for distribution during Mass should be put into the ciborium or pyx *after* the taking of the Precious Blood is, because in this instance cases are contemplated where the sacred particles must remain on the corporal until they are distributed and, consequently, where the corporal could not be fully purified until Communion has been given.

There is no authority for limiting the Rubric *Si deprehendat*, etc., to the minutiae of the larger Host. It refers to all the fragments on the corporal. When consecrated particles are on the corporal, Rubricists recommend that the space occupied by the large Host should not be purified till the whole corporal, or at least the portions of it occupied by the smaller Hosts can be similarly treated.¹ And, indeed, until you can purify the parts of the corporal adjacent to the compass on which the large Host rested, you cannot be morally certain that you have collected even the fragments belonging to the latter.

Until everything consecrated is consumed the Sacrifice is, in a way, incomplete (but not necessarily forbidden), and our correspondent is, we presume, aware that Theologians for this reason hold that the faithful who are communicated participate, in a measure, in the fruits of the Sacrifice at which the sacred species received were consecrated. Hence also it is more *congruous*, as Rubricists suggest, that Communion should be given to the faithful from particles consecrated at the Mass at which they assist. It is forbidden to omit to do what one can *humano modo* towards securing the adequate completion of each Sacrifice, but between the *reliquae* and the particles for reservation there is a very wide difference, as may be seen from the ordinary Manuals of Theology or Liturgy. Finally, it is

¹ Van Der Stappen, *De Miss. Cel.*, n. 331.

only in a very extreme case—to save, for instance, the sacred species from irreverence—that one may put consecrated fragments into a ciborium in the way indicated. These are our reasons for setting aside the first portion of the Rubric in favour of the second.

The case may occur where a Priest, obliged to say a second Mass the same day in a different church, has, after distributing Communion at the first Mass, a few particles remaining and no pyx or receptacle in which to put them. What is he to do? Two courses seem possible, either to consume them or to bestow them in the corporal and take them away. It is a question as to which is the more reverent way of disposing of the particles, but we would recommend the former as the more becoming.

AGE OF ALTAR-BREADS FOR LICIT AND VALID CONSECRATION

REV. DEAR SIR,—‘Sacerdos Perplexus’ has done good work for many readers of the I. E. RECORD in eliciting from you the very satisfactory analysis of the sources and extent of the obligation of frequently renewing the sacred species, which appeared in the November issue. Your conclusions were clear and definite and easily applicable to the circumstances of our everyday life; and that is what most of us require.

May another reader ask you to kindly elucidate now for us the second point touched on in that same suggestive article, ‘Around the Eucharist,’ which so aroused the attention of your correspondent, namely, the extent of the obligation of using only recently-made particles for consecration. As the reason assigned for the obligation of frequently renewing the sacred species is the danger of corruption, it seems that in determining the time at which this obligation begins to bind we should consider not merely the interval that has elapsed since the species were consecrated, but also the length of time the particles were made before they were consecrated. The one interval ought to be regarded as the complement of the other. Hence we would like to have the second point cleared up in the same manner as the first.

No one, I am sure, will find fault with the writer of ‘Around the Eucharist’ for insisting on the propriety of using only

recently made particles for Mass. But would it not be well to have a more definite statement as to how long particles may have been made without having passed the limit within which they may, in ordinary circumstances, be lawfully used for the altar? If we take twenty days as the limit for this country, as suggested by Father O'Callaghan when he quotes a regulation made by St. Charles Borromeo in his Provincial Synod, I fear it will be necessary, in many instances, to revise the existing systems of supplying our churches with altar-breads. Indeed, without venturing to condemn any of the existing practices, I must say that in many cases I have been unable to find the principle on which I could justify them. Your guidance, therefore, will be sincerely welcomed.

I will take a case with which I hope I can illustrate the difficulty which for me, I think, is at the bottom of all others. It has reference to the practice of renewing the sacred species with particles that are made the same length of time as those they are to replace. Now, the danger of corruption in the sacred species with the consequent irreverence to the Blessed Sacrament seems to be the chief element in determining the obligation of frequently renewing them. The Synod of Thurles (item Maynooth, 1875) when fixing eight days as the interval after which they ought to be renewed gives as a reason: *Ne diutius asservatae corrumpantur particulae*. And O'Kane, commenting on the rubric requiring frequent renewal, says: 'Besides the object of the law is not only to guard against this danger (of corruption), but to secure that reverence for the holy mystery which is implied in the frequent renewal of the sacred species.' May the obligation be satisfied, then, by using hosts of the same age and condition as the consecrated species that are to be replaced? As the consecrated species are subject to the laws of corruption not more than the unconsecrated particles, I find it difficult to understand that the danger of corruption is in any way lessened or that there is any positive reverence implied in such a renewal; if, indeed, it be a renewal at all in the sense intended by the rubrics and the various decrees. Is it an honest renewal of the species or is it a mark of reverence to the Blessed Sacrament to replace those species by others of exactly similar condition? I am supposing that the consecrated particles have not been more exposed to corrupting influences than the unconsecrated. And this is not an improbable hypothesis. The Blessed Sacrament is often reserved

in a warm dry oratory in the priest's house; and on the other hand the unconsecrated particles are not always kept in dry surroundings.

If you will kindly bear in mind that it is the practice in many parishes to be supplied with breads from convents or other centres only after certain fixed intervals and that there is a tendency to make, for convenience' sake, these intervals as long as lawfulness will permit, you will recognise, I think, that the questions I have raised may not be without a share of practical interest.—Yours, etc.,

P. R.

This question is of very practical importance. In discussing it we shall touch briefly on another kindred question which concerns the age at which hosts cease to be not only *materia licita*, but also *materia valida* for consecration, or at least when they become *materia dubia*. In regard to the first point, the Rubrics prescribe: 'Hostiae vero, seu particulae sint recentes.'¹ Now, what is the meaning of the word *recentes*? For the solution of the first question will depend on the interpretation which we give this word. *Apropos* of this, Genicot, it seems to us, has a very appropriate remark: 'Quanto autem tempore,' he says, 'recentes manent (particulae) non videtur eadem regula ubique metiendum sed attendendae sunt variae circumstantiae tempestatis, loci in quo custodiuntur etc. quippe quae corruptionem accelerant vel retardant.'² In addition to atmospheric conditions and local surroundings, the tendency to decomposition in the particles will, we think, depend also on the quality of the material used, and especially on the method of their manufacture. In proportion as moisture is excluded in the composition and making of the particles, in the same degree will they be possessed of the power of resisting corrupting influences. So that particles that are well made have a better chance of being preserved from decay than those not so well favoured in this respect. In estimating, then, the 'fresh-

¹ *De Euch.*, t. vii., c. i.

² *Theol. Mor. Inst.*, v. ii., p. 171 (1898).

ness' of altar-breads we must look not only to their absolute age but also to the manner in which they are made and subsequently preserved. In this way hosts well made and well kept, though a month old, may be relatively 'fresher' than others that are of more recent date, but made and kept under less favourable circumstances. The word *recentes*, then, should be taken not so much in an *absolute* as in a *relative* sense, and be interpreted to mean that the particles to be consecrated are quite sound—free from the slightest symptoms of decay—and, furthermore, that there is every reasonable confidence that they will remain in a sound condition until they are consumed.

From the foregoing remarks, therefore, it will be evident that the fixing of an age limit, beyond which it would be unlawful to keep hosts for the altar, is not easily determined. What would be allowable for one description of breads, might not be at all permissible for a different class, as there may be greater liability to corruption in one case than in the other. Taking the normal state of things, the regulations of St. Charles Borromeo are very reasonable. For our own part we should like to see them everywhere carried out. But a Priest, whom this system satisfies, will not always be able to secure that the newly-consecrated particles are, absolutely speaking, 'fresher' than those that have been replaced. During the twenty days from the date of making, the consecrated particles will be renewed by others of exactly the same age absolutely speaking. When, therefore, Liturgists¹ say that the sacred species are to be renewed with hosts that are more recent (*recentiores*),² and when, at the same time, they sanction the custom of keeping the particles for twenty days before consecration, they must necessarily speak of a relative freshness. This is secured in the average run of cases where the Blessed Sacrament is reserved in the humid atmosphere of the church, whereas the unconsecrated hosts are preserved under conditions that are less liable to give rise to danger of corruption. It is quite exceptional, and,

¹ Walpelhorst, *Sac. Lit.*, p. 111 (1904): De Herdt, *Prox. Sac. Lit.*, t. i. n. 281: Van Der Stappen, *De Euch.*, 178.

² *Vide* De Herdt, *loc. cit.*

therefore, beyond the normal order of things contemplated by Rubrical legislation, if the consecrated species are not exposed to greater danger of decomposition than the unconsecrated. Granted, however, that such an hypothesis is possible, it may be said, firstly, that the obligation of renewal is not so imperative here, and, secondly, that even though the letter of the law may not be exactly fulfilled yet its spirit is realized by each renewal, which implies a tender, thoughtful solicitude for the Hidden Presence in our midst that will make us ever mindful of Him.

What is to be said of the practice of some Priests who are in the habit of getting monthly instalments of Altar-breads through the post? Can it be justified? One author we have seen sanctions it. 'Les hosties à consacrer doivent être relativement fraîches, c'est-à-dire, ne pas avoir été faites depuis plus de quinze jours, ou un mois tout au plus.'¹ The practice of getting breads every month has undoubtedly its convenience and, while we should prefer to see the regulations of St. Charles Borromeo everywhere carried out, nevertheless we should not wish to quarrel with the monthly system provided the breads are carefully kept before use. If they are got from a convent, as generally happens, there is always a guarantee that they are well made, and this, being so they may, from what we have been saying, be in as good condition at the end of four weeks as other breads not so well made would be at the end of three. The greatest care, however, should be taken to preserve them, and the older they are when used the more frequently should they be renewed.

As to the second question, the valid matter for the Mass is '*solus panis triticens (sive azymus sive fermentatus) et usualis* : qualis nempe, morali hominum judicio censetur ille tantum qui ex farina et aqua naturali mixtus et igne coctus sive assus atque in sua specie incorruptus est.'² As long, then, as wheaten bread prepared in this way can be called bread in the common estimation of men it is valid matter for the Sacrifice. How long it will so remain, without losing its substance by corruption, is not easily

¹ Velghe, *Lit. Sacr.*, p. 349.

² Marc, *Inst. Mor. Alp.*, t. ii., p. 177.

determined.¹ Unleavened bread, from the fact that it does not contain so much moisture, will last much longer than leavened. Staleness and mustiness, though indicative of an incipient corruption, are no evidence of thorough decomposition. Hence, stale or musty bread (*panis mucidus*) would be valid, but of course illicit matter. A complete chemical change in the essential elements of bread is generally manifested by a pronounced acidity in the taste. For this reason we think it is almost impossible that a Priest could use Altar-breads that were substantially corrupt without noticing the defect.² Therefore he would not be likely to use such breads a second time. Let us assume that a Priest has been using certainly, or doubtfully invalid matter, what is the result? Have these Masses been valid, and have the intentions for which they were offered been fully discharged? These are questions that pertain more to Theology than to Liturgy. But we may mention, for the consolation of those who may have conscientious scruples on this head, that there is an opinion which holds that the consecration under one species is sufficient for the essence of the Sacrifice. This opinion is not the traditional one, but it enjoys the distinction of being held as probable by St. Alphonsus. In regard to it Noldin says³:—

Quoniam vero (Auctore St. Alphonso) sententia, secundum quam essentia sacrificii etiam in sola consecratione unius speciei habetur, probabilis est, ille, qui pro stipendio celebravit, in tali casu obligationi suae probabiliter satisfecit: qui autem obligationi suae probabiliter satisfecit non tenetur eam denuo implere dummodo hanc sententiam cum S. Alphonso probabilem habeat.

Whether this view is solidly probable, and whether a probable fulfilment of an onerous contract extinguishes the obligation, we leave to others to decide.

P. MORRISROE.

¹ Cf. I. E. RECORD, October, 1904, pp. 353, 354.

² Then, too, the progress of decomposition should have extended to the entire mass, for if any portion remained intact—unless it were too minute for consecration—it would be validly consecrated. Before this stage is reached a rather long interval must, we fancy, elapse.

³ *De Sacramentis*, p. 185 (ed. 1904).

DOCUMENTS

INSPECTION OF CHURCH BOOKS IN CHURCHES OF
EXEMPTED REGULARS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM

SANCTI HIPPOLYTI

ORDINARIUS NEQUIT SIBI VINDICARE INSPECTIONEM LIBRORUM
MISSARUM MANUALIUM IN ECCLESIIS ETIAM PAROCHIALIBUS
REGULARIUM EXEMPTORUM

Beatissime Pater,

Guardianus fratrum Minorum, in Dioecesi Sancti Hippolyti commorantium atque pertinentium ad regularem provinciam Sancti Bernardini in Austria, praevio sacrorum Pedum Tuorum osculo, humillime exponit :

Ordinariatus praefatae Dioeceseos, secus atque in Vindobonensi Ecclesiastica provincia ad quam Episcopatus Sancti Hippolyti spectat, immo et contra morem in illa dioecesi hucusque pacifice retentum, a Religiosis minoritis in Conventu ipsius civitatis degentibus exigit, ut exhibeantur sibi libri Missas manuales Coenobii continentes, atque subsecutam earundem applicationem, hocque ratione parocciae quam illic fratres Ordinis Minorum Monasterio adnexam habent. Attamen, cum de re agatur parocciam et iurisdictionem Episcopi nullinode respiciente, neque sermo fuerit de applicanda Missa pro populo aliisve oneribus parochialibus explendis, ipse Guardianus, non Ordinario Dioecesano, sed Regularibus Praelatis, rationem de Missis manualibus debet, ad normam Apostolicarum Constitutionum atque generalium Ordinis legum, suo tempore exhibere.

Hoc autem loco Constitutionibus Apostolicae Sedis et Seraaphici Instituti omissis, quae vigilantiam super Missarum manualium celebratione Regularium Praelatis committunt, ideoque hanc sollicitudinem ab Ordinario locorum avocasse probantur ; sufficiat hic auctoritatem clarissimi viri Angeli Lucidi, qui cum aliis auctoribus et canonistis in opere '*De Visitatione sacrorum Liminum*' Romae anno 1866, ita ad rem loquitur in Vol. II, Cap. IV, Append. III, num. 95, xi., agens de iis in quibus Regulares exempti nullatenus Episcopis subduntur : ' Non possunt (Episcopi) eos (Regulares) compellere ad exhibendos libros sacristiae, in quibus adnotantur celebrationes Missarum, ut inde

constare possit de integratis satisfatione obligationis debitae ex Legato pio; ex Decreto laudatae Congregationis (Concili) in *Urbinate*. 10 Martii 1663 ad cap. 18, Trident. sess. 21, lib. 23. decr. pag. 456.'

Itaque humillimus orator, pacem cum omnibus maximeque cum Ordinariatu loci integram servare cupiens, neque Ordinis iuribus quae Apostolicae Sedis sunt iura volens aut potens afferre nocumentum, enixe Sanctitatem Tuam rogat, ut significet Episcopo nullam sibi vindicare posse inspectionem super Missarum manualium implemento, cum Apostolica Sedes ordinavit hanc vigilantiam Praesulibus Regularium exemptorum unice competere. Et Deus etc.

Sacra Congregatio Emorum. et Rmorum. S.R.E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, omnibus mature perpensis, quoad dubium propositum a P. Superiore Conventus Fratrum Minorum in civitate S. Hippolyti existentis, responderi mandavit, prout sequitur :

'*Scribatur Ordinario ad mentem.* Mens est, quod exemptio a iurisdictione episcopali fratribus Minoribus S. Francisci competens extenditur etiam ad Missas manuales; ideoque Episcopus in visitatione canonica nullam sibi vindicare potest inspectionem librorum Missarum manualium in paroecia fratrum Minorum in casu.'

Die 11 Maii 1904.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

Ph. GIUSTINI, *Secret.*

REGULARS AND THE BIBLICAL COMMISSION

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM
ETIAM REGULARES POSSUNT ASSEQUI GRADUS ACADEMICOS A
COMMISSIONE BIBLICA

Il S. Padre, desiderando che i membri del Clero Regolare, i quali abbiano coltivato gli studi biblici, possano anche essi conseguire i gradi accademici che la Commissione Biblica è autorizzata a conferire in virtù delle lettere Apostoliche di quest'anno, si è benignato disporre che la speciale facoltà di cui abbisognano gli alunni di Ordini religiosi per conseguire gradi accademici, sia accordata dalla S. C. dei Vescovi e Regolari per ciò che riguarda gli studi biblici, *in modo abituale*, e non solo per modo di atto nei

singoli casi, come determinano gli statuti dei vari Ordini religiosi, per le altre classi di gradi accademici.

Nel partecipare alla P. V. tale disposizione Pontificia, le auguro dal Signore ogni bene.

19 Aprile 1904.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

PHILIPPUS GIUSTINI, *Secret.*

PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO PILGRIMS TO THE HOLY LAND

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE SUPER NEGOTIIS ECCL. EXTR.

LINCIEN

CONCEDUNTUR INDULTA ET PRIVILEGIA PRO PEREGRINATURIS AD
TERRAM SANCTAM, IN CASU

Beatissime Pater,

Anno 1900, mense Aprili, e dioecesi Linciensi plus quam quingenti viri catholici, duce Episcopo, in Terram Sanctam pereriginati sunt, quibus, petente eodem Episcopo, SS. Dominus b. m. Leo XIII per Rescriptum S. Congregationis Negot. Eccl. Extr., die 10 Aprilis 1900, specialia quaedam indulta concedere dignatus est.

Anno currente, pariter mense Aprili, iterum peregrini, viri et foeminae, ex hac dioecesi, quibus se accludunt ex aliis dioecibus quoque multi, in Terram Sanctam profecturi sunt numero 460, inter quos 57 sacerdotes erunt.

Pro quibus peregrinis Episcopus ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae humillime provolutus similia privilegia petere audet, scilicet :

1° Ut omnibus presbyteris quotidie liceat celebrare in navi (in qua solummodo peregrini et non alii vehentur) S. Missae Sacrificium in decenti loco hunc in finem exornando super altaribus portatilibus, servatis caeteris de praecepto servandis.

2° Ut quotidie liceat celebrare Missam votivam privatam de B. Maria Virgine cum sola secunda Oratione de Spiritu Sancto, absque commemoratione diei, quia nimis difficile esset, paramenta cuiusvis coloris et Missalia maiora secum ducere.

3° Ut liceat in navi eodtim loco, in quo SS. Missae celebrantur, servatis servandis, Augustissimum Sacramentum asservare, ut peregrinantes coram Eo adorationem peragere valeant, et si quis peregrinantium in gravem morbum inciderit, ei viaticum ministrari possit.

4° Ut omnes sacerdotes alias ad audiendas confessiones a

suis Ordinariis approbati (plures enim presbyteri ex aliis quobue dioecesisbus sese adiungent) confessiones virorum et foeminarum peregrinantium excipere possint, tum in navi tum in ipsa Terra Sancta, quia ibi confessarii germanica lingua pollentes pauci tantum invenientur; et quatenus aliqui eorum specialibus facultatibus pro foro interno sive a Sanctitate Vestra sive ab Episcopo sint instructi, ut iisdem pariter uti possint durante peregrinatione.

5° Ut mihi Episcopo liceat delegare certo sacerdoti ex peregrinantibus digniori facultatem, cum singulis peregrinantibus qui forsitan indiguerint, vel cum omnibus, in casu necessitatis, dispensandi super lege abstinentiae feriis sextis.

Et Deus.

Lincii, die 11 m. Martii 1904.

Ex audientia SSmi., die 22 Martii 1904.

SSmus. Dominus Noster Pius, divina providentia Pp. X, referente infrascripto S. Congregationis a Negotiis Ecclesiasticis Extraordinariis praepositae Secretario, benigne annuere dignatus est pro gratia iuxta preces, servatis de iure servandis, et praesertim SS. Rituum Congregationis praescriptis. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae e Secretaria eiusdem S. C. die, mense et anno ut supra.

✠ PETRUS, Archiep. Caesaren., *Secret.*

L. ✠ S.

INDULGENCED INVOCATION

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

INDULG. 100 DIERUM CONCEDITUR RECITANTIBUS INVOCATIONEM :

‘ NOSTRA DOMINA A S. CORDE, ORA PRO NOBIS ’

PIUS PP. X

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

Benigne annuentes oblati Nobis piis precibus a dilecto filio Praeposito Generali Missionariorum Sacri Cordis, omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu, ubique terrarum nunc et in posterum existentibus, quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, invocationem hanc contrito saltem corde ac devote recitantibus: ‘ Nostra Domina a Sacro Corde, ora pro nobis,’ quoties id agant, toties de poenaliu dierum numero in forma Ecclesiae solita centum expungimus. Largimur insuper fide-

libus iisdem, si malint liceat partiali ipsa indulgentia factorum vita labes poenasque expiare. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Sed praecipimus ut praesentium authenticum exemplar transmittatur ad Secretariam Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praepositam; alioquin nullae sint; simulque ut praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XXVIII Iunii MDCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

Pro Dno., Card. MACCHI.

L. ✠ S.

N. MARINI, *Substit.*

Praesentium Litterarum authenticum exemplar transmissum fuit ad hanc Secretariam S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorem fidem etc.

Datum Romae ex eadem Secretaria die 9 Iulii 1904.

Ios. M. Cancus. COSELLI. *Subtus.*

L. ✠ S.

INDULGENCE FOR THE MIRACULOUS MEDAL

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

INDULG. 100 DIERUM CONCEDITUR DEFERENTIBUS NUMISMA MIRACULOSUM, QUOTIES INSCRIPTAM JACULATORIAM RECITAVERINT

PIUS PP. X

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

Oblatis Nobis precibus a dilecto filio Augustino Veneziani, altero a Procuratore Generali Congregationis Missionis, benigne annuere volentes, auspicatissima potissimum occasione solemnibus Immaculatae Conceptionis Iubilaei, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu ubique terrarum existentibus, qui gerant numisma miraculosum nuncupatam, dummodo illud rite prius benedictum a persona receperint debita facultate praedita, quoties quocumque idiomate dummodo versio sit fidelis iaculatoriam precem ipso in numismate inscriptam 'O Maria sine labe concepta, pro nobis

ad te recurrentibus ora ' contrito saltem corde recitent, toties de poenaliū dierum numero in forma Ecclesiae consueta centum expungimus. Sed largimur fidelibus iisdem, liceat si malint partiali eadem indulgentia vita functorum labes poenasque expiare. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris. Praecipimus vero ut praesentium litterarum authenticum exemplar de more exhibeatur Secretariae Congregationis Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, secus nullae sint: utque earundem transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo praemunitis personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die VI Iunii MCMIV, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

Pro Dno. Card. MACCHI.

L. ✠ S.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus*.

Praesentium litterarum authenticum exemplar exhibitum fuit huic Secretariae S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria pta. die 7 Iunii 1904.

IOSEPHUS M. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

L. ✠ S.

GENUFLEXIONS BETWEEN THE CONSECRATION AND COMMUNION

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

RHEMEN

QUOMODO FACIENDA SIT GENUFLEXIO A CANONICIS ALIISQUE MINISTRIS, TRANSEUNTIBUS ANTE ALTARE, A CONSECRATIONE AD COMMUNIONEM

Hodiernus canonicus caeremoniarum magister Ecclesiae metropolitanae Rhemensis, de consensu sui Emi. Archiepiscopi, sequentia dubia Sacrorum Rituū Congregationi, pro opportuna declaratione, humillime proposuit, videlicet :

I. Utrum canonici ante altare, in quo Missa celebratur, transeuntes a consecratione usque ad communionem, genuflexionem duplicem nempe utroque genu efficere debeant, an genu dexterum tantum usque in terram flectere ?

II. Utrum idem modus genuflectendi servari etiam debeat

a quolibet sacerdote qui, sive ad altare procedit Missam celebraturus, sive redit celebrata Missa, transit ante aliud altare in quo tunc Missa, transit ante aliud altare in quo tunc Missa celebratur et est inter consecrationem et communionem ?

III. Utrum eodem modo genuflectere debeant ceroferarii qui ab altari discedunt post consecrationem, cum intorticia in sacristiam referunt et cum statim ad loca sua prope altare redeunt ?

Et Sacra eadem Rituum Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae omnibusque sedulo perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. ' *Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.*'

Ad II. ' *Negative et servantur Rubricae de ritu celebrandi tit. II, n. I.*'

Ad III. ' *Genuflectant unico genu.*'

Atque ita rescripsit, die 20 Maii 1904.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✕ S.

✕ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

ERECTION OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL UNIVERSITY IN MEXICO

LEO XIII PROBAT CONSILIUM EPORUM DITIONIS MEXICANAE
ERIGENDI UNIVERSITATEM STUDIOREM PRO ECCLESIAE
ALUMNIS

*Venerabilibus Fratribus, Archiepiscopos et Episcopis
Regionis Mexicanae*

LEO PP. XIII

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem,

Compertum habemus Venerabiles Fratres, eam esse mentem in Vobis ut, iuxta Concilii Plenarii Americae latinae vota, aliqua studiorum nova Universitas erigatur, in qua adolescentes Ecclesiae Mexicanae alumni magisterii lauream aliosque academicos gradus in sacris disciplinis assequi valeant. Id Nobis consilium probare admodum placet. Novimus enim quanto rei catholicae emolumento sit optima quaeque studia provehere et viros sacri ad solidam salubremque doctrinam informatos habere. Hoc vero propositum ut facilius opere perfici liceat, dilectum filium Richardum Sanz de Samper, domus Nostrae Pontificalis Antistitem, morum probitate, doctrina et prudentia spectatum, ad Vos mittendum consumimus, eumque comitati et benevolentiae

vestrae valde commendatum volumus. Quidquid ergo ad felicem huius negotii exitum conducere videbitur, communicatis sententiis cum eo agere Vobis erit. Sed et de caeteris ecclesiarum vestrarum utilitatibus parandis et de religionis statu. libere ac fidenter cum eodem mentem vestram aperire non ambigatis, ut ipse Nos de omnibus certiores, uti par est, reddere possit : Nos vero, pro Apostolica nostra sollicitudine, quae in catholici nominis incrementum et animarum salutem cedere noverimus, libenter praestare satagemus. Optatis igitur Nostris iisdemque vestris in religionis bonum obsecundare velit Deus ; et interim divinorum munerum auspex et benevolentiae Nostrae pignus sit Apostolica benedictio, quam Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, clero et universo populo fidei vestrae commisso peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XIV Februarii MDCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo quarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LATIN WRITINGS OF ST. PATRICK. By Rev. N. J. D. White, D.D. Dublin, 1903. Price, 2s.

THE present volume contains an edition of the Confession of St. Patrick and his Letter to Coroticus, together with an introduction, translation, and notes. The editor has done his work in a painstaking and scholarly fashion, and his book is one that cannot be neglected by any student of that period in the history of Irish Christianity. We cannot, however, agree with all the views put forward by Mr. White. In the first place MS. A of the Confession is undoubtedly the oldest in existence. But it omits many passages, some of them of considerable length, which, as the editor rightly contends, cannot be regarded as interpolations. Hence, the evident conclusion is that the other MSS. are not mere copies of Manuscript A, but are independent sources, coming down from copies made before the text had become so obscured by age as to render it in parts illegible, in others unintelligible. Even among the other MSS. we recognise two distinct families. Why, then, should the editor hold that in places where the other MSS. are united against A their readings are merely 'plausible' emendations, and why should he insert in all cases clauses found in A but absent in the others? more especially as the copyist of A makes it clear that his text was at times very obscure.

From many of his views in the discussion of the historical materials supplied by the Confession and the Letter we must entirely dissent. His explanation of the words '*et iterum post annos multos adhuc capturam dedi*,' as if Patrick referred only to a more close confinement on the part of the sailors, is not reconcilable with the text. We prefer to follow Muirchu and the Bollandists in taking section 22 as containing the narrative of section 20, and interpreting 21 as referring to a new and distinct captivity, lasting only two months. No other explanation adequately explains the strong expression '*capturam dedi*,' the '*post multos annos*,' and the word '*iterum*,' which as we can see from the context is used to introduce a new and distinct event. Again, in his interpretation of sections 26, 34, as if the opposition of the Seniores was not to Patrick's

consecration, but rather a criticism of his Irish episcopate, we think he has entirely mistaken the meaning of his text. That it was against his consecration as bishop, we think Patrick makes abundantly evident in section 32, where (speaking of the friend who had urged against him a fault of his youth) he says: 'Even this man himself had said to me then not to be raised to the rank of bishop, of which I was not (then) worthy. How did it occur to him to put me to shame publicly in regard to an office which he himself had conceded to me.' The opposition is evidently between his friend's previous action in declaring him worthy of the bishopric, and his opposition now that the Lord had called him. There are several other points in which we disagree with the editor, but space does not permit to continue the discussion. From the Bibliographical List we miss the edition of the works of Patrick in Gallandii Bibl. P.P., Venetiis 1774, x. p. 159, and Migne's L.P. Tom. 53, p. (801-818).

The treatment of the Biblical text used by Patrick is decidedly weak and unsatisfactory. His rendering of the Latin text is not at times as perfect as we might expect. To take an example in the very first page, what is meant by the curious phrase 'he pitied the youth of my ignorance'? Though the editor had the best of intentions, now and again we see his theological views peeping out in the notes. Why does he think that because Patrick would like to go to Gaul to see his relatives his travels must have never extended further? Hence, his visit to Rome is excluded! Why is the friend who betrayed Patrick's confidence necessarily his 'confessor'? Why is the *obvious* meaning of 'Patrem habui Calpurnum Diaconum filium quemdam Potiti presbyteri' that 'Calpurnus and Potitus were in holy orders when their children were born'? Why has he any doubts of what Patrick means when he speaks of the Christians as Romani, or when he said 'Ecclesia Scotorum immo Romanorum ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis'? Why is he so nervous about Patrick's use of the *unum ovile* in reproving Coroticus?

J. MACC.

THE SYMBOL OF THE APOSTLES. By the Very Rev. Alexander MacDonald, D.D. New York. 1903.

DR. MACDONALD has collected in the present volume a series of articles contributed to the *American Ecclesiastical Review*

on the origin of the Apostles' Creed. Some additional matter has been added on the Discipline of the Secret and the name Catholic. The author has gone to considerable trouble in the preparation of his book, and for those anxious to become acquainted with the difficulties of the subject we believe it will repay perusal. But it would be well in a discussion of such a subject to recognise that there are difficulties in the way, and that those who may not have the happiness of sharing our views are not all insincere. This is all the more to be desired when, as it happens in this case, great Catholic scholars may be cited on both sides.

J. MACC.

THE TABERNACLE : Its History and Structure. By Rev. W. S. Caldecott. London : Religious Tract Society, 4 Bouverie Street.

EVERYONE that has read the Old Testament is aware of the difficulties which beset the path of him who tries to find out the equivalents of the systems of measurement employed in it. That at least two systems were in use is certain. Ezechiel speaks of ' the truest cubit, which is a cubit and a hand-breadth ' (xliii. 13), and in 2 Paralipomenon iii. 4, we read about the dimensions of the foundations of Solomon's temple taken ' by the first (*or ancient*) measure.' So far is simple. But as soon as the primary and unavoidable question regarding the length of the ordinary or later cubit is put, we find that the answers of the most eminent metrologists are at variance. Conder's estimate is 16 inches, Petrie's (*Encyclopædia Britannica*) is 25·3, and between these extremes four or five other equally conjectural values have been proposed. To obtain even these results, the dimensions of hundreds of Jewish tombs have been reduced to a scale of common denominators, the Siloam conduit and its inscription have been examined, the works of Josephus and the Mishna have been read with unflagging attention, but all to little purpose. The key of knowledge was lost.

It appears to have been discovered quite recently. The triple metrical system which Abraham brought from his Chaldean home, and which Moses employed in the construction of the Tabernacle, has, after the lapse of centuries, been found, and if Assyriology did nothing more for exegesis than this,

it would be entitled to the greatest gratitude. At present it may be premature to say what will be the outcome of Dr. Caldecott's investigations, or the final judgment passed on them, but his work is undoubtedly one of the most valuable contributions to Biblical archæology that has been made in recent years. As its sub-title indicates, it consists of two parts—one historical, the other metrological. The latter is the more important, and in it the specified character and originality of the work is greater.

Starting from his own most ingenious decipherment of the *Senkereh* tablet, and of the scale of Gudea (c. B.C. 2500), Dr. Caldecott has applied his discovery of the ancient Babylonian metrical system to one of the most remarkable structures in Palestine, and he has had the satisfaction of finding his anticipations completely verified. This was a great triumph for truth. The site of the structure in question is a little to the north of *Er-Ramet*, a deserted village lying about two and a half miles to the north of Hebron, which still preserves traces of having been in the remote past used for sacrificial purposes. The gratifying results of Dr. Caldecott's investigations may best be described by giving his own words :

‘ Judge of my surprised delight when I found that the *Ramet* enclosure gave a square of 100 cubits or a 150 English feet in the clear, showing it to have had an area exactly four times that of the Tabernacle Court of Worship. The growth of the nation between the great Law-giver and the last of the Judges would make such an enlargement necessary.

‘ I must no longer conceal from my readers the fact that the theory which I took with me to Palestine, and which I wished to test by an appeal to the topography of *Ramet*, was that the enclosure now standing was built to surround with a stone fence “ the altar to Jehovah that Samuel built in Ramah ” about 1050 B.C.”—(Introduction, pp. xii., xiii.)

While we admire and gratefully accept the learned writer's explanation of the metrical system, and fully agree with him about the sacred character of the *Ramet* enclosure, we confess to having a difficulty in connecting it with Samuel's birthplace. We may be permitted to mention it, in the hope that if it be unfounded the accuracy of Dr. Caldecott's statement will appear more clearly. The difficulty is that according to Eusebius and his translator, St. Jerome, respectively (*Onomasticon*, 225, 12 ; *Liber de Situ*, etc., 96, 17), Samuel's Rama was near Lydda

(Diospolis), and St. Jerome adds that it was 'in regione Thamin-tica.' Both also identify it with the Arithmathea of Gospel history (as does Dr. Caldecott, p. 51). Eusebius says that in his time it was called Remphis, and St. Jerome gives the name as Remphtis. Now according to M. Heidet, Secretary of the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem (*Dict. de la Bible*, i. 960, 961), who gives several satisfactory proofs, the village now known as Rentis, about eight miles N.E. of Lydda, is the Rama of Samuel and the Arithmathea of Joseph. This identification suits also what is said in Machabees xi. 34, about Lydda and Ramathan being taken from Samaria. And Rentis is only five miles from the northern *Tibneh*, which appears to be one of the Tamnaths, and which is in the territory of Ephraim, which we believe to be Samuel's native district. There was in the land of Ephraim a Ramah (Judges iv. 5), the Ramah of the Negeb, which was in the land of Juda (Josue xix. 8), was too far to the south. (The *Encycl. Brit.* has on this Timnah of Ephraim some remarks which are good in part.) We know from 1 Kings i. 1, that Samuel's father, Elcana, lived in the mountains of Ephraim (see on *Ramathaim-Sophim*, the excellent commentary on Kings, published by the Leo-Gesellschaft, Wien, 1904), and we notice that Dr. Caldecott gives no argument in proof of his supposition (p. 39), that Samuel's ancestor Zuph migrated in the time of the Judges to the neighbourhood of Hebron. And in reference to *Er-Rameh* we must add that it is twenty-nine miles from Lydda, a considerable distance in a country so small as Palestine, a distance which, judging by the usage of Eusebius and St. Jerome, would prevent them from saying that the one place was near the other.

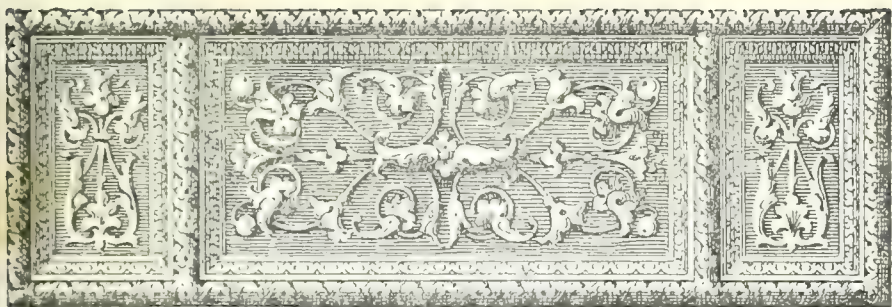
But we wish it to be understood that we make these observations with all due deference to one that has been in Palestine more than once, and has studied its topography so carefully. So far as our reading goes nothing like Dr. Caldecott's enclosure has been discovered at *Rentis*, though the place abounds in notable ruins. But supposing for the moment that *Rentis* is Rama, we may be asked what can be the origin of the *Er-Ramet* enclosure? Well, speaking under correction, we may give a tentative solution which does not militate against what we think to be a highly probable opinion, namely, that Samuel offered sacrifice there—on the understanding that if he did so *in propria persona*, it was a non-Aaronitic sacrifice. It may be the spot at Hebron where

Solomon and Absalom offered sacrifice. Josephus (*Antiquities*, viii., ii. 1.) says that Solomon went to Hebron to sacrifice to the Lord 'upon the brazen altar that was built by Moses.' We know that the occurrence of which Josephus speaks is by many writers identified with what happened at Gabaon (3 Kings iii. 4), but why may it not have happened twice or in the two places, and why should Josephus be thought to have made a mistake? At any rate, in 2 Kings xv. 9, we read that Absalom went to Hebron, ostensibly at least to offer sacrifice there (verses 7, 8). Perhaps he did offer it in the still existing enclosure, and perhaps that enclosure surrounded the site of Abraham's altar at Hebron? If this conjecture be correct, if the sacredness of the spot was derived from its long continued connexion with the father of the Hebrew people who usually resided in Hebron, then we can understand why the walls surrounding it are, as Dr. Caldecott observes, unique in Palestine. Throughout the length and breadth of the Holy Land there is no other enclosure resembling that at *Ramet*.

There are many good points in the historical portion of the book now before us, on which, if possible, we would gladly dwell. But we cannot conceal our satisfaction at finding that in respect of a long stay of the Israelites at Cades, Dr. Caldecott takes substantially the same view as does as Fr. Hummelauer in his Commentary on Numbers. With regard, however, to what is said about the wood of the Tabernacle (p. 101), we cannot agree, for we know from 2 Machabees ii. 4-8, that the Tabernacle, etc., are still preserved.

There is so much in the less important portion of Dr. Caldecott's book, that we have deliberately confined most of our remarks to it. And even though there were some inaccuracy here, or something which we did not understand, that would not impair the excellence of the other part, or lessen our confidence in its conclusions. As regards the metrological portion which deals with the structure of the Tabernacle, it would be impossible to do justice to it, and to the wealth of illustrations and plans, in the space at our disposal. We consider his discovery as an epoch-making one, and we recommend our readers to get his book and to study it for themselves.

R. W.]



THE CONCORDAT BETWEEN THE HOLY SEE AND FRANCE

IN the endeavour to explain the nature of the union of the soul and body in man, philosophers have put forward many theories, and fallen into many errors. In real life the relations of Church and State have given rise to theories no less numerous, and occasioned errors far more serious.

Some have held that the State is the fountain of all rights, and that its authority is unlimited. Others, more moderate, have taught that the State possesses at least indirect control over spiritual things, and that in case of conflict between the spiritual and temporal powers, the authority of the State should be supreme. Others, again have maintained that the most perfect of all systems would be the complete absence of relations, or the complete separation between Church and State. All these theories have been condemned as erroneous in the *Syllabus* of Pius IX, nn. 39, 40, 55. Catholic doctrine teaches that the Church is a perfect and independent society, established for man's spiritual good; and that the State is a perfect society established for man's temporal good. By his baptism a man becomes a member of the Church, by his birth he is a subject of the State. In Christian countries, therefore, the subjects of the State are also members of the Church. Both societies, or both powers, rule over the same subjects,

and hence they cannot stand completely aloof or be indifferent to each other. Moreover, the spiritual society for its well-being and perpetuity has need of temporal things, and justly demands that her right to these shall be secured and defended. The influence, too, of the Church over the consciences of men naturally makes itself felt even in temporal matters. Of such influence temporal rulers are jealous. Hence, in the course of ages, frequent conflicts have arisen between the spiritual and the temporal powers. 'As the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh,'¹ so there has ever been conflict between the Church and the State. To obviate such conflicts, or to allay them when they arise, many expedients have been adopted. Throughout the middle ages the position accorded to the Pope by the public law of Europe was equivalent to a universal Concordat. In modern times an express treaty or Concordat between the spiritual and the temporal powers has been found useful.

A Concordat, according to Leo XIII.,² is 'a solemn and bilateral compact.' In that compact each of the powers, for sake of mutual harmony, makes some concession to the other. The form of the compact and the extent of the mutual concessions may vary; but whatever be its form or extent, it binds both contracting powers, and the State has no right to rescind or annul the compact independently of the consent of the Church. At the present time there exist Concordats not only with Catholic powers like Spain and Austria, but also with non-Catholic States like Holland, Prussia, and the German States. But the Concordat which at present attracts most attention, and excites greatest interest, is that between France and the Holy See; the existence of which is now so seriously imperilled. It may, therefore, be of interest to trace the origin of the French Concordat, to examine what has been its influence upon the Church in France, and to forecast

¹ Gal. v. 17.

² Encyclical to the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy of France, §16th February, 1892.

what will be the condition of the Church should the Concordat be abrogated.

I.

What is the origin of the Concordat between the Holy See and France? The Concordat at present existing dates back only to Napoleon I; but it had its prototype in another Concordat entered into three centuries earlier. In 1438, Charles VII of France, published the famous Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. By that instrument, based on the principles of the schismatical Council of Bâle, Charles sought to limit the authority of the Holy See over the Church in France. In support of this new enactment, a document was produced whereby a French king, St. Louis in 1269, forbade the collection of taxes imposed by the Holy See on benefices within the realm, without the royal permission. According to Thomassin, in his work, *De l'ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'église*, 'many of the learned regard that document as a forgery, or at least doubtful.' Labbé and Crossart pronounce it spurious, and amongst more recent writers Lenormant and Abbé Jager hold the same view. But forgery though it was, it served to lend a certain plausibility to the action of Charles; and at a later period even Bossuet made use of it in defence of the Declaration of the Liberties of the Gallican Church. At the request of Pius II, Louis XI, son and successor of Charles, promised to revoke the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. But in practice it was not revoked, and for many years it continued to trouble the relations between the Holy See and the Church of France. To put an end to this state of things, Leo X entered into negotiations with Francis I, and, in 1515, an agreement termed a Concordat was arrived at between the two sovereigns, and was solemnly ratified by the Pope in the Council of Latran, in 1516. By the terms of the Concordat the right of elections to bishoprics and abbacies was taken away from chapters and conferred on the Crown. The King was empowered to nominate to all such benefices within the realm. The person nominated by the King was bound

to seek canonical institution from the Holy See, and if this were not granted, the King was authorised to present a second candidate within three months; should the latter prove unsatisfactory the right of nomination lapsed to the Pope, as it did in the case of all benefices falling vacant *in curia*.

The new Concordat met with much opposition on the part of the Diocesan Chapters, as well as of the Parliament; but eventually it was registered in Parliament in 1518, and thus acquired the force of law. From that time until the great Revolution the Concordat of Leo X governed the relations of Church and State in France. In the reign of Louis XIV the harmony of those relations was for a time seriously disturbed. In certain portions of the realm, as in Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné, and Guyenne, the right of the Crown to the *Regalia*, or revenue of vacant benefices, was not admitted. It was a principle of Louis XIV that kings are the absolute masters, and naturally enjoy the full and free disposal of all the property possessed as well by Churchmen as by seculars within their territory.¹ He, therefore, determined to assert a right to the *Regalia* in all parts of the kingdom, and by a declaration of February, 1673, he affirmed it to be an inalienable and imprescriptible right of the Crown. The Bishops of Aleth and of Pamiers alone resisted. Left alone by the death of his colleague of Aleth, the Bishop of Pamiers held out against the royal claim and appealed to the Pope. Innocent XI, in 1679, protested energetically against the action of the King. The Bishop of Pamiers died, and at once serious disturbances broke out in his diocese between the party of the Pope and the party of the Crown. The Chapter was dispersed, and eighty curés were imprisoned or forced to fly to a place of safety.

¹ 'Tout ce qui se trouve dans l'étendue de nos Etats, de quelque nature qu'il soit nous appartient au même titre. . . . vous devez donc être persuadés que les rois sont seigneurs absolus, et ont naturellement la disposition pleine et libre de tous les biens qui sont possédés, aussi bien par les gens d'Eglise que par les séculiers.'—*Memoires et œuvres de Louis XIV.* t. ii. p. 121; ed. 1816.

In these circumstances Louis XIV summoned an assembly of the clergy of France, which met towards the close of 1681, and published, in 1682, its famous declaration of Gallican Liberties. Innocent XI praised and rewarded the clergy who had opposed that Declaration; and when ecclesiastics who had supported it were nominated by the King to vacant bishoprics, the Pope refused them canonical institution. The royal nominees, however, were put in possession of the temporalities by the King; and proceeded to govern the dioceses in virtue of jurisdiction from the Chapters. For ten years the struggle went on. At the death of Innocent XI, in 1689, thirty-five sees were vacant. His successor, Alexander VIII, was no less firm. At length, in 1693, Louis XIV promised not to execute his edict of 1682 relative to the teaching of the Four Articles, and Innocent XII, successor of Alexander, granted institution to the royal candidates on their submitting a written declaration of regret for their participation in everything displeasing the Holy See in the Acts of the Assembly of 1682. From this period until 1789 the relations of Church and State in France, as fixed by the Concordat of Leo X and Francis I, were, on the whole, harmonious.

But, it may be asked, what was the influence of that Concordat on the Church in France? One of the first effects of it was to fill the episcopal sees throughout France with the younger sons of the nobility. There were, indeed, brilliant exceptions like Bossuet, who belonged to the bourgeoisie. But down to the period of the Revolution the majority of the bishops were nobles; and at that date but four out of all the bishops of France were not of noble extraction. Some of the sons of noble families had but little inclination and less aptitude for the Church, and hence we find in the episcopate men like De Retz and Talleyrand. A second effect of the system was to detach the episcopate from the Holy See and make it dependent on the Court. The King, according to the energetic expression of Fénelon, became more the head of the Church than the Pope himself. 'From the Concordat

of Leo X and Francis I,' says the same prelate 'almost all the bonds between the Pope and the bishops were broken, because their lot depended on the King.'¹ The sovereign enjoyed a kind of supremacy over the Church, and disposed of its offices and benefices at pleasure. Ecclesiastics were not ashamed to sue for benefices through the corrupt influences which surrounded the throne. No doubt the Church of France during all that period possessed prelates as distinguished for their virtue and their learning as for their rank. But had it not been for the preponderance of royal influence, the Declaration of 1682 and the Gallican theories regarding the authority of the Holy See would never have been possible.

With the Revolution of 1789 the old order perished. But religion did not perish. Even during the days of the Terror the clergy ministered to the faithful in secret, and when calm began to be restored they came forth from their hiding-places, or returned from exile. The churches were re-opened, and in 1800 there were on French soil at least 20,000 priests exercising the ministry with the full knowledge of the Government. Napoleon understood the influence religion was capable of exercising; and he desired that that influence should be exercised under the control of the State. 'The people,' he said, 'need a religion, and that religion must be in the hands of the Government.'²

For that purpose he entered into communication with the Holy See. Soon after the battle of Marengo, as he was passing through Vercelli, he charged Cardinal Martiniana, to convey to the new Pope, Pius VII, his desire to commence negotiations for the purpose of settling the religious affairs of France, and he requested that Mgr. Spina should be sent to meet him for that object at Turin. In compliance with this request, Mgr. Spina was sent to Turin, but as Napoleon had not awaited his arrival, he was directed to proceed to Paris. From Paris he trans-

¹ *Apud* Mgr. Affre, *De l'appel comme d'abus*, p. 175.

² 'Il fallut une religion au peuple, il fallait que cette religion fut dans la main du Gouvernement.'

mitted more than one draft of a Concordat which Napoleon was willing to accept. None of them, however, was satisfactory to the Holy See. At length, when an agreement seemed hopeless, M. Cacault, the agent of France at Rome, suggested the expedient of sending a Cardinal to Paris to treat with the First Consul. Accordingly Pius VII, having taken the advice of the Sacred College, sent Cardinal Gonsalvi to Paris. Gonsalvi arrived in Paris on 20th June, 1801. He had for consultors Mgr. Spina and Father Caselli, both subsequently promoted to the Cardinalate. The Abbé Bernier who, after having been a leader amongst the Vendéans, had aided in the pacification of the royalist provinces, represented the First Consul. Gonsalvi, on his arrival in Paris, was received by Napoleon who thus addressed him: 'I know the object of your journey to France. I desire that you commence your conferences at once. I give you a period of five days, and I warn you that if the negotiations are not concluded by the end of the fifth day, you must go back to Rome; for as far as I am concerned I have already made up my mind what to do in that event.'¹

The negotiations began the following day, and each evening the Abbé Bernier reported, through Talleyrand, to the First Consul the result of the discussions. The five days had elapsed, yet no agreement was arrived at. The conferences went on until 13th July, and at last a scheme was agreed to, and submitted to Napoleon for his approval. Joseph Bonaparte, M. Cretet, Counsellor of State, and Abbé Bernier, were appointed to sign the articles of agreement on behalf of the First Consul; and Gonsalvi, Mgr. Spina, and Father Caselli, on the part of the Holy See. On the day appointed for the ratification of the Concordat, the signatories met to sign the articles of agreement. Two copies had been prepared, one for Napoleon and one for the Holy Father. Gonsalvi believed that his labours had now been brought to a successful issue. But what was his astonishment to find that the document presented

¹ *Mémoires du Cardinal Gonsalvi*, vol. i., p. 354; second edition.

for signature by the Abbé Bernier on behalf of Napoleon was not the Concordat which had been discussed and agreed to, but a document quite different, and one which had already been rejected by the Holy See. The only excuse Abbé Bernier could make for so disgraceful an act of bad faith, was, that such was the will of the First Consul. Gonsalvi refused to sign a document which the Holy See could not approve, and was prepared to break off the negotiations. Joseph Bonaparte, knowing the violent temper of his brother, besought Gonsalvi to consent to a re-examination of the draft Concordat already agreed to, with a view to modify it so as to make it acceptable to Napoleon. The sitting was resumed, and for nineteen hours without interruption the articles of the draft Concordat were discussed. All the articles were agreed to, except that which referred to liberty of worship. As agreement on this point was impossible, Gonsalvi proposed that that article should be omitted altogether. A copy was accordingly made of the articles of agreement, omitting that which concerned liberty of worship, and was submitted to the First Consul. He indignantly refused his assent, unless the clause imposing restriction on liberty of worship was inserted. The sitting of the committee was suspended. Gonsalvi was obliged to attend a state dinner given by Napoleon on the same day, 14th July. On his arrival in the salon, where the guests were assembled, the First Consul addressed him in the following terms :—

‘Well, Mr. Cardinal, you have wished to break off. Be it so. I have no need of Rome. I have no need of the Pope. If Henry VIII, who had not one-twentieth of my power, succeeded in changing the religion of his country, much more shall I be able to succeed. In changing religion in France I will change it throughout almost all Europe, wherever the influence of my power extends. Rome will perceive the loss she will have sustained, she will weep over it, but there will be no remedy : you may leave : that is the best course. You have wished to break off ; well, be it so, since you wished it. When do you start ?’ ‘After dinner, General,’ replied Gonsalvi.

Napoleon was astonished at finding that his outburst of temper had failed to intimidate the Cardinal. Gonsalvi

then pointed out to him that he could not act against his instructions. The German ambassador interposed, and through his good offices the First Consul consented to another sitting being held to try if an agreement could be arrived at. The commissaries met once more at the residence of Joseph Bonaparte, and the sitting lasted for eleven hours. The sole difficulty regarded the first article, which had reference to the liberty and publicity of Catholic worship. The article, as insisted on by Napoleon, ran thus :—‘Worship shall be public ; in conformity, however, with police regulations.’¹

The article so worded left it at the entire discretion of the Government to control public worship. Gonsalvi admitted that the Church might submit to such a condition of things as a fact, but that she could not erect it into a principle by accepting it as an article in a solemn treaty. He insisted that some words should be added, which should limit the discretion of the Government to interfere with public worship to the case where such interference might be necessary for public tranquillity. Joseph Bonaparte admitted the force of the reasoning of the Cardinal, and though he feared the First Consul would refuse his sanction, he agreed to the first article being modified as the Cardinal desired. The first article was accordingly framed as follows :—‘The Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion shall be free in France. Worship shall be public, taking account, however, of the police regulations, which the Government shall judge necessary for public tranquillity.’ The six commissaries then attached their signatures. Joseph Bonaparte undertook to present the Concordat to the First Consul who, after some resistance, gave it his sanction. The news spread throughout Paris, and gave rise to general expressions of joy, except amongst the enemies of religion and amongst the constitutional clergy.

Pius VII, by the Bull *Ecclesia Christi*, dated 15th August, 1801, ratified the Concordat. Napoleon on his

¹ Le culte sera public, en se conformant toutefois aux règlements de Police.

part delayed its public ratification. At length, in 1802, he published the Concordat, but annexed to it a law, in seventy-seven articles, termed *les Articles Organiques*, whereby the liberty granted by the Concordat was much restricted. Pius VII formally protested against the Organic Articles which had been published without his knowledge or consent. With the exception, however, of certain modifications, made in 1810, the Organic Articles continue to have force of law down to the present day.

In 1811, when Pius VII was a prisoner at Fontainebleau, Napoleon sought by threats and violence to extort his assent to a new Concordat. But the Pope formally revoked his consent, and always maintained that he had consented not to a new Concordat, but to certain points being submitted to discussion with a view to a new Concordat. The so-called Concordat, then, of 1811, remained a dead letter.

In 1815 Napoleon fell. He had framed the Organic Articles to disarm the opposition of men hostile to religion and to the Concordat. Ambition led him to the violence of Fontainebleau. In his humiliation he had no truer friend than Pius VII. In 1817 the Pope spoke thus of him in a letter to Cardinal Gonsalvi:—

The family of the Emperor Napoleon has informed us through Cardinal Fesch that the rock of St. Helena is fatal to him, and that the poor exile is wasting away every moment. We have learned this news with infinite pain which no doubt you will share, for we must both remember that after God it is to him that is principally due the re-establishment of religion in the great kingdom of France. The pious and courageous enterprise of 1801 has made us long since forget and pardon his subsequent errors. Savona and Fontainebleau were only the errors of the head or the folly of human ambition. The Concordat was an act of salvation at once Christian and heroic.¹

During the Restoration a modification of certain articles of the Concordat of 1801 was made, but it was short-lived. The Concordat, therefore, of 1801 has continued to be

¹ Pius VII to Cardinal Gonsalvi, 6th October, 1817—*Memoirs of Card. Gonsalvi*, vol. i., p. 91.

accepted as the law regulating the relations of Church and State in France from that date down to the present time. The French Government, without asking the consent of the Holy See, now seeks to abrogate the solemn treaty made between Napoleon and Pius VII. It is, therefore, of particular interest at the present time to inquire what rights were guaranteed to each of the contracting powers ; what has been the influence of the Concordat on the Church in France ; and what may be looked forward to as the result of its abrogation.

II.

The seventeen articles of the Concordat revolutionized and reorganised the Church of France. It was stipulated that the Holy See, by an act of supreme authority, an act which struck at the roots of all Gallican principles, should readjust the dioceses of France, and modify their number and their limits over the whole territory of the kingdom.

The Concordat acknowledged in the First Consul all the rights and privileges in respect to the Church which the sovereigns of the old *régime* had enjoyed. It conferred on the head of the State the right to nominate persons to fill the episcopal sees throughout the realm, and obliged the bishops and the higher clergy to take an oath of allegiance before entering on their functions. Moreover, the Pope pledged himself and his successors not to molest the possessors of ecclesiastical property which had been alienated during the Revolution. What did the State on its part undertake ? The State undertook to guarantee the freedom and publicity of worship. It restored to the ecclesiastical authorities the cathedrals and parochial churches. It authorised the bishops to establish diocesan chapters, to open ecclesiastical seminaries and to organise new parishes, and appoint parish priests. It undertook, moreover, to provide a decent maintenance for the clergy ; and conferred on the Church the right of receiving pious foundations.

There was no mention of religious Orders of any kind. Hence anti-clerical writers maintain that the existence of

religious Orders in France is contrary to the terms of the Concordat. Catholics, on the other hand, maintain that the article which guarantees religious liberty to the Church also guarantees liberty to religious Orders. For the Church cannot be said to be free if her children are not permitted to practise the counsels of perfection, which her Divine Founder has given. Such were the mutual concessions agreed to by the two powers. But the concessions made to the Church were, to a large extent, rendered inoperative by the Organic Articles. The first four articles alone show how unreal was the liberty granted by the Concordat. By the terms of these articles no Bull or Brief emanating from the Court of Rome can be executed without the authorisation of the Government. No nuncio or legate can without the same authorisation, exercise any function on French soil, relative to the affairs of the Church of France. No decrees of foreign synods, even of general councils, may be published until they have been examined by the Government. No national or metropolitan council, no diocesan synod, no deliberative assembly, can be held without the express permission of the Government. Such is a specimen of the liberty accorded to the Church by the Organic Articles.

But, it may legitimately be asked, what has been the influence of the Concordat upon the condition of the Church in France? No doubt the Church has received a legal status in the country. She has received the use of the churches and a salary for her clergy. But it is true to say that the clergy of all grades have suffered from the state of things established by the Concordat. The bishops have been chosen by the Government. How has that choice been made? Under the Restoration the candidates were chosen chiefly from the nobility. It was accepted as a rule of conduct that *il faut decrasser l'episcopat*. Besides the ministers, two royal ladies—Queen Mary Amelia and Madame de Genlis—had a paramount influence in the appointments. From their combined influence resulted a choice of bishops virtuous, indeed, but above all devoted to the King and to his dynasty. Other forms of

government have since succeeded and have exercised the right of presentation. 'For the last twenty years,' writes Mgr. Baunard, in 1900, 'the right of presentation to the episcopate has fallen into hands notoriously hostile to the Church; has there not resulted from this a diffidence more or less pronounced in the minds of the clergy, alarmed at seeing their chiefs nominated or proposed by the leaders of the hostile force on the field of battle?'¹ It is true the French episcopate, since the Concordat, has ever been a body venerable not only by its rank, but by the virtues and the talents of its members. But their action has been fettered. For the erection of churches, the opening of chapels, the division of parishes, and the nomination of the parish priests of the more important parishes, they must have the sanction of the Government. But what is most deplorable of all, they cannot act as a body. They cannot meet in deliberative assemblies, nor in provincial synods, without the express permission of the State. Hence, with all their virtues and their learning, they are isolated, intimidated. 'Sunt Episcopi, non sunt Episcopatus.' If they speak out, or attempt to take concerted action, they are either deprived of their stipend or cited to appear before the council of State.

And what is the status of the inferior clergy? By the 9th and 10th Articles of the Concordat it was stipulated that the bishops should, with the consent of the Government, form new parishes, and should appoint to them only such persons as were acceptable to the Civil power. The Organic Articles added that curates and *desservants* shall be appointed by the bishop and revoked by him. In consequence parishes are conferred without the concursus prescribed by the Council of Trent. Before the Revolution there were in France 36,000 irremovable parish priests; now there are only 3,425. Over 34,000 curés, styled *desservants*, have all the obligations and powers of parish priests, but are movable at the discretion of the bishop.

¹ Mgr. Baunard, *Un siècle de l'église de France*, p. 143; third edition.

The temporalities of each parish is in the hands of a Board of Churchwardens, a board in which the curé has but one vote, and of which he cannot be chairman. The State guarantees to the clergy a salary as compensation for the spoliation of the Church is 1789. They have also the use of a parochial residence.

To what does this annual stipend amount? With the exception of some large city parishes the clergy in general have hardly the means of subsistence. 'Nine hundred francs of stipend, and fifty to one hundred francs of stole dues, and a few Mass stipends, such are the meagre resources which three-fourths of the country clergy possess to meet the expense of food and clothing, to keep a servant, and to give alms.'¹ The French clergy have many excellent qualities. An eminent Protestant writer says of them that 'there is not a more exemplary body of men in any land.'² It is true there are not many noble amongst them. The higher families prefer to see their sons enter a religious Order rather than to have them interred alive in a village. As a body, the French clergy are virtuous, they are zealous, they are studious, they are charitable, they are loyal to their country—but they are the poorest clergy in Europe.

III.

Such is the condition of the Church in France under the Concordat. The French Government now contemplates the introduction of a legislative measure to abrogate the solemn treaty entered into between the Holy See and France. It may, then, be asked, is such a measure just, is it expedient, and what will be the position of the Church should the Concordat be abrogated? Is the abrogation of the Concordat just? As it was justly entered into by the joint consent of the two powers it may justly be set aside by their common agreement. But that one of the contracting parties should, without the consent of the

¹ Mgr. Baunard, *Ibid.*, p. 139.

² J. E. C. Bodley, *France*, Introduction, p. 44.

other, refuse to abide by the terms of their treaty is contrary to the principles of justice. Moreover, the salary of the clergy is not a free gift of the State, but a compensation solemnly guaranteed for the property of which the Church was despoiled. On this point a well-known statesman writes: 'The budget of Worship could not be suppressed without the consent of the clergy, and after compensation, which should be freely discussed with them. The chief of those compensations would be to give them corporate rights, and liberty to acquire property.'¹

Is it expedient to abrogate the Concordat? In 1830, de Lamennais and his school advocated a rupture of the Concordat, and even a free renunciation of the State stipend by the clergy. Neither the clergy, nor the bishops of France nor the Holy See approved of such a course. In 1870, the Prime Minister, Emile Ollivier, and the Emperor, Napoleon III, were favourable to the idea of the separation of Church and State. But they would have made full compensation to the clergy for the loss of their annual stipend, and would have left them complete control of ecclesiastical buildings. The fall of the Empire hindered the execution of such a project. At the present time no French Catholic of standing, either amongst the laity or the clergy, advocates the abrogation of the Concordat as practically expedient. A system which has been in existence not merely for a century, but if one goes back to Francis I and Leo X, for four centuries, cannot be repudiated without a shock to the hereditary sentiment of the nation. Some, while declaring that they do not fear the abrogation of the Concordat, affirm that, sooner or later, it will be necessary for the Church and State to come to an understanding and to negotiate a new Concordat. Leo XIII, in his Letter to the Bishops and Clergy of France, 16th February, 1892, laid down the principles which should guide French Catholics in the discussion of this question:—

Catholics [writes the Holy Father] should carefully avoid advocating such a separation. In fact to desire the separation

¹ Emile Ollivier, *L'église et l'état au concile du Vatican*, vol. i. p. 160.

of the State from the Church, would be to desire, as a logical consequence, that the Church should be reduced to live under the law common to all citizens. This state of things, it is true, exists in certain countries. It is a state of things, which, if it presents many grave inconveniences, possesses also certain advantages, especially when the legislator, by a happy inconsequence, does not cease to be inspired by Christian principles, and though those advantages cannot justify the false principle of separation nor authorize its defence, they nevertheless render worthy of toleration a state of things, which, in practice, is not the worst of all. But in France, which is a Catholic nation by its traditions, and by the faith of the great majority of its people, the Church ought not to be placed in the precarious position to which she is subjected in other countries.¹

But if Frenchmen may doubt the expediency in the abstract of abrogating the Concordat, the position in which that abrogation will place the Church is well calculated to increase their hesitation. What will be the position of the Church in France if disendowed? Three projects of separation of Church and State are before the country: the *Projet Briand*, adopted by a parliamentary committee; the *Projet Combes*, presented in the name of the late Government, and the *Projet Bienvenu-Martin*, presented by the present Minister of Worship. In their main features the three schemes agree. Religion in France shall be disendowed. The *budget des cultes*, or the sum annually voted for the support of the clergy, shall cease from the 1st of January after the Bill becomes law.

The churches, cathedral and parochial, the episcopal and parochial residences, and seminary buildings shall cease to be ecclesiastical property, and shall be handed over to the State, or, if erected since 1801, to the municipal body or other corporation which had a share in their construction. Catholics, however, shall be allowed to rent the churches for Divine service for a period of ten years. Divine service may not be celebrated except in a building sanctioned for the purpose by the Government. All religious ceremonies in public places, unless specially authorised, shall be forbidden. Associations may be formed to hold

¹ Leo XIII, Encyclical to the Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy, and Catholics of France, 16th February, 1892.

property for the purposes of religion. The *Projet Briand* does not limit the territory over which such association may extend ; the *Projet Combes* limits them to one department, while that of M. Bienvenu-Martin permits them to extend to ten departments.

Each *projet* contains a scheme for pensions to the clergy at present salaried by the State. That pension, according to the *projet Bienvenu-Martin*, shall in no case exceed 1,200 francs, and shall not be less than 400 francs. Priests of more than thirty years standing shall receive two-thirds of their present salary for life, those over twenty years shall receive one-half of their actual stipend. The clergy whose service is under twenty years shall receive 400 francs for a period equal to one-half of the term of their past service.

All laws affecting the religious congregations shall remain in force.

All ministers of religion who, by discourses delivered or by tracts distributed in a place of worship, seek to influence elections, shall be fined and imprisoned; the committee of management shall be held responsible, and the lease of the place of worship may be rescinded.

By the proposed legislation, therefore, the Church in France will be disendowed ; but not freed from State control. She will not receive, as did the Protestant Church in Ireland, the full dominion of ecclesiastical buildings, and a partial endowment for the future. In one respect the Church will receive freedom. The Pope will be free in the appointment of bishops, and the bishops will enjoy freedom in the nomination of parish priests. But the support of the clergy and all the expenses necessary for Divine worship will be thrown upon the people. In what spirit will that burden be accepted and borne ? Will it be possible to provide means to educate and to support the clergy, to rent the churches ? The amount of the annual budget for worship at the present time is about forty millions of francs. The Catholic population of the country is over thirty-eight millions. It will only cost the country a voluntary offering of about one franc per head to make

up the necessary sum. Is this too much to expect in a country so rich, and in which wealth is so widely divided? In the great cities the support of Catholic worship should present no serious difficulty. At the present time the State stipend reaches only a small portion of the city clergy.

In the country the case is different. Parishes are small. Religious indifference is widely prevalent. Some years ago, Taine wrote: 'By an imperceptible and slow retrogression the great mass of the rural population, like the great mass of the urban population, is becoming pagan.'¹ Is this estimate correct? Mgr. Baunard questions its complete accuracy. Yet he writes: 'As to the rural population he (Taine) expresses only too well its descent to gross paganism.'² In another chapter of his work on the Church in France in the nineteenth century, Mgr. Baunard thus describes the condition of parochial life³:—

What is the condition of that little church called a parish, and of him who is its minister or pastor? A Mass without a congregation, an altar without communicants, a pulpit without an audience, a school without catechism, a lectern without chanters. The mayor a priesthater, the schoolmaster a free-thinker, the bourgeois a Freemason, the majority indifferent, the rest hostile, and amid such surroundings the poor curé isolated, abandoned, despised, persecuted sometimes, his intentions misunderstood, his zeal repelled, his conduct watched; in one word, what is worst of all as a consequence of all this, irreligion, blasphemy, libertinism, Jesus Christ offended, a return of paganism, a parish going to ruin. One should have heard the priests of three-fourths of our parishes in France speak of this state of things to understand the heroic courage, the patience and faith, of those martyrs to duty.

Such is the picture of a French parish given, not by a foreigner, nor by an enemy of France, nor of religion, but by the eminent and learned rector of the Catholic University of Lille, in the year 1900. Can the clergy in such circumstances count on being supported by the voluntary

¹ Taine, *Origines de la France moderne*.

² *Un siècle de l'église de France*, p. 500; third edition.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

offerings of the people of their parishes? It would be rash to say so. Evidently if the clergy are to be supported by the people the whole organisation of rural France must be changed. Small parishes must be united, and served from some central point. When the people see their village church closed and their curé gone, the embers of their faith may yet be fanned into a flame.

How the present crisis will end is hidden in the future. The struggle between Louis XIV and the Holy See lasted from 1682 to 1693, and it ended in a reconciliation and the triumph of Rome. The rupture at the end of the eighteenth century lasted from 1789 to 1801, and it ended in a new Concordat. In that Concordat, the 17th Article stipulates that if any successor of the First Consul does not profess the Catholic religion a new convention shall be made, especially in what concerns the nomination of bishops. There is nothing in the law of France to preclude a Protestant from being elected to fill the post of President of the Republic. A new Concordat, therefore, might be framed in which the Government would cease to have the appointment of bishops; and in which the stipend of the clergy would be doubled, or so far increased as to make it equal in value to what it was a century ago. On this basis alone would a new Concordat be desirable.

But if separation must come, there is reason to hope that it will prove a blessing. The bishops will be the free choice of the Holy See; they will have liberty to reorganize their dioceses, to erect churches where needed, to divide the enormous and unworkable city parishes, to unite the small rural cures. The clergy, no longer bondsmen, will feel that they must be self-reliant. The people, who in the past have contributed so liberally to charities at home and abroad, will rally round them. As in Switzerland, committees will be formed to collect, under episcopal sanction, means for the maintenance of religion. After a period of severe trial a new era of life and energy will dawn for the Church of France.

P. BOYLE, C.M.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HUMAN LIBERTY—II

IN my last article¹ I submitted a comparative statement of Catholic and non-Catholic teaching on the general question of Freewill. In the present article I purpose to deal with Freewill in relation to a particular sphere of action, in relation to the delicate department of religious belief and practice ; for if the Catholic Church is conceived by her adversaries to be unduly opposed to liberty generally, she is believed to be in a special manner intolerant within the domain of religion and absolutely opposed to Freedom of Conscience.

By Freedom of Conscience I mean freedom in regard to religious dogma, to divine worship, and to the recognition and fulfilment of the duties which man owes to his Creator. Are we free to believe or not to believe in the existence of God, to worship Him or not to worship Him, to recognise and observe His commandments or to ignore and perhaps transgress them ? And if we believe in the existence of God as demonstrated by reason, a further question arises : Are we free to believe or disbelieve in supernatural revelation, and to take our choice of supernatural religion or the natural religion of deists and rationalists ? And if we are satisfied that God has made a supernatural revelation to the world and established a supernatural religion, the question arises : Are we free to select at will between the religion of the Old Testament and Christianity ? And if we believe that Christianity has superseded the old dispensation, the further question arises : Are we free to choose between the Catholic Church, National Churches such as the Anglican Church and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the innumerable minor sects into which the Christian world is split up ?

I shall endeavour in this article to state what the

¹ I. E. RECORD, March, 1905.

different Churches and Schools teach about physical Freedom of Conscience, and what they teach about moral Freedom of Conscience.

I.

I. What should Mechanical Determinists teach, consistently with their general principles, on the subject of Freedom of Conscience? Evidently they should deny its existence. They should hold that every act of intellectual assent to religious truths or dissent from them, every act of homage to a supreme Being or of revolt against such homage, and every act of submission to divine commandments or of repudiation of divine commandments, are mechanically and necessarily determined, like all the other phenomena of the universe, by the physical laws of nature. Are you an atheist or an agnostic? then, as Dr. Bain would say, you are determined to atheism or agnosticism 'by the uniformity of your own nature.' Do you believe in a Supreme Being distinct from the world, in the spirituality and immortality of the soul, in a future life? these beliefs, like emotion, intellect, will and all their phenomena, Professor Tyndall should say, were once latent in a fiery cloud,² were potentially contained in the primitive nebula, and have become actual and have been necessarily transmitted to you and survive in you, because of their utility in the struggle for existence. Are you a Christian? then you have been physically determined, the Determinists should say, by the character of your constitution and your environment to the profession of the Christian religion. Are you, on the other hand, an infidel, a deist, a rationalist? it is nature herself, they would say, that has determined you, by the mysterious processes of her laws, to deny supernatural revelation and the Christian religion. Are you opposed to the Catholic Church, to its doctrine, its worship, its ethics and its discipline? you are physically determined, they would say, to such opposition by the laws of nature. Are you, on the

¹ *Fragments of Science*, vol. ii., p. 131.

contrary, a Catholic, believing in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, participating in her worship and submitting to her laws ? then, they should say, you can have the assurance of science that that vast moral organism, hale and hearty notwithstanding its nineteen hundred and four years, the witness of the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires, maintaining itself in every age and clime and condition of people, emerging triumphantly from incessant struggles for existence, is 'the Survival of the Fittest,' Nature's final Selection after numerous past religious integrations and disintegrations ; and that your submission to this Church is the necessary result of your own nature and environment and of transmitted tendencies that have been found useful in the struggle for existence. Evolutionists, therefore, should hold that every act of Christian faith and worship and of the observance of the commandments, all the superstitions of the ignorant throughout the world, the religious beliefs of deists and rationalists, and the agnostic worship itself of the Unknown and Unknowable, have been all inexorably determined by the physical laws of nature.

II. Similarly Idealist Determinists, such as Lutherans, Calvinists and Presbyterians—and Idealist Determinism at least is permitted in the Anglican Church—should deny, consistently with their general theories of human liberty, the existence of Freewill in relation to Conscience. According to the theory of Luther men remain quite passive in the process of justification, and all their acts of religious assent and all their religious volitions are produced by God and infused into the passive and inactive faculties of the recipients. And though Calvinists insisted strongly against the Lutherans that these religious acts are elicited by the human faculties with the aid of the divine supernatural motion, still are these acts necessarily determined, in the Calvinist and Presbyterian theory, proximately by the sum of the influences of each individual's character, dispositions, principles and feelings, and remotely by the divine predestination which ordained that all these acts should not only be performed, but should be performed

necessarily. Whether, therefore, you are an agnostic an atheist or a theist, a believer in supernatural revelation or a rationalist, a Jew or a Christian, a Catholic or an Anglican or a Lutheran or a Calvinist or a Presbyterian or a member of some minor Christian sect, your particular believe is not free, nor your unbelief, according to Calvinist and Presbyterian principles, but is necessarily determined proximately by the totality of your own individuality, and remotely by the divine eternal decrees of predestination and reprobation.

III. But, it will be urged, the Catholic Church too, though she may advocate the existence of liberty in relation to the will, must associate herself with the philosophical and scientific world and with the various Protestant Churches in denying the existence of Freewill in relation to Conscience. For though we undoubtedly speak of Free-Will, who ever speaks of Free-Mind? Does the intellect not necessarily assent or dissent or suspend its judgment according to the evidence presented to it? Either there are convincing motives submitted to the intellect for believing certain religious truths, such as the existence of God, the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation; or the motives are insufficient. If the motives are convincing the intellect will naturally assent to these truths; but if the motives are insufficient the intellect cannot assent to them at all. Nor, it will be urged, does it suffice to say that the intellect can be determined by the wish to believe; for, as Professor Flint well observes¹:—

By willing we can give attention to a subject, study it long and earnestly or only hastily and superficially, and in appropriate or inappropriate ways, but we cannot by any exertion of will force ourselves to believe any proposition on any subject beyond what seems to us to be the evidence for it.

Nevertheless the Catholic Church teaches and has defined as a truth of faith that men are free in assenting to the truths of faith. It will have been observed that

¹ *Agnosticism*, p. 398.

the difficulties I have stated apply solely to intellectual assent to religious truths, and not to the broader conception of religion as it includes the worship of the Supreme Being and the observance of His commandments. Even though it were granted that intellectual assent is necessary, yet would men be free to worship or not worship the Creator, and to observe or transgress His commandments. Further, however, the Church teaches that the assent of faith is free. But to explain how Freewill can extend to the intellectual assent of faith I must make a few preliminary observations.

A proposition can be immediately cognized as self-evident, as the axiom : The same thing cannot be and not-be at the same time ; or though demonstrated by a process of reasoning, the arguments can be such that they prove the proposition to be evident and remove all possibility of doubt or error ; or the arguments can be such that they produce moral certainty, such certainty as is recognised to be a sufficient and obligatory guide in the ordinary affairs of life. The second observation : when a proposition is self-evident or demonstrated by argument to be evident, the intellect naturally and necessarily assents to the truths so presented to it ; but when the arguments are capable of producing only moral certainty, the intellect is not so necessarily determined by its nature to assent, and can be swayed easily by passions and prejudices, by the influence of the will and by the inclinations of nature. That our passions and prejudices and interests can affect our judgments, is admitted by writers of every school of thought.

The psychological law [writes Mr. Lewis¹], that we only see what interests us, and only assimilate what is adapted to our condition, causes the mind to select its evidence. . . . The desire to establish or avoid a certain result [says Professor Tyndall²] can so warp the mind as to destroy its power of estimating facts. . . . Every moral disposition [remarks Mr. Lecky³] brings with it an intellectual bias, which exercises a

¹ In Mivart. *Lessons from Nature*, p. 428.

² *Idem*, *ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

great and often a controlling and decisive influence even upon the most candid inquirer. . . . Reason is very far indeed [observes G. J. Romanes¹] from being the sole guide of judgment that it is usually taken to be—so far that, save in matters approaching downright demonstration (where of course there is no room for any other ingredient), it is usually hampered by custom, prejudice, dislike, etc., to a degree that would astonish the most sober philosopher could he lay bare to himself all the mental processes whereby the complex act of assent or dissent is eventually determined. . . . Now nothing is so inimical to Christian belief as un-Christian conduct. This is especially the case as regards impurity ; for whether the fact be explained on religious or non-religious grounds, it has more to do with unbelief than has the speculative reason.²

And in insisting thus on the close connection between infidelity and un-Christian conduct Mr. Romanes is but repeating the doctrine of St. Paul :—

This precept [he says] I commend to thee, O son Timothy ; according to the prophecies going before on thee, that thou war in them a good warfare. Having faith and a good conscience, which some rejecting have made shipwreck concerning the faith.³

Having made these preliminary observations I now proceed to explain how Freedom of Conscience may be possible even in regard to intellectual beliefs. Religious belief may be philosophical or it may be the belief of faith ; as some religious truths can be scientifically demonstrated, and all the truths of the Christian religion can be received by faith on divine authority. Now Freedom of Conscience is possible in the department of natural religion. We can will to give attention to the subject or to neglect it, to consider and examine the arguments for religious truths or to refuse them even fair consideration and examination ; and thus our religious beliefs, natural and supernatural, can be at least remotely voluntary and free. But moreover intellectual assent to religious truths can be proximately free. No doubt when the truths of natural theology are supported by arguments that demonstrate

¹ *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 139.

² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³ *Tim.* i, 18. 19.

the absolute evidence of these truths the mind naturally assents to them independently of the wish to believe. But how few there are to whom the truths of natural religion are as evident, say, as the axiom : The whole is greater than its part ! And for the multitude, who, by philosophical study or by teaching, acquire strong moral certainty of the truths of religion the will plays a very important part in their belief. It determines the intellect to examine the evidence impartially, it puts on pressure to resist prejudices, and at the end of the examination, while the intellect is perhaps to some extent in suspense, not being *necessarily* determined by the evidence, the will intervenes and commands it to assent to the truths that are supposed to have been proved to distinct moral certainty. Nor do we force ourselves, by this process, to believe a proposition beyond what seems to us to be the evidence for it. We force ourselves or we wish simply to believe a proposition, which has been proved to be morally certain, according to the measure of the evidence which has been adduced to support it ; just as a juror is expected to will to find a verdict of ' guilty ' against a prisoner if there be no reasonable doubt of the prisoner's guilt. Intellectual assent, therefore, to truths of natural theology is said to be free because it is given under the command of a free act of the human will.

When we make an act of faith we assent not on account of the intrinsic evidence of the truth believed, but relying solely on the authority of God. If we suppose the existence of an all-truthful and omniscient God who can neither deceive nor be deceived, and that He has certainly revealed, say, the doctrine of the Incarnation, we can assent reasonably and with the most absolute assurance of inerrancy to this revealed truth of the Incarnation. The evidence which the great mass of Christians have for the existence of God and for the fact that a divine revelation has been made, is sufficient to produce a high form of moral certainty, which excludes all reasonable doubt, but not to constrain the intellect to give a necessary assent to these truths. Then again, as in the case of natural religion,

the will intervenes and commands the intellect to assent to the revealed truth on the authority of the all-truthful omniscient God who can neither deceive nor be deceived. Nor in this process is the intellect forced to assent to a proposition beyond what appears to be the evidence for it: the will commands the intellect to believe only according to the authority it has for believing. And the act of faith is free, not precisely as elicited by the intellect, but because the intellect has been determined to believe by a free act of the human will.

In the case of those who can demonstrate for themselves with absolute evidential certainty the existence of an all-truthful and omniscient God, and the fact that He has revealed to the world, let us say, the mystery of the Incarnation, many theologians think that the merit of faith is lost, that the assent is not free, but necessary. Undoubtedly this would be true if every proposition believed by faith should be regarded formally as the conclusion of a syllogism, and if the assent of the intellect were determined by the validity of the logical inference. If I argue: 'Whatever the all-truthful and omniscient God reveals must be evidently true, but it is evident that the all-truthful and omniscient God has revealed the mystery of the Incarnation;' then I must conclude: 'It is evident that the doctrine of the Incarnation is true.' But an act of faith is different from an act of theological assent to a theological conclusion. And I agree with those who teach that, when the student of religion has acquired absolute evidential certainty of the all-truthfulness and omniscience of God, and of the fact that God has made a revelation, he can regard these truths as preliminary conditions of faith, and command his intellect to assent to the revealed truths on the sole authority of God who has revealed them. According to this view the assent of faith will not cease to be free by reason of the evidential certainty of the all-truthfulness and omniscience of God and of the fact of revelation, until we shall see the *Prima Veritas* itself, the formal object of faith, in the beatific

vision, and contemplate the material objects of divine faith revealed and mirrored in the divine Word.¹

Freewill is therefore possible in relation to intellectual assent. And the Catholic Church teaches that men are really free in assenting to religious truths, and that the assent of supernatural faith is free. She would say to mankind: You are free, you have the power by the self-determination of your will, to believe or disbelieve the existence of God; to believe or disbelieve supernatural revelation and religion; to affiliate with Judaism or Christianity; to submit to the One, Catholic and Apostolic Church or to join a national separated church or one of the minor separated Christian sects. Man, she would say, is independent not merely in regard of material objects of finite good, but also in presence of the intellectual world and of spiritual good; and in the midst of a warring world of creeds and unbelief, all soliciting the homage of his intellect and will, he remains independent of all, and can believe or not believe or disbelieve according to the self-determination of his will in the sense explained. The words of Deuteronomy, she would say, are true of faith as they are of duties that appertain exclusively to the moral order: 'I call heaven and earth to witness this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing. Choose thou life, that both thou and thy seed may live.'²

II.

I now pass from the existence of Freedom of Conscience to its use and exercise, from physical to moral Freedom of Conscience. The Catholic Church teaches the existence of Freedom of Conscience as a truth of faith, and it is denied by the non-Catholic world, ecclesiastical, scientific and philosophical. But when we come to the question of the lawful use of liberty in relation to religious belief, the Catholic Church orders her children to use their liberty

¹ Cf. St. Thomas, 2. 2. q. 5, art. i.

² Deut. xxx. 19.

in accordance with divine law and condemns the opposite errors, and then the various non-Catholic churches and schools, that deny themselves the very existence of Free-will in relation to religion, join in a chorus of condemnation of the Church's infringement and violation of the sacred rights of Freedom of Conscience.

I. And first, Evolutionists and Mechanical Determinists demand unlimited licence of thought under the name of Freedom of Conscience. What do they mean by Freedom of Conscience? They mean, in the philosophical order, mainly the right to reject all metaphysical philosophy and to be guided by experience alone, and consequently the right to reject the theories of necessary truths, of absolute knowledge, of cause and effect, of substance and accident, of essence or nature and personality, etc.; the right to be spiritualists or materialists, realists or idealists; and above all the right of immunity or exemption from the interference of authority, civil or ecclesiastical, in matters of science and philosophy. And in the domain of religious dogma? By Freedom of Conscience within the domain of religion they mean the right to ignore or deny the existence of God, the spirituality of the soul, a future life and freewill; the right of repudiating all obligation of paying homage to a personal Being distinct from the world, and of cherishing the noblest and most human of man's emotions, by worship, for the most part of the silent sort, at the altar of the Unknown and Unknowable;¹ and finally the right of immunity from condemnation or other interference by external authority. And in the department of morality? They claim the right of denying the existence of right and wrong, and of substituting for ethical morality a system of legal morality, by which society protects itself against the dangers from individuals by prohibiting certain crimes and sanctioning severe punishment for criminals.

Idealist Determinists too, Lutherans, Calvinists and

¹ Huxley, *Lay Sermons*, p. 14.

Presbyterians, while advocating, as we have seen, a system of universal Determinism and denying the existence of Freewill in every department of life, mental, volitional and corporal, in contradiction to their general principles, call insistently for liberty of belief, and assail the Catholic Church for her opposition to Freedom of Conscience. And what do they mean by Freedom of Conscience? They mean the right and duty, as they conceive it, of every Christian to read the Bible and determine for himself, by his private judgment, what he shall believe and what he shall refuse to believe. They concede that, in a certain sense, a person may be legally bound to adhere to the confession of faith of the local church of which he is a member, but contend that the Scriptures alone have authority to bind the conscience.¹ In the name therefore of Freedom of Conscience they claim absolute independence, in matters of conscience, from external authority, from church authority, but particularly from the authority of an infallible Church.

A Church which claims to be infallible [writes Hodge²], *ipso facto* claims to be the mistress of the world, and those who admit its infallibility thereby admit their entire subjection to its authority. . . . It is obvious, therefore, that where this doctrine is held there can be no liberty of opinion, no freedom of conscience, no civil or political freedom.

In the Anglican Church the Evangelical section agree with the Lutherans and Calvinists that the Scriptures alone have power to bind the conscience, that it is the right and duty of every one to read the Bible and determine for himself, irrespective of church authority, what he shall believe and what he shall refuse to believe. And, among the Ritualists, while some demand freedom of conscience in the sense of independence of any foreign church, as of the Church of Rome, others are prepared to submit to the present united sense of Christendom, or to the teaching of the first five centuries.

But, it will be asked, do the Reformers and the Anglican

¹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. i., p. 183.

² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 149, 150.

Church, while claiming independence in matters of conscience from the Church of Rome, permit Freedom of belief to those who remain within their fold? They allow or tolerate Freedom or licence of Conscience along the road to infidelity, but raise an alarm when some of their children attempt to revive the ancient doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church. May not Anglicans and Presbyterians be Darwinian Evolutionists and deny or ignore the existence of God, of the supernatural, of miracles, of a spiritual soul, of Freewill? Are there not Presbyterian ministers and clergymen of the Anglican Church who deny the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity? Are there not Presbyterian and Anglican dignitaries who reject the virgin birth of Christ and deny His divinity? Along the road leading to infidelity Freedom of Conscience is exercised with impunity; but what if a Presbyterian or an Anglican clergyman taught the lawfulness and utility of the invocation of Saints, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the primacy of jurisdiction of the Pope? Should he be allowed Freedom of Conscience among the Presbyterians or in the Anglican Church?

II. Much as they may disagree among themselves in their conceptions of religious liberty, non-Catholics unite in assailing the Catholic Church for her condemnation of Freedom of Conscience. But the Catholic Church condemns the abuse of liberty in every department of action. She cannot permit human reason to be withdrawn from the guidance and obligation of moral law; or rather perhaps she cannot permit it to be taught that the human will is under no obligation of ruling the intellect into conformity with law. Anarchy, she would say, is unlawful; and can it then be lawful for a man to devise mentally anarchical schemes, to publish to the world anarchical theories, to conduct a vigorous anarchical propagandism? Real disloyalty to the Head of the State, she would say, is unlawful; and can it then be lawful to conceive mentally elaborate schemes of disloyalty and to approve mentally of acts of disloyalty? Injustice to the neighbour, she would say,

is unlawful ; and can it then be conceded that a man may lawfully assent to and propound theories subversive of justice, and complain of tyranny if the freedom be refused of advocating immoral doctrines ? And if human reason has its restraints in relation to the affairs of the world, why should it claim immunity from law in relation to religious belief, to divine worship and to the duty of observing the commandments ? Here again the Church would distinguish between the existence and the lawful use of freedom, between physical and moral Freedom of Conscience. She would say : You have the physical power to believe or not to believe in the existence of God, to worship Him or not to worship Him, to submit to His commandments or to transgress them ; but you are not morally free, you are under obligation to know God, to worship Him, to keep His commandments ; and atheism, agnosticism and antinomianism are therefore unlawful and sinful. She would say : You are physically free to select between rationalism and supernaturalism ; but you are not morally free, you are bound to accept divine supernatural revelation. She would say : You are free physically to join a dissenting Christian sect, or some national church, or to enter the one true fold, the Catholic Church ; but you are not morally free, you are commanded under pain of sin to enter the true Church of Christ. She would say : You are physically free to observe or disregard the commandments of God and of His Church ; but you are not free morally, you cannot without sin disregard the commandments. I need scarcely observe that when the Church declares agnosticism, naturalism, rationalism and dissent to be unlawful and sinful, she speaks of these systems in themselves or objectively ; but pronounces no judgment on the subjective condition of each individual, whether he is *bona fide* or *mala fide*, excusable or inexcusable, culpable or inculpable, a material or a formal transgressor of the divine law.

I would remark that the question of the existence or non-existence of Freedom of Conscience should not constitute a subject of special controversy, because the

problem is already solved by the answer we give to the great dogmatic questions: Is there a supreme infinite personal Being distinct from the world? has He made a supernatural revelation to the world and established a supernatural religion? has the Son of God become incarnate? has He established one exclusive Catholic Church, such as He is conceived by the Church of Rome to have established? All men, I should say, would cordially admit the conditional proposition: If there be an infinite personal Being distinct from the world who is the Creator and Lord of the universe, and if His existence is cognized by me, I am not morally free to deny His existence, to refuse Him worship, to disregard His commandments; but I am bound to believe in Him, to worship Him, to obey His laws. Again, all sincere believers in God would admit in its conditional form the proposition: If supernatural revelation be possible, and if it be proved that God has made to the world a supernatural revelation, I am no longer free to remain a deist or a rationalist, I am bound in conscience to reduce my reason to the obedience of faith. Catholics would admit in its conditional form the proposition: If Christ established no external organisation or Church with infallible authority to interpret divine revelation, if He ordained that the Scriptures interpreted by private judgment should be the sole rule of faith, it would be a grave violation of the rights of conscience to force on the world ecclesiastical definitions of faith. And all sincere Christians should admit the conditional proposition: If Christ established one true Church, such as Catholics conceive the Church to be, and if He commanded mankind to become members of His Church, I am not morally free to remain a member of a national church or dissenting Christian sect, I am under a grave conscientious obligation to become a member of the one true Church of Christ, whatever that may be.

Finally, the opposition of the Reformed bodies to an infallible Church and their enthusiasm for private judgment appear to us exceedingly unreasonable. Just consider the diversity and confusion of beliefs outside the

Catholic Church. There are Trinitarians and Unitarians ; believers in the divinity of Christ and humanitarians ; believers and disbelievers in the Redemption, in a future resurrection, in immortality ; believers in a real presence in the Blessed Eucharist and advocates of a spiritual or figurative presence, etc. One party in all these great controversies is in error. And why should 'liberty' be so ardently claimed for 'error' ? Whence comes the fascination of this theory that we have a 'right' to be 'wrong' in doctrine ? What participation has 'freedom' with 'error' ? Should we not rather speak of the 'servitude' than of the 'freedom' of 'error' ? And how can it be maintained that legitimate Freedom of Conscience is impossible in an infallible Church that is divinely guided to protect us from error and declare to us the true sense of the divine revelation ? We are not allowed and we are not all competent to interpret the laws of the realm by private judgment. And as the existence of legal tribunals to interpret with authority and enforce the provisions of civil law does not offend our sense of civil freedom, so we believe it cannot with any show of reason be maintained that a divinely established infallible Church is incompatible with legitimate civil or religious freedom.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

[*To be continued.*]

LOUIS VEUILLOT—II

IT is not difficult to understand why there should have been a division in the Catholic ranks over the Education Bill of M. Falloux. On the one hand, Montalembert and Dupanloup, fearing that demands for full justice would only irritate the University Party and perhaps destroy for years all chance of settlement, resolved to conclude something in the nature of an 'educational concordat.' Louis Veuillot, on the other, refused to abate one jot of his original demands. Convinced that Thiers and the 'party of order' were anxious for the support of the Church at all cost, he made up his mind that if the Catholics stood firm their every wish should be satisfied, while by concluding a bargain they shut out for years the possibility of improvement. In the circumstances then existing in France perhaps the editor of *L'Univers* was right, but for ourselves, we must confess that we have little sympathy with the policy of standing by principle to the rejection of every concession however favourable. It is right to demand full justice, but is it prudent to reject every advance unless the full demands are satisfied?

The moment the Bill had become law, Louis Veuillot withdrew his opposition, and set himself to make the most of the situation:—

We shall obey [he wrote]. Our bishops are the guardians of the Christian conscience. The law shall be for us what it is for them. May God grant that we shall never be wanting in the humility and courage to carry out the resolutions which, in their wisdom inspired by their faith, they shall take. The bonds which brought us into such close and friendly contact with some of the authors of the law are not broken. We are prepared to go forward in unison with them, to amend the law if experience prove it to be dangerous, or to draw the greatest possible good from it if it be workable, as we hope it is, or to struggle in its defence if in after years we find that we have been deceived in our estimate of its worth, and may this latter prove the case. Our self-pride can receive no wounds when the interests of the Church are safe.

The Holy See requested the bishops to take the places that had been reserved for them on the governing boards, and by this act showed its acceptance of the law. The editor of *L'Univers* hastened to publish the Papal instructions, and to express his complete adhesion. 'The more our opposition has been warm and untiring,' he wrote, 'the more necessary it is now that no doubt can be raised about the sincerity of our submission.'

The Catholics hastened to form a committee of their body to provide for the execution of the law, and, as the University monopoly was broken, Free Secondary Colleges were opened in different places. We find that in two years' time two hundred and fifty Free Colleges had been established in opposition to the Government Lycées, and in 1854 the number of such colleges had increased to 1,081 with 25,000 students in attendance, excluding the Seminarists; whilst the Government was forced to close fifty-two of its institutions for want of pupils.

In the difficult political situations springing up so suddenly from time to time in France it was necessary for the editor of *L'Univers* to determine immediately the attitude of his journal, and with him in such case the supreme criterion was invariably the best interests of the Church. The government of Louis Philippe (1830-1848) had given satisfaction to no party. Socialists, Republicans, Legitimists, Bonapartists, all were united in their efforts to overthrow it, while the sympathy of its supporters was being daily alienated by some new act of royal folly. The end came in '48, a dangerous year for the thrones of Europe. The war of the Sonderbund in Switzerland was the herald of an almost universal European revolution. Berlin, Vienna, Milan, Rome were destined to feel the strength of the democratic movement, while Paris naturally did not lag behind in such a contest. A prohibition against the Opposition banquet was the signal for the outbreak planned for some months before. Barricades were hastily erected in the streets, the gunshops were attacked and plundered; the National Guards, heedless of discipline, began to fraternize with the mob, and on the 24th February

Louis Philippe and his wife escaped from the Tuileries in disguise, and a Republic was proclaimed.

The Catholic party were almost unanimous in accepting the change. Montalembert, once again the friend of Louis Veuillot, hastened to the office of *L'Univers*, and the editorial on the change of Governments was prepared under his eyes and with his approbation :—

The Monarchy has fallen [wrote Louis Veuillot, returning to the subject later on] under the weight of its own folly. Nothing has contributed so much to its ruin as it has done itself. Immoral with Louis XIV, scandalous with Louis XV, despotic with Napoleon, stupid till 1830, deceitful, not to use a harsher term, up till 1848, it has seen the number and the energy of its adherents gradually decrease. Nowhere to-day has it a single partisan. Charles X had around him till the end personal friends and loyal followers, noble hearts bemoaned his death ; his successor could, for a time at least, find soldiers willing to draw their swords on his behalf. Louis Philippe, on the contrary, has been escorted only to the threshold of his palace. His life has been spared, but not his crown, and he was permitted to escape without having even the honour of being considered dangerous. Never before has a throne fallen in such a humiliating fashion. It was so because his throne was no longer a throne. We have not striven for this result ; we have not even desired it ; and although convinced that it must come, we never believed that it would come so quickly. The Catholics have duties to fulfil towards all governments ; we have fulfilled them towards the dynasty of July. These same duties we owe to the new Constitution, and we shall observe them. Our consciences and our interests equally demand it.

But many of the Republican party were unfriendly to the Church. Attempts were made on all sides to show the irreconcilability of republican principles with Catholic theology, and no man and no journal contributed more to spread such a view as the once faithful De Lamennais and his almost anarchist paper, *Le Peuple Constituant*. The elections for the National Assembly were proclaimed. Louis Veuillot refused to become a candidate himself, but was anxious for the return of Montalembert and Lacordaire. A conservative majority, composed largely of Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists, amongst whom was Prince Louis Napoleon, found themselves in the new Assembly.

The first session was held on the 4th May, 1848. amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm. The whole city was *en fête* from early morn, and long before the sitting opened the streets and bridges around the Palais Bourbon were packed by throngs of people anxious to catch a glimpse of the solemn proclamation of the Republic. Louis Veillot was there, and has left an enduring sketch of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly. In the evening Montalembert and he returned together to the office of *L'Univers*. The satisfaction of the latter, as expressed in an article which he wrote on the spot, seems to have been greater than even that of Veillot :—

To-day [he wrote] has been an eventful one for the Père Lacordaire, for the Church of which he is the minister, and for the Religious Orders of which he is the most illustrious representative amongst us. When the whole National Assembly appeared on the peristyle of the Palais Bourbon to proclaim the Republic before the people and the National Guards, Lacordaire, in company with the Abbé Cazalès, descended to the grating which was besieged by throngs of the Paris populace. At sight of the eloquent religious and of his monastic robe the crowd saluted him with bursts of acclamation. Lacordaire exchanged the warmest and most friendly greetings with many of the citizens and of the National Guard, and was carried back in triumph to the doors of the Assembly. From this onwards the oppressive laws against which we have struggled so long, and which successive despotisms have in turn evoked against conscience, against patience and devotion, these laws are revoked by the scenes of to-day. The second Republic has repaired one of the most odious iniquities of its predecessor.

But the Republican party, at least the extreme section, was hostile to the Church, and would have no peace except on their own terms. The Paris Clubs and Workingmen's Associations organised by Louis Blanc, and supported by Ledru Rollin, were determined to force the pace of the Assembly. It was not in vain that socialism and communism had been propagated for years in the capital. The mob of Paris rose in revolt against the Assembly and General Cavaignac was appointed Dictator. Thousands were killed behind the barricades or driven headlong into the Seine, or arrested and thrown into prison there

to die of fever. The Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Affre, fell a martyr to duty. In the hope of ending the merciless slaughter of his flock he presented himself with the cross in hand on the barricades only to be shot down by the maddened combatants, and breathing with his last breath the prayer to heaven that his might be the last sacrifice demanded.

The days of June destroyed all confidence in the Republican party. People began to look around for some strong man who could save France from the perils of anarchy. Prince Louis Napoleon was regarded with favour on all sides. Twice before he had attempted to seize the imperial power but without success. His friends made a desperate struggle in the elections of '48, and, as a result, the heir of the Napoleonic fortunes was returned with a sweeping majority in several districts. As soon as the National Assembly had finished its discussions on the Constitution the contest for the Presidency began—General Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon being the real candidates.

Louis Veuillot counselled a non-committal policy as between the two rivals until each had an opportunity of expressing his views on Catholic grievances. Montalembert had numerous interviews with Louis Napoleon, and in the end declared himself satisfied. The latter made a strong bid for Catholic support in his election-address by his references to Catholic educational disabilities. Another topic filled the public mind just then which he was not slow to turn to good account.

On 23rd November, 1848, news arrived in Paris that the revolution had broken out in Rome, that the Papal Prime Minister, the Count de Rossi had been stabbed on the very threshold of the Chamber of Deputies, and that Pius IX was a prisoner in the hands of the insurgents. The national pride of France was wounded to the core; an indignity offered to the Pope was an indignity to the whole French nation. Troops were immediately despatched by the Government to Rome with instructions to ensure at all costs the personal freedom of the Pope, but on no account to interfere with the political developments. The debate

on the subject in the Chamber was long and heated. Montalembert urged the Government to defend the Pontifical States, but without favourable result. Louis Napoleon, who had been absent from the vote, adroitly published an explanation in the columns of *L'Univers* :—

Learning [he wrote] that my abstention from voting in reference to the expedition to Civita Vecchia has been remarked by many, I feel bound to declare that although resolved to support every measure likely to guarantee the liberty and the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, I could not vote for a military demonstration which appears dangerous even for the sacred interests which it was meant to defend.

A week later he published in the columns of *L'Univers* a still stronger declaration in reference to the conduct of his relative, Prince Canino, during the revolution in Rome :—

I do not [he wrote to the Papal Nuncio] think that you should attach any credit to the rumours which make me an accomplice in the conduct of the Prince Canino. For a long time I have had no connexion with the eldest son of Lucien Bonaparte, and I deplore most earnestly that he has not felt that the maintenance of the Temporal Sovereignty of the venerable Head of the Church was bound up in the closest intimacy with the splendour of the Catholic religion, and not less with the liberty and independence of Italy.

These declarations helped to win for him the sympathy and support of French Catholics. Three days later the Presidential elections were held, and Louis Napoleon left his rival, General Cavaignac, behind by about four millions votes. With such a majority the proclamation of the Empire was only a matter of opportunity. Constant disputes embittered the relations between the President and the Assembly, and on the night of 1st December, 1851, the decree was issued dissolving the Assembly, determining a provisional constitution and appealing to the Army to support the President. The more dangerous opponents were arrested, and held in confinement till the Coup d'Etat had been assured.

Louis Veuillot was absent from Paris on vacation when this decided blow was struck. On the receipt of the

news he hastened to Paris, and in the issue of *L'Univers* for the 4th December, proclaimed his adhesion to the act of the President :—

This is no time [he wrote] for choice, or recrimination, or wavering. It is necessary to support the Government : for the cause of the Government is the cause of social order. It is necessary to uphold it to-day, when the crisis is raging, that we may have the right to advise it to-morrow. Even more to-day than before the 2nd December we appeal to men of order ; the President of the Republic is your general ; do not separate yourselves from him nor desert him. If you do not triumph with him you shall be conquered with him, and irretrievably conquered. Rally round him to-day, for to-morrow it may be too late for your safety or your honour. God save France !

Not that Louis Veuillot believed the Government of Napoleon to be by any means perfect :—

The people who hold the power [he wrote] are full of good intentions. They are not Christians, but they are good devils ; not Voltaireans, not philosophers, not Gallicans—three good negative qualities. But they feel a force in the Catholic Church, and they are determined that that force should remain free. Please God, they will serve us better than we could do ourselves. Say ' Yes ' on Saturday [in the plebiscite] like the rest of the people. It is necessary [he adds] to be with the people as long as conscience does not forbid it.

Turning from the public to the private life of Veuillot the reader cannot fail to be struck by the contrast. Though the columns of *L'Univers* were noticed for the energetic and at times bitterly sarcastic criticisms of the editor, yet, at home, in the bosom of his family, he was the most loving and most beloved of men. In 1839, a short time after his conversion, he was suddenly summoned to the bedside of his dying father. His first impulse was to run for the priest of the district, and the last Sacraments were duly administered before the fatal moment came. Years later, in his *Rome and Loretto*, Louis speaks in the most touching terms of this happy scene, and indignantly denounces the atheistic and socialist teaching which had robbed his father of so much religious consolation during life, and almost entirely at the hour of death :—

He remained through life [he wrote of his beloved parent] an honest man, and we, his children, attribute this only to the grace of baptism. In his blind ignorance he withstood all the miseries, all the temptations, all the bad examples, which he saw under his eyes, with which he was daily surrounded, and under which he was at times overwhelmed, without complaining of any person, without envying the knaves who triumph with impunity, without pride in his honesty, the merit of which he did not recognise, or in his courage, the grandeur of which he ignored ; always good, always helpful, his every day had doomed him to privations. Yet, as he had never complained, so, he never hoped ; his regards saw in heaven only a vacant space, and in existence only a chain bringing with it constant suffering. Oh, my poor father, God knows all things ; He has known you, and, therefore, I do not despair.

By the bedside of his dying father, he besought Eugene, the brother whom he dearly loved and to whom he had ever been the most untiring protector, to return to the practices of his religion, and the promise there given was faithfully carried out. His mother shortly afterwards re-married, and Louis though living from hand to mouth took upon himself the support and education of his two sisters. They boarded at a convent in Paris, but when better days came he hired rooms, and took them to live with himself.

But, though this arrangement pleased himself, and the family circle of brothers and sisters was perfectly happy, yet his friends regretted that it appeared to shut out any opportunity of his early marriage ; for he had declared that he would never marry till his sisters had been provided with a home. Fortunately this took place earlier than had been anticipated, owing, we have no doubt, to the dowry of ten thousand francs which he was prepared to give them. Annette was married to a member of the great book-selling firm of Mame in Tours ; and on the conclusion of this marriage Louis friends exhorted him to take a similar step himself. This time he followed their advice. Matilda Murcier, the daughter of a respectable family in Versailles. was his choice, and during the eight years of his married life he had never any reason to regret the selection. The Feast of St. Ignatius was selected for the happy day, and

the distinguished Père Ravignan was the officiating clergyman. During the years that followed Louis remained devoutly attached to his wife and children. Even in his bitterest struggle, at times when judging by his public action and writings, no corner seemed left in his heart for the softer feelings, we see breaking out in every line of his letters his loving attachment to the dear ones at home.

But, alas, his married life was soon to come to an end. In 1852 his youngest daughter, Teresa, died. Her death, as he wrote, was their first great sorrow, and it came as the herald of a still heavier blow—the loss of his beloved wife :—

On the morning of the second day's illness [he wrote in after years] the doctor warned me that he feared the worst, and that I should call in the priest while there was yet time. It was my duty to break the sad news, and I told her that I had been to see her confessor, and that he was coming to bring her the good God. 'What happiness!' she exclaimed, 'God will visit here,' and immediately she called the servants, and ordered them to put all things in readiness, for that the good God was coming. I was more dead than alive, but she—she thought only of the Visitor Who was soon to arrive. The priest heard her confession, consoled her with the promises of the Redeemer, gave her the Holy Communion, and anointed her. She was attentive to all the ceremonies and responded to all the prayers in spite of her sufferings. Then she sank rapidly, and made a sign for me to approach. 'Louis,' she said, 'you are good; I know you would not deceive me. I did not think that I was bad enough for the reception of the last Sacraments. Am I, then, so ill?' 'The doctor,' I replied, 'is anxious, and he has warned me of his anxiety.' 'Bless the good God,' she said. 'You, you can marry again . . . but my poor children.' I promised her, and I felt a kind of consolation in the promise, that our children should have no other mother. She asked me for a cross, indulgenced for a happy death, that had been specially sent to me from Rome. Her eyes clouded; the agony began. She was delirious for a few moments, but I saw that she still thought of me, though she no longer recognised me. I was on my knees beside the bed touching her hand with my lips. It was my brother who placed his hand upon my arm and gently whispered, 'Close her eyes.' She was my only wife before God and man, and it is in all truth that I could write over her tomb these words of the chapter of the Scriptures on the model woman: '*Surrexit vir ejus et laudavit eam.*' What a

hard thing is human life, and what a duty there is of being always kind towards the brother in distress. Nevertheless there are men bold enough to neglect that duty, bad enough to destroy Christianity, the sole consolation which never fails.

Considering the difficult times in which Louis Veuillot wrote, the many burning questions which claimed his attention, and his tendency towards sarcasm and ridicule in the straightforward expression of his views, it is no wonder that the editor of *L'Univers* should have won for himself the enmity of many contemporaries. The Gallicans hated him on account of his attachment to Rome and the Holy See; the Liberal Catholics, men who had imbibed something of the De Lamennais school, but nevertheless good sincere Catholics, detested what they were pleased to call the conservatism and blind ultramontaniam of *L'Univers*; the weak-kneed and cringing among the Catholic body feared lest his style of defence should bring upon his co-religionists a still more galling persecution, while the followers of all the fallen royalties of France were furious at his principle of judging all governments by the interests of religion.

During the discussions on the Education Bill, Montalembert and Dupanloup took strong exception to the policy of Louis Veuillot. The latter could never see eye to eye with the editor of *L'Univers* on any question. The division thus begun was fomented by the discussions on the introduction of the Roman Liturgy in which Dom Guéranger took such a prominent part, on the war of the Sonderbund in Switzerland, on the alleged liberalism of Pius IX after his accession to the Papal throne, and the attitude of the Jesuits in Rome.

It was natural, too, that Veuillot should sometimes find himself in opposition to some of the Bishops of France, whose opinions he could not accept. Mgr. Sibour was then Archbishop of Paris, and disliking the tone adopted by *L'Univers* in many of the controversies then raging, published a pastoral in which the editor was sharply reprimanded. The pastoral was published in full in the columns

of *L'Univers*, accompanied by a brief note which is a model of dignity and submission :—

God forbid [he wrote] that it should ever be our lot to enter into a public contest with our Archbishop. We know how to give the example of that respect for episcopal authority which we have always preached, preferring a thousand times to yield up something of our right rather than run the risk of exceeding it. We have, however, a resolution to take, for it is impossible to preserve the character which our journal has hitherto maintained without violating the directions of His Grace the Archbishop, and we should regard it as mean and unworthy were we to attempt to evade his condemnation. Two courses only lie before us—the first is to submit immediately and definitely, the second is to seek a higher decision. Immediate, complete, and definite submission would satisfy our own wishes. Ten or twelve years of struggle, such as we have undergone, crowned by the judgment which has fallen upon us to-day, is sufficient and more than sufficient to make us desire repose. But we cannot make such a submission except by transforming *L'Univers* into a purely political journal, or by suppressing it completely. Transform *L'Univers* into a purely political journal we shall never do; suppress it we dare not. It only remains to carry our cause and our defence before the tribunal of the Sovereign Pontiff.

The Nuncio at Paris completely approved the decision of Louis Veuillot. Several of the archbishops and bishops, not to speak of a host of priests and laymen, hastened to offer him their sympathy in this difficult crisis. Earnest friends pleaded his case in Rome. Pius IX went out of his way to express his appreciation of *L'Univers* and its sincere, if at times, too outspoken, editor. Negotiations were entered into to bring about a settlement without any public sentence. On 3rd October the editor and his assistants wrote to the Archbishop, that having been reassured of the drift of his pastoral they wished to withdraw their appeal, while on the same day Mgr. Sibour sent a letter congratulating them on their submission. The next morning both letters were published in the columns of *L'Univers*, followed by a brief note which meant as much or as little as the reader was pleased to attribute to it. The Archbishop expressed a wish to receive in audience the editor and two of his assistants, Du Lac and Eugene Veuillot.

He was pleased to welcome them with all the kindness of which his letter contains the expression.

Montalembert and Louis Veuillot, separated on the question of education, were reconciled, and had worked together during the political changes in France. But after some time they quarrelled in regard to the attitude to be adopted towards the Emperor, Louis Napoleon. Montalembert suddenly changed his policy of friendliness to one of uncompromising opposition; Louis Veuillot, on the contrary, stood up for the friendly criticism which he had advocated from the beginning. Besides, two schools of thought were being rapidly formed among French Catholics—the Liberal and the Ultramontane. Montalembert was regarded as the lay-head of the liberal school, of which Louis Veuillot was the uncompromising enemy. The publication of Montalembert's work, *Des Intrêts des Catholiques au dix-neuvième siècle*, in 1852, marked a definite public rupture, and the total break up of the Catholic party. Louis Veuillot replied to the attacks made upon him in this book; and his reply was at times sarcastic and bitter. Yet he expressed a hope that there was left one common ground on which they could all still meet, the interests of the Catholic Church:—

A common ground [he wrote] still remains for us. It is the dominant, sovereign, and exclusive interest of the Catholic Church, that object which neither he nor we have ever abandoned, nor shall we ever abandon. We know no other, and we shall never seek another. M. Montalembert will never accept and will never sustain any other. He will remain what he has been, what we all are—Catholics before everything.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

[To be continued.]

FATHER VON HUMMELAUER ON ERRORS IN THE BIBLE

THOSE who have been troubled by fears, however shadowy, that the Bible may ultimately be convicted of historical error, will be thankful, it is hoped, for some account of a very important contribution to the literature of the subject which we owe to Father Franz von Hummerlauer, S.J., one of the principal collaborators on the new *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae*.¹ The name of the author is sufficient guarantee that his thesis is regarded in the most conservative circles as perfectly safe, in the sense of being in no way opposed to any official teaching of the Church.

The treatise—of 129 pages, imperial octavo—is divided into three Parts under the following titles:—(1) Various Kinds of Old Testament Narrative; (2) The Human Side of Inspiration; (3) The Question of the Authorship of Inspired Books.

I. The first of these divisions is introduced by a short Section in which the author shows how the meaning, and therefore the truth, of a narrative depends, not only on the text and immediate context, but also on the character of the narrative itself. Metaphors and parables are true, though not in the strict literal sense: so stated, the principle is admitted by all. The peculiarity of Father v. Hummelaue's treatment is the numerous kinds of narrative which he distinguishes, each with its own peculiar character and claim to be interpreted in a special way. They are: the fable, the parable, epic poetry, religious history, old history, folk-tradition (family tradition), free narrative, midrasch, and prophetic (apocalyptic) utterances.

Fables, parables, and epic poems, must be regarded as true even though all the incidents narrated may not have

¹ *Exegetisches zur Inspirationsfrage, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das alte Testament.* Freiburg im Breisgau: Herderische Verlagshandlung.

actually occurred ; histories also, like that of Livy, are not deemed false even though they record traditions which may not correspond with the facts, provided the writer has given us to understand, whether by express statement or choice of style, that it was his intention to record mere traditions,—the most reliable accounts he could gather. So, too, when a narrative is written, not for the purpose of teaching history, but with a view to edification by means of stories drawn from the past, its truth is to be estimated from its general agreement with the facts, allowance being made for a certain amount of freedom in the presentation (page 16). No one thinks of charging the early Italian painters with falsehood, though in a picture, let us say, of the Adoration of the Magi, the scenery may be quite unlike that of Bethlehem, the countenances Italian with some inevitable Moors, knights and squires in Florentine costumes, Tuscan peasants, not a single beast of Oriental character, except, perhaps, some badly drawn asses and elephants (page 41). One does not look for archæology or geography in such pictures, and the painter will be deemed to have delivered his message truly if he has succeeded in depicting an historical event so as at once to edify us and please our artistic sense. Now, literary craftsmen no less than their brother artists have a right to a certain choice of the form in which they shall present their message, without being exposed to an accusation of falsehood.

Further, it is quite plain that no charge of untruth lies against a writer who has expressly declared that he does not vouch for the details of his story ; that his object is to record traditions as he finds them, or to write a historical romance with a moral or religious purpose. After such a declaration he cannot be accused of falsehood unless he has failed to give what he guarantees—a genuine tradition or a lesson that makes for religious or ethical truth.

Father v. Hummelauer contends, not without reason, that liberty of this kind may be secured by an implied as well as by an express declaration of intention on the writer's part ; for example, by the form of composition in

which he has chosen to clothe his thoughts. La Fontaine need not have called his poems fables, nor is the most exact historian expected to avoid metaphor unless upon notice given. It has been always recognised as the province of exegesis to determine what in the Bible is literal, what metaphorical; Father v. Hummelauer would extend the boundaries of this province and make it a question for exegetes to determine, from text and context, including the style and character of the composition, wherein the narrative is to be regarded as exact history and wherein it is merely folk-lore, family tradition, romance, or free historical narrative for purposes of edification.

II. The foregoing principles are applied to the Bible in the second part of the treatise—on the Human Side of Inspiration. Here the author seeks to determine, as an exegete, how far scientific or historical truth demands that the Books of the Old Testament should conform to the results of exact historical and scientific research. We shall do well, for the sake of brevity, to confine our attention to the historical accuracy of the Books of Genesis, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and 2 Machabees—all specially dealt with in Father v. Hummelauer's treatise.

In connection with Genesis the principal question is 'whether any or all of the narratives may be regarded as folk-traditions' (page 25). Lenormant, arguing merely from the contents and the form of the first eleven chapters, denied their historical character; for this, apparently, his book, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, was placed on the Index. Father v. Hummelauer, while holding that Lenormant's arguments do not justify his conclusions, proposes for discussion and argues in favour of what many will regard as a far more liberal view,—that Genesis, and in particular the ten 'generations' contained therein, is mere folk-tradition, and makes no claim to be taken as history in the strict sense (pages 29-32). This opinion is based, first, on the declaration of the writer, who expressly represents the 'generations' as folk-traditions,—such being, according to Father v. Hummelauer, the true meaning

of the Hebrew word *toledoth*, which is translated *generaciones* in the Vulgate; next, on the negative ground that there is no sufficient reason for supposing that oral traditions, by which alone the patriarchal history was preserved down to the time of Moses, were during the long pre-Mosaic period preserved by divine Providence free from error; and lastly, but only in connection with the foregoing, on the ground proposed by Lenormant, of similarity with the folk-traditions of other primitive peoples.¹

The Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles may be taken as belonging to the same class of literature; they contain the history of the Jewish people for the most eventful period (page 60); and what is said of them may be applied easily to others (page 69). In what sense, then, are we expected to regard these books as historically true?

From the references they contain it is plain to the exegete that they are religious history based on the national annals; and the truth of a narrative of this kind,—leaving out of account its moral and religious purpose—consists, in the first place, in conformity with the documents on which it is based, and but mediately in conformity with the objective facts recorded (page 62). Such truth is consistent with the presence of errors in the text, taken over from the annals.²

Errors so taken over [writes Father v. Hummelauer] do not interfere with the truth [of a narrative of this kind], inasmuch as the truth for which the writer's character is pledged is conformity of his account, in the first place, with the annals,

¹ Page 32. The passage is so important that I deem it right to quote the author's words:—'Dem gesagten zufolge lässt sich, glauben wir, die Ansicht, welche in der Genesis Volkstraditionen erblickt, erstens auf die Überschriften *Toledoth* gründen; sodann auf den negativen Grund, dass eine spezielle göttliche Providenz, welche den Übergang der Urgeschichte in Volkstradition während der ganzen epoche vor Moses sistiert hätte, nicht ohne Beweis behauptet werden darf. Im Anschluss an diese Gründe, nicht als selbständiger Grund, liesse sich dann auch die Verwandtschaft der Erzählungen Gn. Kap. 1-11 mit den Traditionen anderer Völker geltend machen.'

² It may interest readers to know that Father v. Hummelauer is able to quote (p. 39) quite a number of distinguished recent Catholic writers—Brucker, Prat, S. J.; Scholz, Schanz, Vigouroux, Cosquin, Fonck, Durand, Lagrange, Gayraud—for the view that the Books of Job, Ruth, Judith, Esther, and Tobias are not to be taken as exact histories.

and only mediately and in proportion to the correctness of these, with the actual events (page 62). Fundamentally [he adds], this is but a new application of the old distinction between the *veritas citationis* and the *veritas rei citatae*. The constant reference to the sources becomes a mode of citation. There are more citations in the Old Testament than has been supposed hitherto (page 63).

This view is enforced by reference to 2 Machabees (ii. 20-33), in which the sacred writer expressly states that his object is merely to construct an edifying narrative by condensing a history already written ; leaving to the author on whose book he draws, Jason of Cyrene, the responsibility for the historical truth of the narrative, and claiming for himself the merit merely of putting the story into a form calculated to give edification.

For to collect all that is to be known [says the inspired writer] to put the discourse in order, and curiously to discuss every particular point, is the duty of the author of a history ; but to pursue brevity of speech, and to avoid nice declarations of things, is to be granted to him that maketh an abridgment.

III. Although Father v. Hummelauer, at the close of his treatise, almost warns off this ground persons like me who have no claim to be considered experts in exegesis ; nevertheless, as one who has taken a deep personal interest in the question at issue, and also inasmuch as some of the principles involved belong to the science of theology, as distinguished from exegesis, I hope it may not be considered presumptuous on my part to offer some remarks on his position.

1. The fundamental principle on which he builds is, that the Bible being the word of God, and God's word being necessarily true, however incidentally (*obiter*) it may have been uttered, 'every word of the Bible is true in the sense in which God and the inspired writer have written and intended it' (page 1 ; see also page 64). Accordingly, genuine Scripture can never be false in any historical sense that may have been intended by the human writer and guaranteed by his authority ; and, conversely, when it is found that a genuine Scriptural text, taken in a strictly historical sense, does not correspond with the facts, this

can be explained only on the supposition that the strictly historical sense was not intended either by God or by the human writer.

In connection with this we have frequent statements—based, no doubt, on the Encyclical *Providentissimus*,—to the effect that it was no part of the divine purpose, in granting the grace of inspiration, to instruct us in secular history or science. Statements of this kind are intended, apparently, to dispose us for the view that the divine authority does not cover historical utterances, as such, but only in so far as they may convey a moral or religious lesson. And yet the fundamental principle, as laid down by Father v. Hummelauer, is, that God backs with the authority of His truth every statement made by any writer whom He has inspired, in the sense—historical or scientific—which that writer may have intended. To make room, therefore, for errors in the sacred text taken in its strictly historical sense, Father v. Hummelauer is logically forced back on the contention that the human writer, let us say, of Genesis intended the statements which we have been wont to regard as strictly historical,—that is, as correct representations of past events,—not as history in the strict sense but only as folk-traditions.

The main argument for this view, as we have seen, is based on a new rendering of the Hebrew word *toledoth*, which, as applied to the heavens and the earth, cannot, it is asserted, be interpreted as ‘generation,’ in the sense in which this word has been hitherto understood. As it cannot mean ‘family tree’ in case of the heavens and the earth, it can be understood only as signifying folk-tradition. But by inscribing certain parts of his narrative as folk-traditions, the writer of Genesis plainly gives us to understand that he did not intend these passages as exact history ; and this expression of intention, as regards these passages, supplies the key to the meaning of the remaining parts of the book of which they form so remarkable a feature. This is Father v. Hummelauer’s first and main argument.

Is it, however, so clear that the term ‘generation,’

applied to the patriarchs and their progenitors and offspring in the sense of 'family-tree,' may not be used in an analogous sense—not at all as 'folk-tradition'—to denote the succession of stages through which heaven and earth passed in the process of development? The evidence submitted by Father v. Hummelauer on this point does not strike me as conclusive.

2. He goes on to argue that inasmuch as down to the time of Moses the history of the chosen people was not committed to writing but handed down by oral tradition,—a position which, as the Hebrews were a pastoral people, is left untouched by arguments drawn from the fact that the contemporary Chaldeans and Egyptians committed their annals to writing,—it follows that divine Providence should have taken very extraordinary care of these oral traditions if they were to be preserved from historical error. And though there is reason to believe that God did so watch over the religious and moral traditions of the chosen race, there is no proof that He took equal care of their history. Hence, even where the writer of Genesis does not express an intention of merely compiling his people's traditions, that intention is sufficiently implied by the fact, plainly indicated, that he incorporated these traditions in his narrative and did not depend for his knowledge on divine revelation alone.

That folk-traditions, more or less false historically, have been current among primitive peoples, there can be no doubt; nor do I now question the proposition that the Hebrews had no written documents down to the time of Moses. The question, however, is, whether these folk-traditions of primitive peoples were handed down as traditions merely, and not as historically true. Father v. Hummelauer's argument supposes that primitive peoples were wont to regard such accounts as mere traditions and not as true history,—at least that such would be the notion current at the time when some scribe, such as the author of Genesis, might commit the traditions to writing. This may be true; but it seems to me that not only has it not been proved, but that Father v. Hummelauer has

not,'¹ are we bound to believe that the saying is true, not merely in the sense intended by God, but in that which the High Priest wished to convey?

We have it on high authority that when Jacob represented himself as the first-born there is a sense in which his words were true; and, if this be so, we may well believe the answers he made his father to have been divinely inspired. Does this, however, imply that Jacob himself intended only the mysterious, true signification, and not another and more selfish one the truth of which could not be guaranteed by the Holy Ghost? Is it possible that Old Testament prophecies as to the splendour of the Messianic kingdom may have been understood, by those who uttered them as by the Jewish people generally, to indicate worldly splendour? Does the grace of inspiration, as such, imply that St. Matthew and St. Luke could not have deemed the Lord's second coming imminent? And as regards apocalyptic utterances generally, are we bound to believe that those who delivered them either did not attach any meaning to their words, or understood them rightly in so far as they interpreted them at all?

I must confess that I have some doubts as to these and kindred matters; and so I await theological proof of the statement that God is responsible, not only for the religious or moral significance of utterances which He has inspired, but also for any scientific or historical error which may have been intended by His human instrument. I do not deny that this is so, but merely await proof, and assert that it does not follow immediately from the principle that God, who cannot lie, is responsible for the truth of divinely inspired statements.

Secondly, it would be well, I think, for exegetes such as Father v. Hummelauer,—and for theologians, no less—to determine once for all the position they take up as regards the authority of the Fathers. Were they—the Fathers—unanimous in regarding as historically true the Old Testament narratives to which Father v. Hummelauer

¹ John xi. 50.

ascribes no more authority than that of the folk-traditions or annals on which they are based ? He tells us (page 70) that the Fathers 'in general recognised all the Old Testament accounts as of uniform historical character,' yet thinks himself at liberty to discard this teaching ; either because the question at issue had not till recently been formulated with precision, and as a consequence, the teaching of the Fathers was obscure and unsteady, not definitive ; or because, as all the Fathers and interpreters down to Galileo's time, did, as Bellarmine asserts, favour an astronomical theory which is now acknowledged to be false, so it may well be with regard to the historical truth of the Bible.

The two reasons are identical, in my opinion ; for it is only a non-definitive utterance of the teaching Church, ancient or modern, that may be proved false, and discarded as such. They justify, as I readily acknowledge, a departure from the patristic view, whenever this is found to be in conflict with science or history and can be shown to be non-definitive. Recent apologists, I am inclined to think, have manifested a tendency to solve the difficulty by regarding as a non-theological matter—that is, as outside the scope of Church authority—the truth or falsehood of any purely scientific or historical views that may have been expressed by the sacred writers. I do not know how this can be made to square with Father v. Hummelauer's fundamental principle,—that the Holy Ghost is guarantee for the truth of every opinion, scientific or historical, that the human instrument of inspiration may have wished to express in an inspired utterance.

Finally, one is tempted to express an opinion on the question discussed in the third part of the treatise,—as to the human authorship of the inspired books. Father v. Hummelauer maintains that, 'in and for itself,' this is not a theological question, and for this doctrine he has been taken to task by his brother Jesuit, Father Billot. In such circumstances one is reminded of the old and prudent advice not to interfere in family quarrels. Perhaps I may escape the blows of both disputants even though

I call attention to the obscurity of the phrase 'in and for itself.' No dogmatic fact comes for its own sake within the sphere of Church authority ; but every dogmatic fact is, all the same, within that sphere. It seems to me that the human authorship of each of the books of the New Testament, at least, is a dogmatic fact ; nor do I see any sufficient reason for saying that it is no part of the business of the Church to decide who were the human authors of the Old Testament books, though it may be that she has not and never will have the information that would justify her in proposing any such decisive teaching.

In conclusion, I should like to state that I have no fault to find with Father v. Hummelauer's main thesis,—that inspiration supplies no divine guarantee for the historical truth of all the details, even of those Old Testament narratives which were heretofore regarded as strictly historical. And though his treatise has failed to convince me on the points to which I have referred, I have laid it down with profound respect for the author's character as a Biblical scholar, and a feeling of deep gratitude for the relief which this, his latest work, is calculated to afford consciences which have been sorely pressed by fears as to the historical accuracy of the books of the Old Testament.

W. McDONALD.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CO-OPERATION WITH THE EXECUTION OF CIVIL DIVORCE LAWS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Some discussion has taken place as to whether a Catholic lawyer can, with a safe conscience, take part, in his professional capacity, in divorce cases, either for the petitioner or for the respondent. There has also been some discussion as to whether Catholic judges can conscientiously administer a law which is opposed to the Church's teaching in connection with marriage. Might we ask whether there is an authentic decision of the ecclesiastical authorities on this point?

C. H.

It seems desirable to discuss this subject from a wider standpoint than the question of our correspondent demands. We all know the evils of modern divorce laws. Besides an usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction the modern divorce laws bring in their train many crying evils to domestic life and to the purity of Christian morals. The evils show no sign of abating. On the contrary they show every sign of increase. In these circumstances it is well to examine in detail the obligations of Catholic judges, Catholic lawyers, and Catholic husbands and wives with regard to co-operation with the execution of the iniquitous divorce laws of modern States.

A distinction must be drawn between divorce *a vinculo* and a divorce *a mensa et toro*. With reference to a divorce *a mensa et toro* it is necessary to draw a distinction between the case when there are just reasons for a separation according to ecclesiastical law and the case when there are no such reasons. When speaking of a divorce *a vinculo* we must distinguish between the case when the bond of

marriage does not exist in the eyes of the Church, or, if it existed at first, has been dissolved by Church authority, as sometimes happens in the case of *matrimonium ratum et non consummatum*, and the case when the matrimonial bond remains in the eyes of the Church. We think it well also to distinguish between the particular laws of any country or diocese and the general laws either divine or ecclesiastical which bind the whole Catholic world. We do not intend to speak of the particular laws of any place but rather of the divine or ecclesiastical laws which bind everywhere.

When there is question of divorce *a mensa et toro* and of a case in which ecclesiastical law recognises sufficient reasons for a separation Catholics are justified in applying to the civil courts for a legal separation, Catholic lawyers are justified in acting for clients who seek such separation, and Catholic judges are justified in pronouncing sentence of separation. The S. Cong. Inq., 22nd May, 1860, sent the following reply to the Bishop of Southwark:—

Utrum liceat advocati et actoris partes agere, quando finis litis est simplex separatio absque ulla sententia matrimonii nullitatem secum ipsa trahente. *Resp.* Dummodo pars Catholica nullum aliud tribunal adire possit, a quo sententiam obtineat separationis quoad torum et mensam et dummodo sententia hujus tribunalis nullum alium habeat effectum, quam separationem praedictam, posse tolerari, ut Catholici in foro actoris et advocati partes agant et dummodo adsint justae separationis causae, judicio Episcopi et, si quid habeat praeterea dubii, recurrat exponens omnes circumstantias et legis dispositiones.

The reply directly deals with Catholics applying for a separation and with lawyers acting for them, but indirectly it seems to follow that a Catholic judge can pronounce a sentence of separation in the case indicated; because if it is lawful for the parties to ask a separation the sentence of separation cannot be of its nature unlawful, and consequently a Catholic judge can pronounce it, provided at least he cannot without difficulty get out of the case. Of course as the S. Cong. states, it is the duty of the parties

concerned to find out from their Bishop whether or not there is sufficient reason for the separation from the ecclesiastical point of view.

When there is question of a divorce *a vinculo* and of a marriage which does not exist in the eyes of the Church, it is undoubtedly lawful for Catholics to apply to the civil courts for a divorce, for a Catholic advocate to plead their cause, and for a Catholic judge to pronounce a sentence of divorce. The State is bound in this case to make the marriage null in its own sphere. Catholics are in the circumstances only claiming their rights when they seek a divorce, and a Catholic judge is only doing what the law is bound to do when he pronounces sentence of divorce.

When a marriage is valid in the eyes of the Church it is lawful for a Catholic lawyer to act for the respondent even though the respondent is guilty of the crimes because of which a divorce is sought. The S. Cong. Inq., 22nd May, 1860, replied to the Bishop of Southwark :—

Utrum advocatus Catholicus possit defendere causas partis conventae contra actorem vinculi solutionem exquirentem? *Resp.* Dummodo Episcopo constet de probitate advocati et dummodo advocatus nihil agat, quod principiis juris naturalis et ecclesiastici deflectat, posse tolerari.

Special difficulty arises, when there is question of a marriage which is valid in the eyes of the Church, as to the lawfulness of the action of a Catholic judge pronouncing a sentence of divorce *a vinculo*, of a Catholic advocate acting for the petitioner, and of the petitioner seeking a divorce *a vinculo*. The same difficulty arises in connection with a legal separation—the only kind of divorce existing in Ireland according to ordinary law—when there is no reason according to canon law for the separation. In both of these cases it is certainly unlawful to seek or grant a divorce with the intention of setting aside the divine law. But the question remains whether it is ever lawful to seek or grant a divorce if nothing more than the civil effects of the divorce be

intended, and if this be made perfectly clear. The solution of the question depends on the nature of the unlawfulness of such sentence of divorce. If the sentence of divorce be intrinsically unlawful it can never be lawful to pronounce or seek such a sentence. If, on the other hand, the sentence of divorce be not intrinsically unlawful but only extrinsically unlawful on account of the many evil effects which follow from it to Christian morals, a proportionately grave reason will make it lawful for a Catholic judge to pronounce a sentence of divorce, for a Catholic lawyer to defend the petitioner in a divorce case, and for Catholics to seek such a divorce. We shall speak specially of a divorce *a vinculo*, but what we shall say can be easily applied to a legal separation for which there is no sufficient reason in the eyes of the divine law.

Theologians are divided on the nature of the malice of the sentence of divorce. Lehmkuhl, Genicot, Noldin, De Becker, Feije, Palmieri, Tanquerey, Slater, Kenrick, Sabetti, Konings, hold that the sentence of divorce is not intrinsically unlawful. They hold that, provided there be a sufficiently grave reason, it is lawful for a Catholic judge to pronounce a sentence of divorce, for a Catholic lawyer to act for the petitioner in a divorce case, and for Catholics to seek a sentence of divorce. These must make it clear, however, that they hold the Catholic doctrine about the authority of the Church in matrimonial affairs, and that the sentence of divorce affects only the civil contract of marriage. There is some difference of opinion amongst these theologians about the exact degree of gravity that must be possessed by the justifying reason to warrant this co-operation. This difference seems to arise principally on account of the different conditions of different countries. Speaking generally they hold that in the case of a Catholic judge the danger of losing his position would be such a grave reason, because it is of great importance to the purity of public life to have Catholic judges to administer the laws of the land. In the case of Catholic lawyers there must be a great gain arising either from the neces-

sity of defending people justly seeking a divorce or from the necessity of retaining their places on the roll of lawyers.

In the case of Catholics seeking a divorce there must be some great benefit which cannot be otherwise gained, such as the right to safeguard the serious spiritual or temporal interests of legitimate children. Bucceroni, Rosset, Aertnys, Gasparri, maintain that the sentence of divorce is intrinsically evil, and consequently that it is never lawful to seek or pass such a sentence. We shall give our opinion with diffidence. The question is surrounded by so many difficulties it is not easy to speak with confidence. We hope that the Holy See will before long give a definite decision on this much disputed question.¹

I. It seems *probable* that the sentence of divorce is not intrinsically evil. Such intrinsic evil would arise either from the act granting a divorce, or from the evil intention of the parties co-operating with the execution of the law of divorce, or from the evil intention of the legislators who established the law of divorce. But from none of these sources does the sentence of divorce seem to become intrinsically wrong. Hence the sentence of divorce is not intrinsically evil.

The sentence of divorce taken by itself is not intrinsically evil. The sentence of divorce merely affects a civil marriage, which is a civil ceremony at least virtually distinct from the true matrimonial contract. It does not touch the sacramental contract itself. It affects only the marriage which the State established. Now, the mere dissolution of a civil marriage does not seem to be intrinsically evil. It is hard to see why that dissolution should be worse in itself than the civil marriage which the Holy See in certain cases permits, even before the sacramental contract exists. It seems to be just as bad to admit a civil

¹ See Lehmkühl, n. 701; Genicot, n. 561; Noldin, n. 164; De Becker, p. 399; Feije, n. 583; Gasparri, n. 1232; Rosset, vol. vi., n. 4063; Palmieri, Vol. vi., n. 519; Tanqueray, p. 346; Slater, pp. 491, 496; Sabetti, n. 559; Konings, n. 1053; Kenrick, n. 111; Bucceroni, *Ench. Mor.*, Appendix (ed. 1887); Aertnys, n. 522.

marriage where there is no true marriage as to deny or revoke a civil marriage when a sacramental union exists. We conclude, then, that the act granting a divorce does not seem to be in itself intrinsically evil.

It has been urged against this argument that the sentence of divorce is intrinsically unlawful, because the law of divorce is intrinsically unlawful owing to the evil effects which are inseparably connected with that law. In reply we say that the law of divorce is unlawful not because it orders an act which is intrinsically unlawful but because it recalls without authority and without sufficient reason civil recognition from valid marriages. Though there is no sufficient reason to justify the supreme legislators in establishing a divorce law, there may be sufficient reasons to permit an individual to co-operate with the execution of the law. The law of divorce is no worse in itself than the law which demands a civil marriage. Yet the Holy See, in certain cases, permits Catholics to contract a civil marriage even before a sacramental marriage has been contracted, provided they intend merely a civil ceremony.

The sentence of divorce is not made intrinsically wrong by the intention of the co-operators with the execution of the law. The parties concerned can abstract from the evil effects of the law, just as they can abstract from the evil effects of the law demanding a civil marriage. In both cases they intend merely civil effects and permit the evils which follow. The parties perform an action which is not intrinsically unlawful, and from which good and bad effects follow. The good effects do not follow from the bad effects. They intend the good effects. They permit, for a sufficient reason, the bad effects.

The evil intention of the legislators does not make the sentence of divorce intrinsically unlawful. The intention of the legislators does not enter essentially into the law or the execution of the law. The intention of the legislators is equally wrong when the sentence of divorce is certainly lawful. The intention of the legislators is equally bad when they established a civil marriage, yet the Holy

See permits Catholics to go through the civil ceremony of marriage. We think, then, that the intention of the legislators cannot be taken as the measure of the morality of the co-operation of Catholics with the execution of the law of divorce. This co-operation can be looked at independently of this unlawful intention.

II. There do not seem to have been any decisions of the Roman Congregations which prove the intrinsic malice of the sentence of divorce. We shall first mention some decisions which seem to be against this view. The S. Cong. Inq., 25th June, 1885, sent a reply to the Archbishops and Bishops of France according to which Catholic judges and advocates could take part in divorce proceedings:—

“ Dummodo catholicam doctrinam de matrimonio deque causis matrimonialibus ad solos judices ecclesiasticos pertinentibus *palam* profiteantur et dummodo ita animo comparati sint tum circa valorem et nullitatem conjugii tum circa separationem corporum, de quibus causis judicare coguntur, ut nunquam proferant sententiam neque ad proferendam defendant vel ad eam provocent vel excitent divino aut ecclesiastico juri repugnantem.

This reply gave rise to some controversy, to end which the Bishops asked whether a judge who, in the case of a marriage which is valid in the eyes of the Church, mentally abstracts from that marriage and, applying the civil law, declares that there is a case for divorce, ‘modo solos effectus civiles solumque contractum civilem abrumpere mente intendat eaque sola respiciant termini prolatae sententiae?’ They also asked whether a Syndic could lawfully, under the same conditions, pronounce a sentence of divorce. The S. Cong. Inq., 27th May, 1886, replied to both questions, ‘Negative.’ There were subsequently some replies of the S. Pen., e.g., 5th January, 1887; 3rd January, and 16th April, 1891; 7th January, 1892, which prohibited, in individual cases, an application for a divorce *a vinculo*,

In connection with these replies the question at once arises whether they must be looked on as a condemnation of the sentence of divorce as intrinsically

evil. The question has special reference to the replies of 1885 and 1886. It is well to bear in mind that the reply of 1886 speaks only of the case when the judge and Syndic mentally hold the true doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church. The question, however, which we are discussing refers to the case when the parties concerned openly profess the true Catholic teaching about marriage. We believe that this reply of 1886 and the reply of 1885 do not declare the sentence of divorce to be intrinsically wrong. It seems to us that the sentence of divorce was declared wrong merely in the peculiar circumstances of France. The divorce law had been recently renewed. It is easy to understand that in a Catholic country the necessity of a protest against the immoral law would make it unlawful to participate in its execution. Moreover, participation in a law so recently introduced would very easily be looked on in practice as a denial of the Catholic doctrine of the indissolubility of marriage. Our reasons for thinking that the replies of 1885 and 1886 referred rather to these peculiar conditions of France than to any intrinsic unlawfulness of the sentence of divorce are the following :—

1. When the reply of 1886 was published the Apostolic Nuncio at Brussels stated :—

Em. Card. a Secretis Status, significavit mihi, jubente hoc Sanctitate Sua, Congregationem S. Officii declarasse quod decretum d. 27 Maii non respicit¹ Belgium, et idcirco nihil esse in hac regione mutatum quoad ea quae spectant ad materiam divortii.

In Belgium the judges tried divorce cases, and gave decisions in accordance with the civil law. Hence the intrinsic malice of the sentence of divorce was not declared by the decision of 1886. Some theologians reply to this argument that the decision of the S. Office referred *de facto* to France alone, since the decree was sent to the Bishops of France alone. In stating that the decision did not refer to Belgium, the S. Cong. meant nothing more than this. The S. Cong. did not mean to settle the question of principle. We think, however, with Feije, that this explana-

tion is not worthy of the dignity of the S. Cong. Everybody knew that the decision was sent to the Bishops of France alone. There was no need to seek that information from the S. Cong. Inq. What was required was a declaration of principle which would solve the practical doubts of people in Belgium. A mere quibble in giving a reply would hardly be in harmony with the dignity of the Holy See.

2. The Bishop of Luçon asked the S. Pen. for a decision about the lawfulness of a sentence of divorce pronounced by a Syndic after the declaration of the judge that there was a case for divorce. The Syndic was a strong defender of Catholic causes. He was prepared to state publicly that he maintained the Catholic doctrine about matrimonial cases, and that his sentence would refer to the civil contract alone. He would lose his position to the detriment of Catholic interests if he were to refuse to pronounce the sentence of divorce. The S. Pen., 24th September, 1887, sent the following reply:—

S. Poenit. Ven. in Xto Episcopo Lucionen. ad praemissa respondet, eundem in hoc casu particulari, si inspectis omnibus ejus adjunctis ita in Domino expedire judicaverit, tolerare posse, ut Syndicus ad actum, de quo in precibus, procedat. . . .

This was a decision permitting, in a particular case, even in France, a sentence of divorce. But it would not be lawful, even in a particular case, to pronounce a sentence of divorce if that sentence were intrinsically evil. Gasparri, who favours the strict view, says of this decision: 'Explicationes, a rigidae sententiae patronis usque modo datae, solidae minime videntur.'

3. Finally, there is a decision of the S. Pen., 30th June, 1892, which, to a request to permit a Catholic to apply for a civil divorce, replied: 'Orator consulat probatos iuctores.' Many approved authors hold that the sentence of divorce is not intrinsically unlawful. Hence the S. Cong. did not think that the case was already decided against the opinion of these authors.

III. Whatever opinion be held about the speculative

question, the milder opinion can be safely put into practice on account of the very many able theologians who hold it. Hence a Catholic judge can, with a safe conscience, deliver a sentence of divorce if he cannot, without giving up his office, avoid the performance of this disagreeable task. He ought to persuade the parties to settle their differences if there be any hope of success. He ought to transfer the hearing of the case to another judge if that be at all possible. But if all fail, he can safely try the case, and pass a sentence of divorce in accordance with the civil law, making it clear that he holds Catholic doctrine about marriage cases, and that his sentence applies only to the civil contract. A Catholic lawyer can lawfully act for the petitioner whenever it is lawful for the petitioner to seek a divorce. He can also act for the petitioner when his refusal to do so would entail the loss of his position as a lawyer. He must, however, make it clear that he holds the true doctrine on marriage, and that he seeks only a sentence which has reference to the civil contract. Catholics, in rare cases, can lawfully seek a divorce *a vinculo* in the civil courts, provided they make it known that they do not mean to interfere with the authority of the Church in matrimonial cases, and that they seek a sentence having effect merely so far as civil recognition of marriage is concerned. They can do this when the law of the land, as in some States of America, does not allow a divorce *a mensa et toro*, if there be sufficient reason for a divorce *a mensa et toro* in the eyes of the ecclesiastical law. Even in countries where the law has a legal separation, as well as a divorce *a vinculo*, very rare cases may arise when the legal separation would not grant all the civil effects requisite for safe-guarding the grave spiritual or temporal interests of legitimate children. In such exceptional cases Catholics may, under conditions already mentioned, seek a divorce *a vinculo*.

What we have said about a divorce *a vinculo* can be easily applied to a divorce *a mensa et toro* in the civil courts, when there is no reason to justify a separation in the eyes of the Church. A Catholic judge can lawfully pass such

a sentence of separation when he cannot get out of the hearing of the case, provided he intimates that his sentence refers alone to the civil aspects of marriage. The same holds true of a Catholic advocate defending the petitioner. Catholics may, in very extreme cases, be petitioners in such a trial, because of a great benefit to be gained or a great evil to be avoided.

**ADMINISTRATION OF HOLY COMMUNION TO A PERSON
WHO IS NOT FASTING**

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I trouble you to give your opinion on a question which is by no means speculative, but to my knowledge, eminently practical. I will first place my own view of the case before you, and then I will request you to confirm my contention, or else to rectify my erroneous notion regarding it.

Till lately a doubt never dawned on me, but that, with the exception of persons in danger of death, it was forbidden to all who were not fasting to receive Holy Communion. Not very long ago, however, my attention was directed to a quotation from what is called the '*Asserta Moralia* ; Auctore, M. M. Matharan, S.J., Editio Nona, 1895,' which runs as follows :— '*Imo et extra hujusmodi (mortis) periculum, si jejunium servare nequeat, in morbo diuturno, saltem paschali tempore, et juxta aliquos pluries in anno.*' And then my curiosity and research being aroused, I chanced to look into Kœnings, where I found, page 64, '*De Eucharistia*,' No. 1309, Elbel quoted as approving some others for the same thing, *aliquoties in anno*.

But though these references somewhat surprised me, they did not at all stagger me in my conviction to the contrary ; in other words I cannot bring myself to admit that they constitute a probable opinion which could be acted on, or reduced to practice. My reason for saying so is, that in the passages I adduce from Kœnings, he himself immediately after declares the contrary to be the *sententia communissima theologorum*, against which no opinion can be considered probable ; such also appears to be the opinion of Genicot, Lehmkuhl, and Palmieri.

No doubt both Genicot and Lehmkuhl, quoting in support D'Annibale, Gasparri, and Noldin, admit of an exception in favour of the Paschal Communion, and hold as *probable* that

it *can* be given to persons unable to fast, because, as they say, the precept of annual Communion *flows* from the *divine law*, which ought to be allowed precedence over the *ecclesiastical law of fasting*, or, as Lehmkuhl perhaps more correctly says : 'The Ritual excepts from privilege those who communicate *ex devotione*, but the Paschal Communion is *ex precepto*.' But as far as I can gather, they restrict the concession to the Paschal Communion, and do not at all admit that it can be extended outside it, *e.g.*, to those who communicate at other times of the year *ex devotione*, or even in times of a jubilee. Moreover, they require that before those anxious to receive Paschal Communion without being fasting, can lawfully do so—a trial must first be made to find out whether they can remain fasting even for some short time after midnight, when it is quite lawful to administer Communion to such infirm persons not dangerously ill. I am aware that the Holy See is very facile in granting dispensations to infirm people *non jejunis* to communicate *pluries in anno*, but even then so strict is it that it limits the food to be taken to liquid food—*per modum potus*. The authors I have quoted may have been led into the mistake by unguardedly supposing that Communion was allowed *aliquoties in anno*, even without a dispensation.

To sum up my view, then :—1°. I believe that Holy Communion cannot be allowed to infirm persons not in danger of death, who are not fasting, except *probably* in case of Paschal Communion ; and even then only after they have tested their inability to fast for some short time after midnight, when the priest should strive to administer it to them. 2°. That in all other cases, *e.g.*, of Communion from devotion through the year, or even for the purpose of gaining a jubilee, it cannot be allowed to those who are not fasting. And 3°. That the opinion of Matharan, S.J. (and others) does not carry with it sufficient probability to entitle anyone to act on it with safety ; the sure and easy course for such infirm people being to procure a dispensation. I beg to add that I had no sooner written the foregoing than I happened to hit upon an able and exhaustive paper on this very question from the pen of the learned theological writer in the I. E. RECORD, 1896, page 151, which, if I had not so unhappily forgotten, I would not now have sought to occupy your time or attention.

The learned writer therein maintains, with much force and

skillful ability, 'that the opinion allowing Paschal Communion to a person unable to fast, is not and never was really probable, or to be recommended;' and he entirely rejects the authority of Elbel in the old school, and of Haine and D'Annibale in the new, in favour of the opinion. But as, since that time (1896), modern authors of great weight and respectability, such as Genicot, Gasparri, Noldin, and Lehmkuhl, have considered it *solidly probable* that infirm persons not fasting may be admitted to their Paschal Communion, one would feel prone to conclude that four or five such respectable authorities agreeing in what would seem to be an *independent* expression of opinion on the point ought to be sufficient to produce a probability solid for safe and conscientious practice.

Genicot, e.g., admits it as *probable* (*De Euch.*, page 210), quoting D'Annibale and Gasparri in support; Lehmkuhl in his last great work, *Casus Cons.* page 99, No. 175, writes:— 'Verum sunt qui putent *in Paschale id licere aegrotis* etiam non periculose decumbentibus qui jejuni Communicare nequeat, ne circa mediam noctem quidem, cum Rit. Rom. hac indulgentia eximat solos aegrotos non periculose decumbentes qui *ex devotione* S. Communionem desiderent, Communio autem paschalis sit *ex praecepto*. Quod *probabile esse censeo*.' And Lehmkuhl adds, in the next paragraph, 'Nam de paschali Communionem jam modo allata est *probabilis exceptio*.' I have not got Gasparri or Noldin, but I have no doubt they are correctly quoted, 'Sed haec haesitans dico, salvo meliori judicio.'

By giving your opinion on this whole matter, you will certainly oblige me, and doubtless you will interest many readers of the I. E. RECORD.

A SUBSCRIBER.

We refer our readers to the exhaustive article on these questions which was published in the I. E. RECORD, February, 1896, page 151. The conclusions arrived at in the article are the following:—(1) It is not lawful to administer Holy Communion to a person who is not fasting when the Communion is one of mere devotion. This law admits of no exception, such as Elbel maintained to exist in the case of those who are not in danger of death, but who, nevertheless, are unable to fast long enough to receive Holy Communion. (2) It is not lawful to administer the

Paschal Communion in similar necessity to persons who are not fasting. The only remedy for such cases is to give Holy Communion soon after midnight.

The practical conclusion of the article referred to is that in neither of these cases is there sufficient support of theologians for the milder view to make it safe in practice. We agree with this view in so far as the article spoke of the time when it was written—and it spoke only of that time. What was true then of the Communion of mere devotion is true now. During the last decade, however, a great change has come over theological opinion with regard to the question of administering Paschal Communion in case of necessity to a person who is not fasting. The opinion which, in 1896, received very little support from theologians, receives to-day the approval of many theologians of great authority. To prove this we need only mention, with our correspondent, that the safe probability of the milder view is maintained by the following theologians:—Haine, D'Annibale, Gasparri, Berardi, Lehmkuhl, Genicot, and Noldin. In face of such authorities it would, we think, be useless to deny solid probability at present to the opinion which was so long struggling for recognition.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

NUMBER OF CANDLES AT LOW MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—You will very much oblige by stating in the I. E. RECORD, (a) the cases in which it is permitted to use more than two candles at Low Mass, (b) what is the maximum number that may be used.

SACERDOS.

The word Low is here taken, we presume, as contradistinguished from Solemn. In a Low Mass, in this sense, which is *strictly private* and celebrated by one inferior in dignity to a Bishop, only two candles are permitted,¹

¹ S.R.C. [Decr., nn. 1131, 3262.

exclusive of a third which may be necessary to enable the Priest to read the Missal on dark mornings, and also exclusive of the Elevation candle—which, however, custom has now generally abolished. A Bishop enjoys the privilege of having four candles at his private Mass, and this number should be used whenever the feast is a solemn one.¹ But when a Low Mass assumes a public, or semi-public character, such as a Parochial, or Community Mass of any description, then on the more solemn feasts 'more than two candles are allowed.' Here the additional lights are permitted in order to mark the exterior solemnity of the occasion. With regard to the maximum number that may be used, we have seen nothing definitely laid down. In many places custom has fixed upon six, and we think that this number ought not to be exceeded. For this is the number that is usually prescribed for a High Mass,² and we think it would not be proper to exceed this in a Low Mass. What has been said does not regard circumstances altogether extrinsic to the Mass, such as the Exposition of a Relic or the Blessed Sacrament, which may demand lights for other reasons than those which we have been considering.

USE OF VERNACULAR IN EXEQUIAL SERVICE; ASPERGES ON SUNDAYS; COMMUNION OF SICK; CARRYING OF HOLY OILS; BROWN SCAPULAR

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer following questions in some future issue of the I. E. RECORD :—

1. How far is it permissible to use Irish or English at funeral services? Would not an authorised translation of the ritual into Irish or English, of the prayers said at the grave, be far more devotional, more natural and in many ways more commendable than the official and perfunctory reading of the same prayers in a language unknown to the mourners and frequently read in a hurried or careless manner by the officiating clergyman?

2. When the ceremony of sprinkling holy water on the congregation before Low Masses on Sundays is practised, what Rubrics ought be observed?

¹ *Cer. Epis.*, i. 29.

² *De Herdt*, v. i., p. 332.

3. Outside the time of the Easter and Christmas Stations, how often may the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion be administered to those incapacitated from attendance in the church, but not in *periculo mortis*.

4. May a priest carry Holy Oils with him when visiting his country districts—not on a sick call.

5. Is the entry of names a necessary condition for valid investment or only for some of the Indulgences. If through omission of such an entry (without any fault of the wearer of the Scapular) such a person be deprived of the Indulgences attached, it would be rather severely punishing those for the mistake or carelessness of the clergyman.

DUBIUS.

1. The extent to which the use of the vernacular is permitted in the Exequial Service by the present discipline of the Church is very slight. Custom sanctions the practice in accordance with which the officiant, when he has finished the reading of the Ritual, asks, either in English or Irish, or any other language, the prayers of those standing around for the soul of the deceased. Then Wapelhorst¹ mentions another custom, which seems to be common in Germany, namely, of substituting for the funeral oration at the graveside a prayer in the vernacular. With these limitations the Exequial service at the interment must be conducted in the Liturgical language of the Church, and as long as the present legislation and discipline prevail, little profit can be gained from any discussion as to the desirability of having a change introduced into the existing method of conducting these solemn rites.

2. The ceremony of sprinkling Holy Water before the principal Mass in a church, which is neither *Solemnis* nor *Cantata*, is not of grave obligation,² but it is commonly recommended as a very laudable practice. It is performed on Sundays only, Easter and Pentecost excepted, and commemorates the Sacrament of Regeneration which was formerly conferred on these two days. The method of performing the ceremony before a Low Mass is, making

¹ *Comp. Sac. Lit.*, pp. 484-5.

² S.R.C. Decr., n. 4051, ad. I.

due allowance for the absence of sacred ministers, practically the same as when it precedes a Solemn Mass. The celebrant vests in amice, alb, cincture, stole and, if convenient, a cope of the colour of the Mass, and, putting on his biretta, issues from the sacristy with hands joined preceded by a clerk carrying a vessel with holy water and an aspergil. Having reached the centre of the Altar he removes his cap, makes a reverence, kneels on the lowest step, receives the aspergil, and sprinkles the altar, first towards the cross, next towards the Gospel, and, lastly, towards the Epistle side, reciting in the meantime the antiphon *Asperges me*, or *Vidi aquam* according to the season of the year. He then signs himself with the aspersory, and having risen and sprinkled the kneeling clerk, he makes the proper reverence to the Altar and proceeds, accompanied by the holy water bearer, to asperse the people. This he may do from the centre of the Communion rail, or, if it is customary, he may proceed through the nave of the church starting from one side and returning by the other. While he sprinkles the people he keeps his left hand on his breast, and recites the *Miserere*. Arrived at the Altar he makes a reverence, stands and, having finished the *Miserere*, repeated the Antiphon and said the versicles *Ostende nobis*, etc., retires to the sacristy as he came, with the necessary reverences to the Altar.¹ If he wears a cope it would be well if he were accompanied by a clerk on either side to hold it back; these would also hold the book while he read the prayers. The *Gloria* at the end of the *Miserere* is omitted on Passion and Palm Sundays. The celebrant need not necessarily return to the sacristy after the aspersing. He may receive the maniple and chasuble at the foot of the Altar, or at a bench on one side.

3. Persons of the condition described may get Confession and Communion as often as their devotion prompts them, and especially if there is any particular reason which recommends the reception of these Sacraments, as, for

¹ De Herdt, *Sac. Lit. Prox.*, v. iii. nn. 132, 133; Wapelhorst, *Comp. Lit.*, nn. 80, 81; S.R.C. Decr., 3114, etc.

instance, the occurrence of a festival.¹ Their requests, however, must be reasonable in order that a Priest might be bound to satisfy them. Each visit costs him a certain amount of inconvenience, and consequently his services ought not be requisitioned too lightly or too inconsiderately.

4. The practice of carrying the oil-stocks about indiscriminately whenever one goes through his parish is, we think, quite opposed to the letter and spirit of the Rubrics, which lay down definitely how the Holy Oils are to be kept and carried to the sick. But when a Priest is going to a distant part of his district and has a reasonable apprehension that he may require to anoint some person—to whom he has a short time previously administered the Viaticum, let us say—on the way, we see no great objection to his taking the Oils with him on such occasions.

5. There can be no doubt since the Decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, published on the 27th April, 1887, that the entry of the names is an essential condition for valid membership in the Confraternity of the Scapular, so that without it *none* of the Indulgences can be gained. When the Church grants a pure favour she has a right to specify the conditions on which it may be obtained, and she cannot be reproached with undue severity if she rigorously insists on the fulfilment of all the specified requirements. Now the Indulgences of the Brown Scapular are confined to members of the Confraternity,² and for membership a formal reception is necessary which, among other things, consists in the inscription of the name. No doubt it is rather hard on a person to be deprived of the spiritual benefits accruing from enrolment in the Society by the mistake or carelessness of the Priest. But the same may be said wherever the latter fails in his duty to his people, and it only shows his great responsibility. Sometimes *Decreta sanationis* are issued in reference to these Confraternities making good, retrospectively, the Indulgences which may have been lost owing to want of

¹ Van Der Stappen, *De Sac. Adm.*, n. 205; *Rit. Rom. De Com.* inf. iii., etc.

² Berenger, ii., p. 200.

compliance with essential conditions. Such a Decree was issued some few years since healing this very defect which we are discussing.

**BLESSING OF THE BAPTISMAL FONT ON HOLY SATURDAY
AND THE VIGIL OF PENTECOST**

REV. DEAR SIR,—As some doubt exists about the ceremonies to be observed on these two days, may I trouble you to explain in the April number of the I. E. RECORD the following points :—

1st. In most of the churches of this diocese, if not in all, where the Paschal Candle and Font are blessed, the ceremony is performed *sine cantu*. The prayers are merely read. The Mass which follows is also read, not sung. Is this in keeping with the Rubric which forbids private Mass on Holy Saturday? May the Font be blessed without the Mass being said?

2nd. In some of our rural parishes there is only one priest, or, if there be two, there are also two churches, or it may be three, what is to be done in such cases? It would be impossible to have a High Mass, and even the ceremonies of the blessing of the Font can only be carried out by aid of some trained acolytes.

As private Masses are prohibited, the proper thing apparently would be to bless the candle, read the Prophecies, bless the Font, saying the Litany afterwards as prescribed in the Missal, and then to stop.

3rd. As there is no prohibition against private Masses on the Vigil of Pentecost, I presume the Mass might be said, or omitted *ad libitum*. In that case, may the Font be blessed apart from Mass at any time during the day?

Of course if the Mass is not to be said on Easter Saturday or the Vigil of Pentecost, but the Font is merely blessed, the celebrant need not be fasting.

INQUIRER.

1. Since the publication of the *Memoriale Rituum* by Benedict XIII, in the year 1725, it is no longer necessary that the ceremonies of Holy Saturday, and the two preceding days, should be carried out in an elaborate manner with Solemn Mass, sacred ministers, and choir. These

formalities, beautiful and impressive as they are, have been dispensed with where they are impossible, in order to bring it within the power of every Parish Priest to have the substantial ceremonies of the Triduum of Holy Week performed in his church. We believe it is the desire of the Church, that, at least in their abbreviated form, these devotional functions should be universally carried out,¹ and we are convinced that the people would only be too glad to be present at them with much spiritual advantage to themselves, especially if a word were said beforehand from the altar explaining the commemorative and mystical character of these rites. In convents and similar communities these ceremonies are usually carried out by one Priest with the aid of three or four altar-boys. Why may not an individual Priest similarly carry them out in his parochial church? Even a choir is not necessary, and the officiant need not sing, but merely recite the prayers, the Mass having all the character of a Low Mass.

It is, then, quite in conformity with the Rubrics, as abridged in the *Memoriale Rituum*, and in compliance, too, with the wishes and desires of the Church to carry out the Holy Week ceremonies in connection with an ordinary Low Mass. But if even this cannot be said, and if the new oils are at hand, the blessing of the Font may be performed at any hour on Holy Saturday. In this instance, seeing the blessing is an independent function and unconnected with the ceremonies of the day, the Ritual form should be used.

2. The answer to this question is contained in the preceding. The ceremonies should be carried out in connection with a Low Mass. When it is said that *private* Masses are prohibited during the Triduum the meaning is that Masses, whether Solemn or Low, that are unconnected with the ceremonies, are forbidden; and, as we have stated, for the purpose of these a Solemn Mass is not necessary in the circumstances to which the *Memoriale Rituum* applies, that is, in parochial churches where the Holy

¹ S.R.C. Decr., n. 4971.

Week functions cannot be performed with due solemnity. The privilege of using the *Memoriale Rituum* is not extended to non-parochial churches. These require a special indult. It must be borne in mind also that the ceremonies of the Triduum are so closely related to one another that the Church prohibits them on any one of the three days unless they are held also on the other two. Finally, we would refer our readers to a well-known manual¹ for information as to the method of carrying out these ceremonies in large as well as in small churches.

3. If the Mass cannot be said on the Vigil of Pentecost the blessing of the Font may be performed as an independent function, and the officiant need not be fasting. But we can scarcely conceive any reason why even a Low Mass could not be said and the ceremony gone through as in the Missal.

PATRICK MORRISROE.

¹ *Ceremonies of Some Ecclesiastical Functions*, by Dr. O'Loan; may be had of Messrs. Browne & Nolan, Ltd., or Gill and Son. See also I. E. RECORD, 1895, p. 356; 1897, p. 360; 1903, p. 361.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ITALIAN PRONUNCIATION OF 'MIHI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—The admirably clear directions given by the Bishop of Canea in your issue of last December for the pronunciation of Latin in the Italian manner, recently recommended by the Bishops of Ireland for adoption in our seminaries, were reproduced with due acknowledgment in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* of January. In the remarks with which the editor introduces and enforces Dr. Donnelly's rules, he demurs to one point only. 'In regard to the pronunciation of the *h* in the middle of words, which Dr. Donnelly gives as somewhat like *ch* or *k*, it might be suggested that this is not the pronunciation of cultured Italians who make a point of enunciating accurately. The habit is common enough, like that other of adding a mute *e* to words ending in a consonant, as Dominusē for *Dominus*. Here may be applied what Cicero says of the pronunciation of this same letter *h* in his own day: "Usum loquendi populo concessi, scientiam mihi servavi."'

Some who wish to adopt the Italian pronunciation will be glad to find that they may pronounce 'mihi' *meehee* and not *micky*, and that they need not try to imitate any peculiar Italian *cantilena*, tone, or drawl, but may speak unaffectedly in their own natural way. It is well also to notice that the *loud* sound of *laudare* is produced by pronouncing the *a* and *u* separately.

The adoption of this uniform pronunciation would make Latin more than ever the universal language of the Church.—
Yours faithfully,

M. R.

DR. O'QUEELY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with pleasure the learned paper on Dr. O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, in the March number of the I. E. RECORD, and it has occurred to me that an account of the honour paid to the martyred Prelate in the University of Paris may interest your readers. I take it from a manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Université

Paris, entitled *Conclusions de la Nation d'Allemagne dans l'ancienne Université*, Registry No. 26, fol. 337, A.D. 1613-1660. For sake of clearness let me premise that the official title of the *Nation d'Allemagne* in the Faculty of Arts was, *Natio Constantissima*, and that it was composed of two sections, *Insulares* (Masters from Ireland and Scotland) and *Continentes* (Masters from provinces bordering on the Rhine). The Irish were the most numerous. In December, 1645, the Right Rev. Bartholomew Archer of Kilkenny, Apostolic Prothonotary, officer of the household of the Queen of Great Britain, and chaplain in ordinary of Anna Maria, eldest daughter of Louis Duke of Orleans, was elected Proctor of the Nation.

At a meeting of the Masters held on 7th February, 1646, the following resolution was adopted. I translate from the Latin text :—

'At the same meeting, a little before this discussion began, moved not only by personal affection, but also by the request of others, I proposed to the most Constant Heads, to have a funeral service celebrated for the soul of the most illustrious and Most Reverend Malachy Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, an Irishman, doctor, and fellow of Navarre, and sometime master in the most Constant Nation, who a few months ago in defence of the Catholic faith fell by the swords of impious men. To this proposal of mine all assented. All the Continentals, and two Islanders, viz., M. Pendric and M. Fraser, expressed a wish to pay this tribute to the memory of so great a man without prejudice to the martyr (*sine injuria martyris*), (as we piously believe him to be) in proof of the singular affection of the most Constant Nation for the Most Illustrious Queely, without however any obligation, present or future, of celebrating a service for other doctors of the other Faculties of the Academy of Paris. The other Islanders, though more numerous, unanimously voted without any such restriction, that this office be celebrated by the most Constant Nation as due to a doctor, as well as to the other Masters, and I ruled with all, without prejudice to either side.

'BARTHOLOMEW ARCHER, *Procurator*.'

On 3rd March, the same Proctor made the following entry :—

'A funeral office was celebrated for the happy repose of the Most Rev. Malachy Queely, Archbishop of Tuam in Ireland.'

In Lynch's *MS. De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, p. 939 (Mazarin VOL. XVII,

Library), there is preserved the following beautiful epitaph composed by Redmund Meary, M.D., in honour of Dr. O'Queely :

' Praesulis hic multo laniatum vulnere corpus,
Canitiesque sacro sanguine sparsa jacet,
Pro grege non renuit vitam profundere pastor.
Quam bene pastorem mors decet ista bonum !
Purpurei fulgete Patres in murice ! Sanguis
Pulchrius hic vestri muricis igne rubet.'

At the meeting of the Masters above-mentioned there was present Dr. James Duley who succeeded Dr. O'Dwyer in 1669, as vicar apostolic of Limerick. Dr. O'Dwyer, whose funeral is so touchingly alluded to in the paper on Dr. O'Queely, took refuge in Brussels after the capitulation of Limerick, and he died there in 1664. Lynch, in his manuscript, tells us that Dr. O'Dwyer was provisionally interred in the vault of Our Lady's Chapel, in the church called *Frigidi Montis* (*in cavea B. Virginis in Ecclesia vulgo Frigidi Montis appellatâ*) (MS., p. 714). His solemn obsequies were postponed, because some alleged that the bishop had not been absolved from the censures promulgated by Rinuccini against the partisans of the truce with Inchiquin. Lynch maintains that Dr. O'Dwyer was free from all censure, for three reasons—1°, because general censures do not affect bishops unless they are specially mentioned; 2° because Rinuccini had declared to Mgr. (afterwards Cardinal) di Bagni, Nuncio in France, that it was not his intention to include bishops in the censures, and 3°, because several learned men had in written treatises impugned the validity of the censures, and their opponents had made no reply. For all these reasons, the second of which seems strongest, Lynch concludes that there is no stain on the memory of Dr. O'Dwyer, and he adds that as he had suffered for the faith, he ought to be regarded as a martyr.

How pathetic the lot of Dr. O'Dwyer ! Once, if not twice, a captive in the hands of the Turks ; then the siege of Limerick and his escape, and last of all his death in exile. *Sunt lacrymae rerum*. Let us trust that his sufferings have merited for him a martyr's crown. Apologizing for this long letter,

I remain, Rev. and dear Sir, yours sincerely,

P. BOYLE, C.M.

IRISH COLLEGE, PARIS, 12th March, 1905.

DOCUMENTS

THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

CENETEN

IN OMNIBUS DEFUNCTORUM ANNIVERSARIIS DUPLICANTUR
ANTIPHONAE

Hodiernus sacris caeremoniis praefectus in Ecclesia Cathedrali Ceneten., de consensu Rev. mi sui Episcopi sequens dubium Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi, pro opportuna declaratione humillime proposuit, nimirum :

Utrum verba Rubricae Ritualis Romani, cap. 4, *Officium defunctorum*, quae ita leguntur '*In die vero . . . anniversario duplicantur Antiphonae*,' intelligenda sint de primo tantum anniversario vel etiam de caeteris anniversariis sequentibus annis celebrandis ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, respondendum esse censuit :

Negative ad primam partem, *Affirmative* ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit die 4 Novembris, 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen, Secret.*

ERECTION OF STATIONS OF THE CROSS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

VENETIARUM

IN ERECTIONE STATIONUM VIAE CRUCIS, CRUCES AFFIGI POSSUNT
SUPER SCAMNA, DUMMODO SINT INAMOVIBILIA ET SATIS
ERECTA

Huic Sacrae Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, circa locum ad quem Cruces affigi debeant in erectione Stationum Viae Crucis, sequentia dubia dirimenda sunt proposita :

I. Utrum ad validitatem erectionis sit essentialis conditio,

ut Cruces ad parietem tantum affigantur ; an vero affigi possint etiam supra scamna, quin erectio sit invalida ?

Et quatenus affirmative quoad 1^{am} partem.

II. Utrum erectiones dictarum Stationum cum affixione Crucium supra scamna, convalidatae censendae sint a recentioribus Decretis huius Sacrae Congregationis, quibus sanati fuerunt omnes defectus admissi in erigendis Stationibus ?

Et Emi. Patres, ad Vaticanum coadunati die 18 Augusti, 1904, responsum dederunt :

Ad I^{am}. Quoad 1^{am} partem *Negative* ; quod 2^{am} *Affirmative*, dummodo scamna sint inamovibilia et satis erecta.

Ad II^{am}. Erectiones Stationum cum affixione Crucium supra scamna inamovibilia non indigere sanatione ; erectiones vero Stationum cum affixione Crucium supra scamna amovibilia convalidatas quidem esse a recentioribus Decretis huius S.C. ; iniungitur tamen, ut Cruces a scamnis amovibilibus removeantur, et ad locum stabilem affigantur.

De quibus relatione facta SSmo. Dno. Nro. Pio PP. X in audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto die 14 Septembris 1904, Sanctitas Sua Emorum. Patrum responsiones ratas habuit et confirmavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S.C., die 14 Septembris, 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen, Secret.*

CANDLES USED AT SACRED FUNCTIONS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

PLURIUM DIOECESIUM

CIRCA QUALITATEM CERAE PRO SACRIS FUNCTIONIBUS USURPANDAE

Nonnulli Sacrorum Antistites a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione semel atque iterum reverenter postularunt : ' An attenta etiam magna difficultate, vel veram ceram apum habendi, vel indebitas cum alia cera commixtiones eliminandi, candelae super Altaribus ponendae, omnino et integre ex cera apum esse debeant ; an vero esse possint cum alia materia seu vegetali seu animali commixtae ? '

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, in Ordinario Coetu die 29

Novembris hoc vertente anno in Vaticanum coadunato, omnibus perpensis, una cum suffragio Commissionis Liturgicae, anteacta decreta mitigando, rescribere rata est : ' Attenta asserta difficultate, *Negative* ad primam partem ; *Affirmative* ad secundam, et ad mentem. Mens est, ut Episcopi pro viribus curent ut cereus paschalis, cereus in aqua baptismali immergendus et duae candelae in Missis accendendae, sint ex cera apum, saltem in maxima parte ; aliarum vero candelarum, quae supra Altaribus ponendae sunt, materia in maiori vel notabili quantitate ex eadem cera sit oportet. Qua in re parochi alique rectores ecclesiarum et oratoriorum tuto stare poterunt normis a respectivis Ordinariis traditis, nec privati sacerdotes Missam celebraturi de qualitate candelarum anxie inquirere tenentur.' Atque ita rescripsit, die 14 Decembris 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret*.

**LETTER TO CARDINAL GIBBONS FROM HIS HOLINESS
POPE PIUS X**

PIUS X GRATES REPENDIT OBSERVANTIAMQUE TESTATUR INDUSTRIO
POPULO AMERICAЕ SUPERIORIS

*Dilecto Filio Nostro Jacobo tit. S. Mariae trans Tiberim, S.R.E.
Presbytero Cardinali Gibbons, Archiepiscopo Baltimorensium*

PIUS PP. X

Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Americae regionem, inter praestantes humanitate gentes multiplici re commendatam Nobisque apprime caram, tuae Nobis cariorem reddidere litterae, quas nomine Praesulum Foederatarum Americae Superioris civitatum haud ita pridem dedisti. Affectos enim istic mirifice in Romanum Pontificem esse animos, quamquam et saepe alias, et a te ipso etiam, quum primum fuimus ad Petri Sedem evecti, didicimus, novo tamen placuit constituisse argumento. Quod communi annui conventus voto gratulari Nobis dignitatem sacerdotii summam voluistis, id humanitati plane congruit comitatieque vestrae. Ecclesiam autem quum simili prosequendam gratulatione putastis, quippe cui cum Christus Vicarium praefecerit qui instaurare omnia in eodem Christo constitutum habeat, id enimvero non sine obse-

cratione ac prece vos fecisse censemus, ea Nobis e coelo subsidia impertiri, e quorum vi debet proficisci tota, si quae erit unquam in Nobis, sollicitudinis Nostrae efficacia. Vobis demum ipsi satis ea de re gratulatis, quod nempe propensissima Nostro in animo insit erga Americanam gentem voluntas. Hunc porro sensum e quo tam multum voluptatis, perinde quasi e vestri argumento amoris luculentissimo, cepimus, afficere non modo laude, sed confirmare etiam gaudemus. Quam enim observantiam caritatemque catholicus Americae populus, optimorum exemplo Praesulum obsecutus, exhibendam Nobis, pro filiorum officio, censuit, eam studiosissima voluntate rependimus. Nostrae vero impertiendae demonstrandaeque in vos benevolentiae si assidua se occasio praebebit, erit Nobis id ad laetitiam, plurimumque procul dubio conducet ad necessitudinem arctius devinciendam, quae illustri vestro industrioque populo cum Apostolica Sede intercedit. Testem interea animi Nostri coelestiumque munerum auspicem Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi, collegis tuis, universisque dioecesium vestrarum fidelibus peramanter in Domino impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 13 Iunii anno 1904, Pontificatus Nostri primo.

PIUS PP. X.

NEW VICARIATE APOSTOLIC IN AFRICA

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI

DECRETUM

ERIGITUR PRAEFECTURA APOSTOLICA DE STANLEY-FALLS IN AFRICA ET INSTITUTO PRESBYTERORUM A S. CORDE IESU COMMITTITUR

Cum in Generalibus Comitibus huius S. C. Propaganda Fide, habitis die 25 superioris mensis Iulii, relatum fuit sacerdotes quosdam Instituti Presbyterorum a S. Corde Iesu profectos fuisse ad sacrum ministerium sub iurisdictione Vicarii Apostolici Congi Independentis seu Belgici exercendum, in quandam plagam eiusdem Missionis eis a praedicto Ordinario excolenda designata : ac insuper per plures annos ibidem cum magno animarum fructu adlaborasse: Emi. Patres, consentiente Vicario Apostolico, voluerunt ut territorium in quo praefati sacerdotes usque nunc apostolicas curas impenderunt, a Vicariatu Apostolico

Congi Belgici distraheretur ac in separatam Praefecturam Apostolicam erigeretur. Huius vero Praefecturae Apostolicae, titulo de Stanley-Falls nuncupandae, ac Instituto praedicto concedendae, limites sequentes erunt; nempe: Ad Septentrionem confinia meridionalia Praefecturae Apostolicae de Uellé; ad Orientem confinia occidentalia Vicariatus Apostolici Victoriae Nyansae Septentrionalis, scilicet gradus 30 longitudinis orientalis (Greenwich); ad Meridiem limes septentrionalis Vicariatus Apostolici Congi Superioris: id est linea ducta ab ora meridio-occidentali lacus Alberti Eduardi usque ad ostium fluminis Lela, scilicet usque ad locum Lokandu; hinc vero alia linea usque ad locum Bena-Kamba ad flumen Lomani; ad Occidentem vero cursus fluminis Lomani a praedicto loco Bena-Kamba usque ad ostium eiusdem in flumen Congo, et dein cursus huius fluminis usque ad confinia Praefecturae Apostolicae de Uellé.

Hanc vero Emorum. Patrum sententiam, per infrascriptum huius S. C. Secretarium, in Audientia hesternae die habita, SSmo. D. N. Pio divina providentia PP. X relatam, Sanctitas Sua in omnibus ratam habuit ac confirmavit, praesensque ad id S. C. Decretum confici iussit.

Datum Romae, die 3 Augusti 1904.

H. M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✕ S.

A. VECCIA, *Secretarius*.

EXTRAORDINARY CONFESSORS OF NUNS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM

SUPERIORISSA NEQUIT EX SEIPSA DENEGARE SUIS SORORIBUS
CONFESSARIUM EXTRAORDINARIUM, ETIAM OB MOTIVA EX-
TRINSECA, QUAE IUDICIO ORDINarii ERUNT SUBIICIENDA

Beatissime Pater,

P. D. Maurus Serafini, Abbas Generalis Congregationis Cassinensis a primaeva Observantia O.S.B., ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provolutus, humiliter proponit dubium prout sequitur circa Decretum quod incipit '*Quemadmodum*,' datum die 17 Decembris 1890 de Confessariis Monialium.

Licet 17 Augusti 1891 Sacra Congregatio Episcoporum et Regularium responderit ad 2: 'Superiorem teneri subditi

precibus semper indulgere quamvis plane videat necessitatem esse fictam, et vel scrupulis vel alio mentis defectu ut veram ab ipso petente apprehensam;’ insuper ad 3: ‘Religiosam petentem eligere posse inter diversos ab Ordinario deputatos, qui sibi munus Confessarii impleat;’ nihilominus nonnullae Sanctimonialium vel Sororum Religiosarum Superiores adhuc contendunt sibi licere, decisis non obstantibus, Sorori petenti Confessarium, quem prae caeteris mavult, denegare ex motivis, uti aiunt, extrinsecis.

Quaeritur utrum, saltem ob motiva huius generis, Superiorissa licite possit Confessarium ex deputatis a Sorore electum ipsi denegare? Et Deus, etc.

Et S. Congregatio Negotiis et Consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, omnibus sedulo perpensis, die 5 Augusti 1904 respondit: ‘*Negative*’; sed si adsint rationes vere graves, Superiorissa eas subiiciat Ordinario, cuius iudicio standum erit.’

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

PHILIPPUS GIUSTINI, *Secretarius*.

INDULGENCES FOR INVOCATION TO THE SACRED HEART E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

URBIS ET ORBIS

INDULG. 7 ANN. ETC. CONCEDITUR TER RECITANTIBUS POST PRECES
PRAESCRIPTAS IN FINE MISSAE PRIVATAE, INVOCATIONEM:
‘COR JESU SACRATISSIMUM, MISERERE NOBIS’

Quo ferventius Christifideles, hac praesertim temporum acerbitate, ad Sacratissimum Cor Iesu confugiant Eique laudis et placationis obsequia indesinenter depromere, divinamque miserationem implorare contendant, SSmo. Dno. N. Pio Pp. X supplicia vota haud semel sunt delata, ut precibus, quae iussu s. m. Leonis XIII post privatam missae celebrationem persolvi solent, ter addi possit sequens invocatio ‘Cor Iesu Sacratissimum, miserere nobis,’ aliqua tributa Indulgentia Sacerdoti caeterisque una cum eo illam devote recitantibus.

Porro Sanctitas Sua, cui, ob exultam vel a primis annis pietatem singularem, nihil potius est atque optatius, quam ut gentium religio magis magisque in dies augeatur erga sanctissi-

mun Cor Iesu, in quo omnium gratiarum thesauri sunt reconditi, postulationibus perlibenter annuere duxit; ac proinde universis e christiano populo, qui una cum ipso Sacerdote, post privatam Missae celebrationem, precibus iam indictis praefatam invocationem addiderint, Indulgentiam septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum, defunctis quoque applicabilem, benigne elargiri dignata est. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congnis. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, die 17 Iunii 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

DIOMEDES PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius*.

PROFANATION AND RECONCILIATION OF A CHURCH

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

NOLANA

SIMPLEX SACERDOS NEQUIT ECCLESIAM BENEDICTAM ET VIOLATAM
RECONCILIARE ABSQUE ORDINARII SUI DELEGATIONE

Rituale Romanum docet, Ecclesiam violatam, si sit consecrata, ab Episcopo, si vero benedicta tantum, a Sacerdote delegato ab Episcopo, esse reconciliandam. Quum vero circa delegationem ab Episcopo obtinendam pro Ecclesia benedicta non sit unanimis Doctorum sententia, ad inordinationes praecavendas, hodiernus Rmus. Episcopus Nolanus a S. Rituum Congregatione humiliter petiit: 'Utrum simplex Sacerdos possit iure suo Ecclesiam benedictam, ubi violata fuerit, reconciliare sine ulla Ordinarii sui delegatione?'

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, propositae quaestioni respondendum censuit: '*Negative*, et servetur Rituale Romanum, tit. VIII, cap. 28.'

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 8 Iulii 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✕ S.

✕ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Μάριε Νί Ερώιν: Θράμα Σπεαννίμαρ ι ηΰαεοίλς αΰυρ
ι μβευρλα. Τομάρ μαε Αμάλζαίρ, νο ρΰρίοβ. Ι μβαίλε
Άτα Cλιδε: le m. h. Ξίλλ αΰυρ α μίλε, τεοραντα, 1905.
Price 4*d*.

IN the movement to restore the Irish language to its original dignity and place as a spoken idiom the theatre has an acknowledged place and can be of immense service. In recognition of its influence several Irish writers have in recent times turned it to account. One of the most successful efforts of the kind that has come under our notice is that of Mr. Thomas McAuley which is now before us. This play has excellent dramatic qualities. The condition of the language, and the capabilities of an audience in various stages of proficiency require that the plot should be simple and the treatment rather rudimentary. For that reason the author keeps to rather homely scenes, and does not seek to draw his hearers into any of the intricate problems that are offered for solution on the modern stage.

The scene is laid in an Irish-speaking district, and the principal 'dramatis personae' are Ράορμας ιλα Ερώιν, P.L.G., a farmer; Ήμζιρ, his wife; Μάριε, their daughter; and George Swiggins, an English planter. Ράορμας wishes Μάριε to marry Swiggins for whom, and for whose language, he has a great admiration. He is anxious to cultivate the 'rale livin' langwidge of edication,' as he calls it. George's conversation, however, is such as only befits an uneducated upstart. When he comes to visit Μάριε, the latter speaks to him in Irish, much to his discomfiture, and in spite of the indignant remonstrances of her father, who in spite of himself constantly relapses into Irish. Μάριε has already made her choice, and that is Σεαζάν Ó Concuβαίρ. The latter is ordered out of the house by Μάριε's father. But George Swiggins has not abandoned all hope. With two of his servants, 'Arry and Berty, he makes a plot to steal one of Ξίλλ Σαννταε's sheep, and leave the hide in Σεαζάν Ó Concuβαίρ's house so that the latter may be accused of stealing the sheep, and George

be left free to win over *Μάιη*. But unluckily for the conspirators they are overheard by *Τομάριν* and *Johneen* *ἡνὶλ* *Ἰάρ*, who however decide to let them carry out the plot before they inform *Μάιη* or *Σαῶάν*. The plot is still further frustrated by *Ἰεῤῥοορίδα*, the old blind piper, who, concealed himself, overhears *Berty* and *'Arry* as they are actually concealing the skin in *Σαῶάν*'s house. *Ἰεῤῥοορίδα* sends *Τομάριν* and *Johneen* to tell *Ἰάμ Σαννταῶ* and some of the neighbours, and all proceed to *Μάιη*'s house where they interrupt *George* as he is making a second attempt to induce *Μάιη* to accept him. He has been threatening to accuse *Σαῶάν* of stealing the sheep, unless she consents to marry him. But when the crowd of neighbours come in, *Ἰάμ* in their midst loudly demanding the price of his sheep and with difficulty restrained from wrecking vengeance on *Swiggins*, the discomfiture of the latter is complete. Old *Ῥάοριδης* now comes in, and everything is explained to him. He is reconciled with *Σαῶάν*, and everyone rejoices over the down-fall of the *Ἰεῤῥυδαλλοῶ*, including *Ἰάμ Σαννταῶ*, who has got the money equivalent of his sheep. The curtain goes down on an impromptu *Κέλιό*.

There seems no doubt that as the language advances, as it is taken up and spoken by the educated and intellectual classes, it will rise gradually from the comparatively humble scenes in which it here exclusively finds a refuge. It is capable of indefinite expansion and development. It is rich in picturesque and beautiful expressions. It is congenial as no other language ever will or can be to the whole nature of Irishmen. If ever we are to have a literature in the true sense of the word it must be in the old Gaelic language. Nothing else will inspire Irishmen with the highest motives or attract the attention of the foreigner to what is done amongst us. There are, no doubt, difficulties in the way, great and serious difficulties; but whatever may be the drawbacks and the disadvantages we hope that the difficulties may be overcome, and that in another generation all Irishmen may be able to speak the ancient language of Erin. In that great effort of evolution *Mr. McAuley's* play, *Μάιη ἡνὶ Εἰρὼν*, will do its part. But the author is young and has the world before him. We can look forward with confidence to the result of his activity during the next twenty-five or thirty years, towards the end of which

period we suspect the last Irishman incapable of speaking the language of his forefathers will have disappeared.

A HISTORY OF IRISH MUSIC. By W. H. Grattan Flood.
Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1905. Price 6s. *net*.

MR. GRATTAN FLOOD deserves the thanks of all lovers of Irish Music for the pains he has taken in producing what can only be described as an invaluable book. The volume is evidently the work of a life-time. It is a regular storehouse of information on the history, development, and characteristics of the musical art such as it has been practised amongst Irishmen as far back as history will take us. At every stage of the development of Irish music the author has made wide and laborious researches, and now he places before us, in permanent and convenient form, the result of his investigations. We cannot speak too highly of the value of his work. It is the most exhaustive, the most illuminating and the most whole-hearted treatment of the subject that has yet come from any source, native or foreign. We congratulate Mr. Grattan Flood very sincerely and we recommend his book to all our readers. A book that represents such wide learning and such a cultivated sympathy with a subject of national importance, to say nothing of the vast labour bestowed on the work, deserves the support and encouragement of all Irish priests.

As we looked through various parts of Mr. Flood's volume we were everywhere struck with the vast amount of reading the author had to do in dealing with each branch or phase of his subject; but we confess that it was with a feeling of great regret we noticed that the *references* were so frequently omitted. The value of Mr. Flood's work would have been enormously enhanced had he given the detailed references in footnotes or otherwise. Nobody with any pretensions to scholarship at the present day will accept information at second hand, and most scholars regard with suspicion the quotations given from authorities without a reference to the precise spot from which they are taken. It is no use telling us that St. Augustine says so and so unless we are told exactly where he says it, that we may see for ourselves whether he really does say it or not. And it is easy to state that Totilo of St. Gall

was an Irishman named Tuathal, without giving us any inkling as to whether this is a mere conjecture transformed into a fact or an ascertained fact of history duly proved. Nor is it of much use to refer us to the glosses of St. Gall on a very doubtful point in the development of harmony, unless we are told what particular sentence in the glosses is relied on. It is not very easy to see how such an assertion could find a place in marginal or interlinear notes in Priscian's Grammar. It would, at least, satisfy our curiosity if Mr. Grattan Flood had either quoted the words or given us some clue to their whereabouts. At almost every page we feel that the authority of the writer would be greatly strengthened were the means of verifying his statements facilitated. As it is we fear it will not be easy to remedy the defect in a second edition : yet we do not think the task beyond the powers of so industrious and painstaking a scholar as Mr. Grattan Flood.

J. F. H.

LE LIVRE D'ISAIE. Père Condamin, S.J. 'Etudes Bibliques.' Paris : Lecoffre, 1905.

EVERY reader knows that, of all the prophets, Isaias is the most sublime. Bossuet used to read a chapter of Isaias as a preparation and stimulus before he commenced to compose one of his own magnificent sermons. Few, perhaps indeed none, of the other books of the Old Testament has been the subject of so numerous and learned commentaries and dissertations. Père Condamin—who is, by the way, now taking refuge at Canterbury from M. Combes—makes great use of modern German and English writers, for the most part non-Catholic. But he is thoroughly independent and progressive, and if he so often mentions the opinions or the textual emendations of these scholars, he does so in order to present what is amongst the best of its kind to his readers, and he always appraises what he quotes. His commentary and his notes are models of criticism, and show that the Jesuit scholar is superior to any of the *A catholici* whose names so frequently figure in his pages. His work is the most erudite one we know of, and it must be added that no other translation we are acquainted with renders the sense of the sublime original half so well. This is due both to Père Condamin's thorough grasp

of the genius of the Hebrew language, and to his equally perfect comprehension of the laws and structure of Hebrew poetry. Readers of the *Revue Biblique* will remember his numerous articles on Zenner's theory or system of choral song in the Psalter. In his present commentary he applies throughout Zenner's system of strophe, antistrophe, and refrain, and in a most scientific manner. The result is that the beauty of the poetry of Isaias is made evident to a degree that it never was before. This is true in particular of the part from chapter xl. on, the so-called 'Deutero Isaias.' Great care is taken to point out the divisions of the book, or the short poems complete in themselves of which it is composed. See, for instance, ix. 7, x. 4, where the groups of three tetrastichs with their refrain of two stichoi, and the groups of varying numbers of lines with the same refrain, are so clearly indicated. As regards the sense, one of the most pathetic parts of the prophecy (also for the most part written in tetrastichs), viz., the Passion-Prophecy or the passage (lii. 13-liii. 12) about the Servant of Jehova, is commented on so well, that it would be difficult to match the explanation by anything else in modern Catholic exegesis. Those who know Hebrew will find Père Condamin's translation and notes delightful reading, and even those who do not may learn a great deal from them.

R. W.

TRACTATUS DE DIVINA TRADITIONE ET SCRIPTURA.

Fr. De San, S.J. Bruges: Beyaert, 1903.

THIS work marks a great advance beyond a similar work by Cardinal Franzelin. That such an advance should have been possible is due in part to the great progress of knowledge in general in the last thirty years. It is to the credit of the learned confrère of Franzelin, that he has availed himself of all the latest and best sources of information. His work is characterized by thoroughness and precision. Among the sections that strike us as being especially good, we may mention those on the nature of Tradition and the authority of the Fathers, and also those on the nature of Inspiration and the contents of the Canon. Nowhere, indeed, is the author's erudition seen to greater advantage than in the part dealing with the Canon of the New Testament. Here our theological students will

find what is rarely to be met with outside treatises such as those by Zahn and other specialists ; treatises, it need hardly be said, which young ecclesiastics are not yet prepared to read with profit. On this account, as well as on several others, we heartily recommend Father De San's work to all readers ; not to students only, but to those who know a great deal about Tradition and Scripture, and are for that reason desirous to know more.

R. W.

QUAESTIONES DE JUSTITIA. Father A. Vermeersch, S.J.
Bruges : Beyaert, 1904.

THIS is the second edition of a book that has largely contributed to increase the fame of its learned author. We get in it a profound and at the same time lucid exposition of the principles of law, justice, contracts, restitution, etc. Besides all this, we find the questions of our own times, and the questions, too, of different countries, explained practically. Copyright, custom-house duties, wills, etc., are among these subjects ; while socialism, women's rights, etc., also come in for their due share of attention. All through the learned professor, who appears to have read everything bearing upon his theme, follows most faithfully the teaching of Leo XIII, and Pius X. Among the numerous authorities he quotes St. Thomas and Molina often appear side by side. All moral theologians will find that the volume is a valuable addition to their library, for it would hardly be possible to get a more useful book.

R. W.

MONITA PII X ET GREGORII MAGNI, SACERDOTIBUS EXERCITIA OBEUNTIBUS PROPOSITA. Fr. G. Lahousse, S.J.
Bruges : Beyaert.

THE celebrated Jesuit theologian, Père Lahousse, has just edited this admirable little work for the use of the clergy, especially during their annual retreat. As he explains in his preface, it contains all the passages referring to the duties of priests, etc., that are to be found in the two Encyclicals *E Supremi* and *Jucunda sane* of the present Pope. In his first Encyclical Pius X announced his aim, *Omnia instaurare in Christo*, and called on the clergy to assist him in his efforts ; in his second

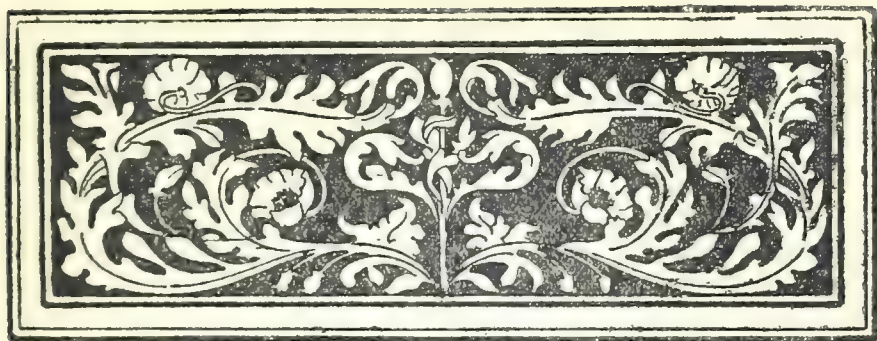
he exhorted both bishops and priests to read in time of retreat a homily that St. Gregory the Great preached in the basilica of St. John Lateran. They will thus perceive the dangers to be avoided, and on the other hand learn the means they are to employ in order to attain the sublime end which the Pope has so much at heart. Père Lahousse has had the happy thought of issuing all this in a little manual. We heartily welcome this useful and opportune publication, and hope that it will be made use of in every clerical retreat.

R. W.

ROSA MYSTICA : MARIAE IMMACULATAE TRIBUTUM JUBILAEUM. By the Rev. Knelm Digby Best, of the Oratory. London : Washbourne ; Laslett & Co. 1904.

THE interest manifested last year in the Jubilee Celebration of the Proclamation of the Definitions on the Immaculate Conception shows how earnest is the attachment of the Catholic world to Mary Immaculate. Amongst the vast pile of literature which appeared at that time we read with special pleasure the work of Father Digby Best. It is exactly the sort of work which, from our acquaintance with his other books, we should have expected from him. The first part is given up to a series of reflections on the Mysteries of the Rosary, while the second part treats of the other 'Joys, Sorrows, Glories, and Perogatives of our Blessed Lady.' But we specially admired the illustrations. The first part is illustrated with copies of the Rosary frescoes of Giovanni di San Giovanni. The second part reproduces the pictures of many other distinguished artists. No expense has been spared in the publishing of the book.

J. MACC.



PHILOSOPHY AND THE SCIENCES AT LOUVAIN

I

THE rise and progress of Neo-Scholastic Philosophy at the Catholic University of Louvain, in Belgium, during the past fifteen years, has attracted the attention of philosophers of every school and every shade of opinion the whole world over.¹ It has been noticed more than once in the pages of the I. E. RECORD,² but it deserves to be better and more generally known than it is. It marks an epoch in the history of Modern Philosophy, and it contains many important educational lessons for Irishmen, circumstanced as they are at present regarding University education. In the following pages we shall aim at giving a very brief sketch of the spirit that animates

¹ Cf. *L'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie à L'Université Catholique de Louvain* (1890-1904), by Rev. A. Pelzer, D.Ph. (30 pp.; Imprimerie Polleunis et Ceuterick, 32, rue des Orphelins). *Le Mouvement Néo-Thomiste* (16 pp.), extrait de la *Revue Néo-Scholastique*, publiée par la Société Philosophique de Louvain. Directeur: D. Mercier. Secrétaire de Rédaction: M. De Wulf. (Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1, rue des Flamands, 1901). *Deux Centres du Mouvement Thomiste: Rome et Louvain*, par C. Besse. (63 pp.; Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 17, rue du Vieux-Colombier, 1902). *Rapport sur les Etudes Supérieures de Philosophie*, présenté par Monseigneur D. Mercier au Congrès de Malines, 1891. (Louvain, Librairie de l'Institut de Philosophie, Louvain, 1891, 32 pp.)

² Cf. article in I. E. RECORD of July, 1903, by the Rev. T. P. H. Russell, Louvain; also article in I. E. RECORD of September, 1904, by the Rev. J. Kelly, Ph.D.

the work that is being done at Louvain in the department of Philosophy, and at conveying some idea of the significance and influence of the new movement. We have been already endeavouring to show how Scholastic Philosophy, subsequent to the rise of Cartesianism, became divorced from the Natural Sciences, to the great detriment of both, and of the Catholic religion as well¹; and how Leo XIII sought, with all the power of a great mind, to repair the damage done, or at least to prevent a continuance of it, by renewing once more the long shattered alliance.²

I.—THE PROJECT OF A PHILOSOPHICAL INSTITUTE AT LOUVAIN

It was Leo XIII himself who conceived the project of founding a special Institute for the study of Scholastic Philosophy in close connexion with the sciences, in the Catholic University of Louvain. During the time he had been Papal Nuncio in Belgium he had learned to esteem and admire the splendid work done in every department of education by the Louvain professors, lay and clerical alike.³ He felt that a centre of such scientific renown, such intellectual activity, and such frank and fearless Catholicity, would be just the fittest place in the whole Catholic world to wed once more the old Scholastic Philosophy with the progressive modern sciences. The idea of the possibility of such a union gave a severe shock, no doubt, both to timid Catholics on the one hand, and to impudent infidels on the other. But Leo XIII *knew* Scholastic Philosophy, and knowing it he had confidence in its harmony with scientific truth. Fortunately, too, he found men in Belgium, or rather a man, to share that confidence in the fullest, to take up his project with ardour, and to carry it through many difficulties and much opposition to the well deserved success which it enjoys to-day. We allude

¹ I. E. RECORD, January.

² *Ibid.*, February.

³ The professors are, of course, all Catholics. They number over one hundred. About two-thirds are laymen. Some priests are to be found in all the faculties. In the appointments—whether of clerics or laics—merit alone is looked to. Over 2,000 students—all Catholics—frequent the University.

to Monseigneur Mercier, the present well-known and distinguished director of the Louvain Philosophical Institute. He was then the Abbé Mercier, Professor of Philosophy in the Petit Seminaire of Malines, when, in 1880, he was called to Louvain to fill the new chair of Thomistic Philosophy established at the University in obedience to the wishes of Leo XIII.¹ The establishment of this chair was only a preparation for the subsequent scheme. Eight years afterwards, in July, 1888, the Pope evidently considered that the time was ripe for making a trial at the foundation of a special Institute. In a Brief to Cardinal Goossens, Archbishop of Malines, he unfolded his plans. 'It seems to Us useful and supremely advantageous,' he wrote, 'to establish a certain number of new chairs so that from these different departments of teaching, wisely bound together and knit with harmony, there may result an Institute of Thomistic Philosophy, endowed with a distinct existence.' More than a year afterwards when some attempt had been made to carry out the Pope's wishes, and want of funds proved their greatest obstacle, Leo XIII. came to the rescue with a gift of £6,000 (150,000 francs), exhorting them to use their best efforts to collect the necessary balance from all friends of education in Belgium. That he was determined to have the good project carried out, is evident from these further words in a Brief of November, 1889:—

We consider it not only opportune but necessary [he wrote] to give to philosophical studies a *direction towards nature* so that students may be able to find in them, side by side with the lessons of ancient wisdom, the discoveries we owe to the able investigations of our contemporaries, and may draw therefrom treasures equally profitable to religion and to civil society.

It is easy to recognize in those words the predominant idea that runs through the whole Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*²: that Scholastic Philosophy must be taught

¹ Brief of December 25th, 1880, to Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Malines.

² I. E. RECORD, February

in close connexion with all the bordering natural and social sciences, if it is to come out into the open, and vindicate for itself—as it ought—an honourable place amongst the thought-systems that agitate the scientific and social and religious worlds in the twentieth century. That idea was taken up and developed by Mgr. Mercier and his friends at Louvain, with a largeness and liberality of view, and also with an amount of zeal and devotedness which we may look for in vain in Rome itself. Speaking of the Institute in those days of its infancy, the Abbé Besse writes :—

A new force born of the soil, so to speak, gave it life. To its director is due the credit of having at first maintained, then emphasized, enlarged, developed the programme of the Pope and the school of the Pope; and, finally, of having created a Thomism which, while devoid of all Roman initiative and imitation, has nevertheless given to the Pope's idea a more decided success than it ever met with in Rome.¹

The appeal for funds to go on with the work met with a response which, if slow at first, was on the whole generous. The Belgian Catholics have to bear a heavy financial burden for the annual upkeep of such a vast University as Louvain. But they realize the importance of education as neither classes nor masses in Ireland do; and large gifts, often anonymous, unexpected, providential, are usually forthcoming in Belgium to tide any worthy educational enterprise over its financial difficulties. The foundation and equipment of the Philosophical Institute was not unduly delayed for want of funds.

But there were other difficulties and disappointments, and enmities and oppositions, such as are incident to the undertaking of any great and difficult work. To these we shall return later on. They persisted long enough to break the spirit of anyone less indomitable than Mgr. Mercier. However, they gradually diminished as time wore on and as the Institute began to show signs of a vigorous and flourishing life. God's blessing was with

¹ *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 38.

the good work. The devoted zeal of its director in the cause of truth, and, above all, his deep and sincere religious spirit enabled him to overcome all opposition and win the respect of all. He ever enjoyed the fullest confidence of Leo XIII,¹ and had the pleasure of hearing the holy Pontiff publicly praise and recommend the work of *his* (Leo's) Institute—the Pope might have said *their* Institute,—as lately as the year 1900.² To-day the Louvain Philosophical Institute is the admiration of every impartial visitor. Not indeed that it is yet fully equipped and organised, or perfect in every detail, but that it is a decided success so far, an institution that is doing a vast amount of solid, substantial work of a very superior and highly creditable sort. It is training professors of Philosophy not only for Belgium, but for many seminaries, colleges, and universities all over Europe and the English-speaking world; and giving them a training which, it is our honest belief, cannot be equalled elsewhere in the world. It is only the bare truth to say that

if you find engineers who would wish to have studied at Zurich, doctors who would wish to have been through the Pasteur Institute, young theologians who matriculate in the University of Tübingen, it seems that it is towards the Institute of Louvain that our young philosophers ought in future direct their steps.³

With such a general notion of the Institute, got as it were from without, we are now in a position to examine

¹ We are glad to be able to state that our present holy Pontiff, Pius X, is altogether of the same mind towards the Neo-Scholastic Philosophy and the Louvain School. In a Brief to Mgr. Mercier and the masters and students of the *Seminaire Leon XIII*, dated June 20th, 1904, and published in the August number of the *Revue Neo-Scholastique*, the Holy Father speaks in the highest terms of the Institute and its work. He thanks God for blessing the project of his predecessor in founding the Institute, and exhorts teachers and students alike to continue their noble work: 'Minime dubitantes quin in Nobis, apud quos benemeritum Institutum vestrum plurimum valet, et singularis gratiae et benignae voluntatis ii nunquam desiderentur sensus, quibus ipse Decessor Noster vos enixe est prosecutus.'

² Discourse of Leo XIII to the Belgian pilgrims, December 30th, 1900. *Revue Neo-Scholastique*, February, 1901, pp. 84, 85.

³ *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 38.

more closely the spirit which, from the outset, animated its inner life and working. What is really most accountable for the remarkable success of the Institute is

II.—THE SPIRIT THAT ANIMATES PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES AT LOUVAIN

We can find no more authentic exponent of that spirit than Mgr. Mercier himself. He was invited by the Cardinal-Archbishop of Malines to give an exposition of the leading ideas of the projected Papal scheme, before the 'Higher Education Section' of the Congress held in that city in 1891. He did so in a very remarkable *Rapport sur les Etudes superieures de Philosophie*.

(a) THE CONGRESS OF MALINES

Commencing with the observation that 'Catholics live in a state of isolation in the scientific world,' he went on to seek the causes of that isolation, fatal alike to science and to religion. Apart from the systematic opposition of some scientists to everything Christian, he set down as a leading cause of the phenomenon, the widespread prevalence amongst non-Catholics of a preconceived idea that we Catholics are always engaged in preoccupations tributary to the defence of our faith:—

Yes, the idea is widely entertained that the Catholic *savant* is a soldier in the service of his religious faith, and that, in his hands, science can be nothing but a weapon for the defence of his *credo*. In the eyes of a great number he would seem to be always under the bolt of an excommunication that threatens him, or shackled by dogmas that trouble him, and to remain faithful to his religion he must renounce all disinterested love and free cultivation of the sciences. Hence the distrust which he encounters. A publication coming from a Catholic institution—Protestant institutions are judged more favourably, without doubt, because they have given proofs of their independence by their revolt from authority—is treated as a plea *pro domo*, as an apologetic to be refused *a priori* the honour of an impartial and objective examination.

Such is the great current misconception of the Catholic's

attitude towards science, in the minds of non-Catholics. To remove this misconception must be our first aim in the future scientific and philosophic education of our Catholic youth. Side by side with this misconception, and perhaps to some extent the cause of it and of the consequent ostracism of Catholics from the world of science, is another misconception, in the minds of Catholics themselves—the mistaken manner in which a large number of Catholics regard science.

For them science consists in learning and collecting results already achieved, in order to synthetize them under the direction of faith or of a spiritualist metaphysic. Contemporary science has no longer these comprehensive aims, these synthetic tendencies; it is, before all, a science of partial, minute observations, a science of analysis.

From that diversity of point of view in the way of looking at science results this consequence: that Catholics resign themselves too easily to the secondary rôle of mere scholars of science; too few of them have any ambition to work at what may be called *science in the making*; too few aim at gathering and moulding the materials which must serve in the future to form the new synthesis of science and Christian philosophy. Undoubtedly this final synthesis will harmonize with the dogmas of our *Credo*, and with the fundamental principles of Christian wisdom; but while waiting till that harmony shine forth in its full light, the objections raised by unbelief conceal it from the eyes of many, and because our champions are not always there to give back with recognised competence and authority the direct and immediate answers which these objections call for, doubts arise and convictions are shaken; the materials are grouped, arranged, and classified without us, and too often against us, and infidelity monopolizes for its own profit the scientific prestige which should be made to serve nothing but the propagation of truth.

We would fain believe that the above picture is somewhat overdrawn, but we fear it fairly represents what was the real state of affairs when Mgr. Mercier proposed the remedy which he has been ever since carrying out with such gratifying results. That remedy he outlined in these very explicit terms:—

To form, in greater numbers, men who will devote themselves to science *for itself*, without any aim that is professional or

directly apologetic, men who will work *at first hand* in fashioning the materials of the edifice of science, and who will thus contribute to its gradual construction; to create the resources which this work demands;—such at the present day ought to be the two-fold aim of the efforts of all who are solicitous for the prestige of the Church in the world, and for the efficacy of its action on the souls of men.

So far this one idea stands out prominently: that if the Catholic is to be heard and respected in the world of modern science and modern philosophy *he must be taught to cultivate those studies for their own sake*, and not with any conscious, intended dependence on dogma, nor with any direct subservience to apologetical ends.

But to find the resources for forming Catholic youth on those lines in the sciences is no easy matter. And to give them such a formation in Philosophy seems more difficult still; for the latter presupposes the former discipline: *nemo metaphysicus qui non prius physicus*. Mgr. Mercier, however, in no wise minimises these difficulties: he has quite a luminous view of all that such a programme would include:—

There is question of giving to the Church workers who will break the soil of science as of old the monks of the West broke the virgin soil of Christian Europe and laid the foundations of the material civilization it enjoys to-day; of showing the respect of the Church for human reason, and the fruit she expects from its works for the glory of Him who has proclaimed Himself Master of the Sciences. . . .

An immense field is open to scientific investigation. The boundaries of the old philosophy have become too narrow: they must be extended. Man has multiplied the power of vision; he enters the world of the infinitely small and fixes his scrutinizing gaze upon regions where our most powerful telescopes discern no limits. Physics and Chemistry progress with giant strides in the study of the properties of matter and of the combination of its elements. Geology and Cosmogony reconstruct the history of the formation of our planet and of the origins of our globe. Biology and the natural sciences study the minute structure of living organisms, their distribution in space and succession in time; and embryogeny begins to lay bare their origins. The archæological, philological, and social sciences remount the past ages of our history and our civilizations. What an inexhaustible mine to exploit, what

regions to explore and materials to analyse and interpret ; finally, what pioneers to set to work and gain a share in all those treasures ! . . .

It is imperative that in those different domains we should have explorers and masters, who, by their own activity, by their own achievements, may vindicate for themselves the right to speak to the scientific world and to be heard by it ; and then we can answer the eternal objection that faith blinds us, that faith and reason are incompatible, better far than by abstract principles, better far than by an appeal to the past : we can answer it by the stubborn evidence of actual and living facts.

But if it is important for the Church to have Catholics as scientists, it is far more important for her to have Catholic scientists who will be also philosophers :—

If we must devote ourselves to works of analysis we must remember—experience has only too clearly shown—that analysis left to itself easily gives rise to narrowness of mind, to a sort of instinctive antipathy to all that is beyond observed fact, to positivist tendencies, if not to positivist doctrines.

But science is not an accumulation of facts, it is a system embracing facts and their mutual relations.

The particular sciences do not give us a complete representation of reality. They *abstract* : but the relations which they isolate in thought *lie together in reality*, and are interwoven with one another ; and that is why the special sciences demand and give rise to a science of sciences, to a general synthesis, in a word, to Philosophy. . . .

Sound philosophy sets out from analysis and terminates in synthesis as its natural complement. . . . Philosophy is by definition a knowledge of the totality of things through their highest causes. But is it not evident that before arriving at the highest causes we must pass through those lower ones with which the particular sciences occupy themselves ? . . .

But at the present day, when the sciences have become so vast and numerous how are we to achieve the double task of keeping *au courant* with them all, and of synthesizing their results ? That difficulty is a grave and delicate one.

Since individual courage feels itself powerless in presence of the field of observation which goes on widening day by day, association must make up for the insufficiency of the isolated worker ; men of analysis and men of synthesis must come together, and form, by their daily intercourse and united action, an atmosphere suited to the harmonious development of science and philosophy alike. Such is the object of the special School of Philosophy which Leo XIII, the magnanimous restorer of higher studies, has wished to found in our country and to place

under the patronage of St. Thomas of Aquin,—that striking incarnation of the spirit of observation united to the spirit of synthesis, that worker of genius who ever deemed it a duty to fertilize Philosophy by Science and to elevate Science simultaneously to the heights of Philosophy.¹

We find condensed in the above passages,—glowing as they are with the eloquence of one inspired with a noble zeal in the cause of truth,—an exalted and true conception of the scope and mission of philosophical training; a faithful and enthusiastic reiteration of Leo the Thirteenth's bold and outspoken ideas on the close and intimate relations that ought to exist between Science and Philosophy²; a clear understanding of the need to bring together those various studies in one and the same educational centre; an implicit confidence that true Science and true Philosophy would and should harmonize with each other and both alike with the Catholic Faith; and a frank and open assertion, based upon that very confidence, that in schools of Science and of Philosophy those subjects should be taught to our Catholic youth without any view to apologetics but simply and solely for their own sakes,—that the teaching and learning of those branches, to be successful, must be disinterested.

In order to re-establish more effectually the long superseded alliance between Scholastic Philosophy and the Sciences, Mgr. Mercier found it necessary to insist most emphatically that that Philosophy was far more than what many Catholics had come to consider it—a mere intellectual discipline subsidiary to the Theology of Faith;—that face to face with that Theology, from which it received such illumination, and to which it could never run counter, it was itself an independent and autonomous science, based upon all the natural sciences of observation and experiment.

No one [wrote the Abbé Besse] could mark off more clearly the respect we owe to theology, from the liberty we retain in science. Mgr. Mercier here admirably lays down the *a priori*

¹ The above passages are all translated from the various pamphlets enumerated at the head of this article.

² *Vide I. E. RECORD*, February.

rights of nature and of grace. It is just because he is quite certain that grace never will be wanting to the sincere scientist that he becomes himself a sincere and disinterested scientist irrespective of grace.¹

(b) DIFFICULTIES ARISE

But how were all these views and projects of Mercier received when they were first put forth by him? Like everything that sounds novel—not without suspicion. Was Philosophy, then, really based on the sciences, and were Catholic philosophers to be obliged to take account of what was going on in the scientific world? Was not Catholic Philosophy something far above such commerce with the 'things of earth'? Was it not a pure intellectual system subservient only to the noble Queen of Sciences; *Philosophia ancillans Theologiae*? What could it have to do with laboratories and dissecting-rooms? So argued the Catholic advocates of the *status quo*,—philosophers and the scientists alike. We have seen already what a struggle there was in Rome² between the old ideas and the new before the latter got a *locus standi* in the schools. At Louvain the same struggle was fought over again, only with greater success in the issue. The scientists were at first inclined to look askance at what they considered an unwarrantable sort of dilettante dabbling in laboratories on the part of those young philosophers; and to hold aloof rather than co-operate. Those of the philosophers who were not radically opposed to the new departure expressed their fears that the neo-Thomists were going far beyond the Papal wishes, if not in direct opposition to them. In reality the disobedience lay with those who, clinging to the letter, neglected the spirit of the Papal reform:—

There was no excuse for their having denounced the work of Louvain as a work of 'discord' and of 'disobedience,' nay, even of 'treason.' The truth is that Mgr. Mercier was . . . the most comprehensive admirer of the idea of Leo XIII. But if he has directed it entirely towards the twentieth cen-

¹ *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 41.

² *Vide* I. E. RECORD, February.

tury, if he has instinctively put it into the thick of the contemporary conflict, thus making it actual and living, if he has transported it into the region of proof and criticism, giving it that attitude of confidence and *abandon* in presence of the revelations of experience and the warnings of science, all this was neither a wilful misreading of the Papal wishes, nor a pretence, nor a betrayal, but the steady march of a mind that believed the Pope with the self-same movement as it did the truth, and that ennobled the Papal directions while submitting to them.¹

Mgr. Mercier aimed and succeeded in putting Philo-

¹ *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 60. The writer of the articles reprinted in this brochure, draws a contrast between the two centres of the Neo-Scholastic movement,—Rome and Louvain. He says that Leo XIII probably never meant to establish at Louvain anything more than a 'Roman College' on the lines of Cornoldi's school at the Gregorian University in Rome. That may be—and certainly such a college would have been a failure at Louvain ;—but, whatever Leo's intention in the beginning may have been, it seems certain that Mercier's larger and bolder work has been thoroughly in the spirit of Leo's ideas, and has always had the warm sympathy and support of the late Pontiff. Neither is there any room to doubt that Louvain has been hitherto vastly more successful than Rome in teaching, modernizing, popularizing, propagating the Philosophy of the Schools on the lines indicated by Leo. In that sense the contrast drawn by the Abbé Besse—an ardent admirer of the Louvain Institute—is quite justifiable. But it is also only fair to observe that the success of the Louvain Institute is largely due to a combination of favourable surroundings which the movement in Rome did not enjoy,—such, for example, as the presence of flourishing faculties of Science and Medicine, etc., with the ablest professors to give special courses in the Philosophical Institute ; the presence not only of the best lay professors to teach, but of the best lay students to frequent the courses of the Institute in company with the ecclesiastics ; the presence of well equipped laboratories ; the employment of the vernacular in all their teaching ; the fulness and variety of that teaching throughout a three years' course ; the superiority of their staff in numbers and in qualification ; the life and reality infused into their studies by their attention to the current periodical literature in the various departments ; the great intellectual activity and general scientific prestige of their University. These circumstances—partly, no doubt, of their own making at Louvain—have placed the Philosophical Studies of the Institute on a higher level which the Roman professors have been making very laudable efforts to attain. We cannot speak with any authority on Philosophical Studies at Rome. But from a few weeks' experience last year we have gathered that they are very like our own in Maynooth, and very unlike those of Louvain. Like ours, they are more metaphysical, more theological,—*i.e.*, wedded to faith and subservient to dogma,—more purely speculative and deductive, and at the same time less closely allied to the study of the natural sciences,—less analytic and experimental, less historical, less critical of other contemporary systems, and proportionately less known and less heard of than the studies of Louvain. But though a somewhat different spirit has thus animated each of the two centres there are not wanting signs to show that Rome has been willing to learn from Louvain. We, too, have much to learn from it.

sophy at Louvain 'into the thick of the contemporary conflict' between the various modern systems and sciences, and he did so because, from a deep and masterly study of the Scholastic Philosophy in the light of Modern Science, he was convinced that he saw *a substantial harmony between the fundamental principles of the former and the established conclusions of the latter.*

(c) ANTI-SCHOLASTIC PREJUDICES

It was in the various non-Catholic camps of modern Science and modern Philosophy that this vigorous action of Mercier's in giving expression to the projects of Leo, produced the greatest comment and the profoundest sensation. The idea that Catholics could be disinterested scientists seems to have been regarded—then as now—by many unbelieving scientists as a good joke. The determination with which Mercier and his Neo-Scholastic friends kept insisting that they could and would train disinterested scientists and disinterested philosophers in the very heart of a Catholic University; that they meant to 'substitute for the existing patched up peace between Science and Faith, an agreement that would be steady and yet progressive, interior and regular;' ¹—that determination made unbelievers impatient and then afraid, lest after all there might not be some danger that the Catholics might succeed, and the infidel monopoly of 'Modern Science' and 'Modern Philosophy' be unceremoniously interfered with.

But then the idea of a 'Scholastic' revival in Philosophy, of a 'Thomism' that would be 'scientific'! That, of course, appeared nothing short of ludicrous to the enlightened Moderns in their blissful ignorance of what Mediæval Philosophy was and what it contained! For, what was Mediæval Philosophy to them? It was a vast fabric of errors,—multiplied and monumental,—of errors that were grotesque in their puerility, and of calumnies

¹ *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 43.

that were hoary with age ; such was the idol that passed for Mediæval Philosophy—for Scholasticism—in the minds of ‘ the moderns,’ and that stood unassailed until recent critical researches into the history of that period demolished the idol by shedding forth a light before which it has crumbled into dust. Those historical studies in Mediæval Philosophy,—so sadly needed in order to do justice to Scholasticism in the eyes of the modern world,—were then and are still being carried on partly in Germany, partly in Paris, and partly in Louvain. The prominence given to the history of Philosophy is one of the features of the Neo-Scholastic programme of studies at the Louvain Philosophical Institute. Thanks to the very great progress that has been made in that department, the ‘ moderns ’ are now willing to recognise that Mediæval Thomism was after all something other than a tissue of barren speculations and empty formalisms ; that the great scholastics were not ‘ a crowd of dogmatic idealists trying to construct a world out of the categories of speech ’¹ ; that they were by no means disdainful of the observation of facts ; that, on the contrary, they were great men and great philosophers who have been much misrepresented ; that their system of philosophy had been travestied and distorted, and then ignorantly ridiculed by the heralds of our ‘ Modern Philosophy ; ’ that, in fine, its latest presentation to the modern world at the hands of the Neo-Scholastics,—in its proper historical setting, and in close contact with the modern sciences,—points to this conclusion, that *amongst all the philosophical systems in vogue at the present day, the modern Scholastic Synthesis, on the lines of Aristotelian Animism, is most in harmony with the conclusions and tendencies of modern physical science.* Some of the most distinguished scientists have explicitly avowed that greater harmony between Science and Scholasticism.² Catholic scientists can have no difficulty about it,—it is only what they should expect,—but for

¹ *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 45.

² As, for example, Wundt in Germany. See I. E. RECORD, February.

many non-Catholic scientists such a revelation must be not a little startling.

(d) PALEO-SCHOLASTIC PREJUDICES: NEGLECT OF HISTORY

In the ranks of the Catholic exponents of the traditional Scholasticism the idea of a close alliance between the natural sciences and their secluded system was looked upon with doubt and suspicion. They could not with any good grace oppose the new project; for they, too, professed to believe that in Scholasticism there lay concealed in some mysterious way a vast treasure of doctrine that could easily put to flight the impious modern scientist. But they shrank from putting it to the test. They were apparently content to guard their 'hidden treasure' and express a pious opinion about its efficacy. They would not ransack it in order to bring forth from it 'new things and old.'

The fact is that those philosophers did not appreciate the value of the legacy that was bequeathed them from the golden age of Scholasticism,—and that for two reasons: because, firstly, they had followed the tradition of neglecting the history of Philosophy—even of the system they studied;—and secondly, and consequently, they had more or less fallen a prey, quite unconsciously, to the ultra-spiritualist views and tendencies of post-Cartesian Philosophy.

In the first place, down to very recent times the history of Philosophy was entirely neglected, even by philosophers themselves. Those most devoted to Philosophy were least devoted to its history. Innumerable errors about systems and doctrines were the inevitable result. False theories and opinions crept into systems and became incorporated with them even in the hands of the traditional exponents of those systems: witness the false doctrine of the migratory *species impressae*, and other post-Renaissance theories, that vitiated and discredited later day Scholasticism. It required the work of such recent pioneers in the history of Mediæval Philosophy as De Wulf, Baeumker, Ehrle,

Denifle, Mandonnet, Picavet, Clerval, to make even a beginning in dissipating those errors. If the traditional exponents of Scholasticism had only attended a little to its history the Neo-Scholastics of to-day would not have experienced so much trouble in giving to the world the authentic philosophical teaching of the thirteenth century,—nor so much opposition in proclaiming an alliance between it and the findings of modern science. Unfortunately historical studies had not been in vogue in any department of learning. Even Catholics, though so largely dependent on Tradition in matters of Faith and Theology, which their philosophical studies always subserved, had nevertheless acquired no special leaning towards historical criticism of the sources and development of their great deposit of Natural and Revealed Truth. One would have expected some such development; for, what is Tradition without History if not a mere empty formula? The Abbé Besse writes some hard things about modern Scholastics who would continue, even in the present age of historical research in every department, irrespective of its history, to teach Scholastic Philosophy as of old.

Defenders of Tradition, they have become its prisoners, and not a little blindly,—seeking to know it only in its official framework. They hardly possess the historical sense. They are unaware of all that is to be gained by an intimate acquaintance with the *milieu* of facts and ideas that accompanied each step in the progress of systematization, and each new contribution to the precision of terminology. Their philosophy has neither topography nor chronology. It is of no age. It seems to issue from the night only to plunge into it again. That is undoubtedly the secret of the *ennui* that results from reading their amorphous pages. Fearing, as it were, to disturb the soul in its pure contemplation of ideas they have shut it up in a cavern.

In the second place inattention to the historical sources and growth of Scholasticism left its modern exponents open to the danger of unconsciously misconstruing its whole method and spirit. It was inevitable that the exaggerated spiritualism introduced into Philosophy by Descartes should issue later on in two distinct currents of idealism and materialism. The Scholastics naturally fell

under the influence of the former current in opposition to materialism. Then, also, Descartes had unduly emphasized the use of the *deductive method* and created a chasm between Philosophy and the Physical Sciences. Again, the Scholastics followed in the same direction: all the more easily because the Physical Sciences soon afterwards claimed a monopoly of the newly 'invented' *inductive method*,¹ and identified themselves with materialism. And so Scholasticism in the second half of the last century found itself in a condition, of which the following paragraph gives a striking picture:—

Catholics for a long time have seen their only safety in this divorce of things from science. The more Philosophy developed in that direction the more they felt at ease with it. They remained content with the sound of certain familiar words such as: God, the infinite, the perfect, the good and the beautiful, the ideal, etc. In that effort to escape all concern in the science of material things they saw a pledge of moral elevation, something of that good taste of which the poet speaks:

*Coetusque vulgares et udam
Spernit humum fugiente penna.*

Illusion and folly! It was thus that Philosophy came in for the staggering blows of the school of Taine, and of science in general after him.²

Now this false spell of Cartesianism had to be broken by once more establishing Scholasticism on the basis of the Physical Sciences; and the way had to be cleared for this reform by the historical criticism that would show how completely such reform would harmonize with the true spirit of the great Mediæval Scholastics:—

To historical criticism is due the credit of having re-established the truth. On that point doubt is no longer possible. Mgr. Mercier speaks like our best historians of Philosophy, like M. Boutroux, M. Brochard, M. Picavet. Aristotle had the true teaching of science. It was, we have seen, incomplete; even

¹ Which had been employed by Roger Bacon, Albert the Great and Thomas of Aquin centuries previously.

² *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 50.

erroneous on many points. Instead, therefore, of despising it we should have corrected it. We should have freed it from its faults, its limitations, its shortcomings. We should have completed it. . . . Above all, we should have transformed it according to the new methods of observation and experiment. And so we should have avoided that conflict between science and metaphysics which is the greatest conflict of modern times.¹

(e) IMMUTABLE METAPHYSICS ?

But yet another obstacle was raised by the defenders of the old Scholasticism, another attempt to forbid the banns between Science and Philosophy ; a final fear was expressed by them for the stability and definitiveness of any superstructure of Metaphysics reared on the shifting and progressive basis of Physics. How can such Metaphysics have any pretensions to finality, if they partake of the nature of hypotheses based upon the observation of nature ? This apprehension for the immutable truth of Metaphysics was genuine and sincere. But it was an apprehension for which the alliance of Metaphysics with Physics could give no grounds ; because, in any case, in so far as Metaphysics is endowed with any positive, real content, it is dependent, for that content, upon the domain of Physics where it gets all its ' raw material ' so to speak. And it must rest content with this raw material, such as it is, and take it for what it is worth.

It is by the employment of hypothesis that the philosopher attempts to establish an order and a hierarchy in that heterogeneous mass. But he knows that he is quite exposed to see the genetic principle he has discovered, declared at any time arbitrary and useless. Hence it is that we cannot exercise too much patience in waiting before we attempt to open a parley with that invisible basis of all things, that hidden god which, like the other God no doubt, enlightens the timid and blinds the daring.²

But how long then are we to give in to this ' timidity ' ?

¹ The conflict between science and faith is only one particular aspect of it. (Besse : *Deux Centres, etc.*, pp. 49, 50.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

To content ourselves with the experimental and inductive side of things before attempting any comprehensive synthesis? Are we to postpone our Metaphysical Synthesis of things until we can make it, once for all, absolutely definitive, after the physical exploration of facts is completed,—that is, *indefinitely*? Or are we to make it independently of Physics altogether? Or are we to make an incomplete and perfectible working synthesis, based on the actual state of Physics, and progressive as the latter? Not the first nor the second alternative, but the third, must be chosen. Not the first evidently, for no matter how men may pretend to despise Metaphysics they cannot and will not get on—it is not in human nature to get on—without Metaphysics of some sort. Not the second, for such a Metaphysic would be nothing better than an empty formalism woven from man's inner consciousness. Therefore the third, imperfect as everything else that is human, must satisfy us in this world of second bests.

In short, one or other of two things : either after the scientific progress realized since the time of Aristotle the investigation of facts can be allied with the work of a dogmatic elaboration, or such elaboration will be indefinitely retarded. In the first case some at least of our preconceived errors can be rectified, some at least of our uncertainties settled ; in the second case, such elaboration, even though neither definitive nor absolute in its conclusions, should be outlined nevertheless, and in spite of the risks. It would be unstable, like science, but like it, too, progressive. When Metaphysics is made to spring from Physics, Metaphysics has just the same value as Physics. Approximative and provisional, as it is, at all events it contains the positive, the real, the actual. But all that—*IS THE TRUE*. This point of view which surpasses in extension, while interpreting and following, that of Aristotle and the School, is perhaps the only reasonable one.¹

III.—INFLUENCE OF THE LOUVAIN SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY

It is from that point of view that Scholastic Philosophy has been taught at Louvain for now nearly a quarter of a century. The principles on which their whole method

¹ *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 51.

is based at the Philosophical Institute, appear to us to be thoroughly sound; and that they are practical and fruitful is abundantly proved by the ample measure of success that has resulted from their adoption. The Louvain Institute has attracted the close attention of contemporary philosophers of every shade of opinion, not only all over the Continent, but all over the English-speaking world as well. It reflects credit on Catholic Belgium, and deserves well of all Catholics for having renewed, as it were, and re-invigorated Scholastic Philosophy. It is giving that Philosophy a new place—and an honorable place—in the history of Philosophic Thought at the dawn of the new century.

The widespread publications of the Institute have drawn to that Philosophy the serious attention of scientists who had at first been inclined to ask: 'Can anything good come out of Galilee?' Some of them already recognise in that venerable system a *via media*, equally removed from the erroneous extremes of Cartesian Spiritualism and Modern Materialism, and more in harmony than either with the results of modern scientific research. That the Neo-Scholastic Philosophy has to be counted with in the world of modern Philosophical Systems is altogether evident from even a cursory acquaintance with the Philosophical periodicals on the Continent. It is not merely in the Catholic reviews but in those of every shade that we find Neo-Scholasticism discussed—favourably or adversely as the case may be. That it should be met with in such publications as the *Revue Thomiste*, the *Divus Thomas*, the *Année Psychologique*, the *Revue de Philosophie*, the *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und Speculative Theologie*, the *Beiträge für die Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, the *Historisch-Politische Blätter für das Katolische Deutschland*, the *Ciudad de Dios*, the *Revista Ecclesiastica*, the *Era Novella*, etc., is, perhaps, in no way remarkable, for those are Catholic publications; but the large amount of attention it receives from time to time in such Philosophical reviews as the *Kantstudien*, the *Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane*, the

Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale, the *Revue Philosophique*, the *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, the *Revista Filosofica*, the *Revista Critica*, etc.—shows very plainly that the influence of the new school of Philosophic thought at Louvain has made itself felt far and wide. Wherever its tenets are attacked it is not wanting in champions able and willing to defend it in a thoroughly scientific and scholarly manner. Even where it is controverted it is respected and wins esteem for its adherents.

In brief, it bids fair to win, if indeed it has not already won, an honourable *entrée* into the vast arena of Modern Philosophy. Of this providential fact, what the ultimate significance may be, whether for Science, for Philosophy, or for Religion, it would be hard to say. So far at any rate the new Scholasticism has been shedding upon the natural sciences a flood of light which they had been seeking in vain from the competing philosophies: it gives promise of interpreting and complementing them in such an eminently rational manner as to justify its claim to be not merely *a* philosophy amongst many philosophies, but to be *the* True Philosophy.

We have been living through an age of negative Philosophy, and have witnessed the spread of the 'cowardly' Agnosticism. We have watched that philosophy confess with false humility that it 'could know practically nothing': an appropriate anti-climax to the source whence it had sprung,—the Rationalism that had proudly proclaimed its ability to 'know all things.' We have seen the sciences abandoned by sane philosophy and left to be misinterpreted by Materialism. Now, at last, in the new Scholasticism we have a positive philosophy that gives back certainty and security to the sciences and offers a positive explanation of the Great Enigma. Man cannot live on negations: by recent systems of philosophy his soul has been starved and left desolate, and he is now a-hungering for positive truth. If he turns to the new Scholasticism he is much more likely to find it than elsewhere:—

There he will find the counter-proof and, if I may say so,

the counter-eloquence of contemporary Materialism. There, where science, hitherto interpreted by a group of materialists, seemed to furnish negative solutions, the same science on the same problems now furnishes positive counter-proofs at Louvain. What will result from this system in twenty,—fifty years? At the decline of our critical age, do we not see breaking, in this direction, a new dawn—that of an organic age, and of an affirmative philosophy? If the slow moral anæsthesia produced by the influential scepticism of the *savant* has long been a source of uneasiness to every serious mind, will not the certainty now restored by science and jealously guaranteed by it, be to the same serious mind a source of strength and comfort? With us people had almost begun to despair of knowledge. ‘Would science be sad?’ said Renan; and in that little phrase lay hidden and cowering all that ironical pessimism with which he has, as it were, assassinated us. But I expect the opposite effect to be wrought in the long run by metaphysical certainty through science. After a series of counter-proofs, at the end of an important cycle of discoveries and demonstrations, let us hope that men will awake from universal scepticism to find in science a source of joy and peace. Yes, that is the aim of philosophy: to hasten that hour of light for men, to bring it nearer to them. They pine away on empty formulæ as long as certainty appears not in its true form, which is science. We must then force it to appear, and lead back souls to themselves and to God by this sweet violence, as if nothing should be one day more evident, and we should no longer believe but know that we have souls, and acknowledge God no longer merely because He has said that He is, but because we know it and have proved it.¹

The beneficial results which indirectly redound to Catholicism, especially in Belgium, from this growing prestige of the new Scholasticism, would be hard to over-rate. Nowadays, more than ever since the early centuries of Christianity, Religion is attacked by false philosophies, and relies on true Philosophy for her defence. The same is true of Morality and social order in general. And true Philosophy is not any system specially manufactured for polemical ends: it is the Philosophy which is a rational interpretation of the sum total of things:—

To the solid ground
Of Nature trusts the mind which builds for aye.

¹ *Deux Centres, etc.*, p. 61.

With such a Philosophy the minds of the young Belgian Catholics are formed at Louvain. It is a living and progressive and inspiring discipline. It anchors their minds in Truth in this age of doubt and shifting unbelief. It remains with them in after life as an illuminating intellectual heritage, and as a vitalizing force that stimulates to noble action. It fills them with an enthusiasm for the 'things of the mind.' It puts the highest ideals in religious and social, and civil action, before all in common; and ensures community of interests and activities. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the new Scholasticism making so many proselytes; to find so many young Catholics issue from the University of Louvain, and from the halls of its Philosophical Institute to attain positions of the highest eminence in the parliament, in the courts, in the government, in the schools and universities of the State. With such men as these to leaven society the future of Belgium is full of bright hopes.

What are the causes of this widespread and beneficial influence exerted by the new Scholasticism? How are we to account for the rapid progress it has made and the happy results it has already achieved?

Firstly and chiefly by the spirit that animates the new movement, and which we have been trying to outline in this article. The whole movement is a triumph of the Truth,—an illustration of the familiar old proverb: *Magna est Veritas et praevalabit*. And why should we Catholics wonder at that? Do we not know that we possess the Truth in inheriting a philosophy that is in such wonderful harmony with the conclusions of Science, with the demands of Reason, and with the dogmas of Faith? Should we not rather wonder that such an instrument had not been hitherto more powerful in our hands? It was because we did not use it aright. And herein lies the second and equally important reason of their striking success at Louvain. They are zealous in the propagation of the Truth. They do not hide their light under a bushel. They come forth fearlessly into the twentieth century with their combined treasures of mediæval wisdom and modern

science. From those treasures they bring forth the *nova et vetera*. They dispense those intellectual riches to their students and to a wider public in the garb of the living vernacular—and their books are being translated into most of the European languages. They spare no pains in preparing and communicating the most solid doctrine in the most attractive form. Their teaching is a living, organic, vitalizing formation, not at all a dry, unreal, academic discipline.

The work of Mgr. Mercier offers itself as a vigorous reaction of the scientific spirit against a rigid and anti-scientific formalism. . . .

In opposition to the old procedure in Metaphysics . . . which is *unilateral*, that is to say, bearing exclusively on the data of the understanding, we are here in presence of a *bilateral* procedure, that is to say, bearing simultaneously on the phenomena of things and on the phenomena of the mind. And each professor, on each question, is expected to observe and to respect this distinction, being officially appointed to show his students the same fact under its two aspects: the experimental and the rational or legal.¹

But we must postpone details as to the internal organization of the Institute and of its teaching to a future article. There is much that is interesting and instructive to be learned from a glance at its inner life and working. Many contrasts might be pointed, and many useful lessons learned—lessons of great educational import for our Irish Catholic students—if we be only willing to learn them.

P. COFFEY.

[To be continued.]

¹ *Deux Centres, etc.*, pp. 52, 60.

THE REBELLION OF 1641

THERE is no subject connected with Irish history about which so many untruths have been told as about the Rebellion of 1641. Thirty years ago a brilliant English writer—perhaps the most brilliant English writer of our generation—wrote a book called *The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*; and the account which he then gave of the Rebellion has passed current in England since. The idea which, in the main, still exists in the English mind about the Rebellion of 1641 is, that it was a wanton massacre of the English settlers in Ulster having its origin in the murdering propensities of the Irish race. It is the old story of the double dose of original sin which, it is supposed, was given to the Irish at the beginning. There is another cause which has helped to “nail this particular lie to the mast” (as a member of the House of Commons once said). No intelligent person now attempts to justify Cromwell’s operations in Ireland. But his apologists say that he went to the country as an avenging angel—went to avenge the ‘massacre of 1641.’ Cromwell himself, in fact, took this view of the case. ‘I am persuaded,’ he wrote to the Parliament from Drogheda, ‘that this is a righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood.’ The unconscious humour of this sentence is delightful. Three thousand persons were slaughtered at Drogheda. Of these half (it is said) were English royalists who had no more to do with the ‘massacres of 1641’ than Cromwell himself. Of the other half who were Irish, there is not a particle of evidence to show that any of them were concerned in the Rebellion.

‘At Drogheda,’ says Mr. Lecky, ‘there had been no pretence of a massacre and a large proportion of the garrison were English.’ In fact Cromwell’s sentence is grotesque in the unconsciousness of its humour.

There is another point with which I wish to deal at once.

The figures given of the English 'massacred' in 1641, are appalling. First it was said that 30,000 were 'murdered.' These figures rose gradually to 50,000, to 100,000, to 150,000, to 200,000, to 300,000. Well, these figures, can easily be disposed of. There were not 300,000 English in all Ireland in 1641. There were not 200,000 English in Ulster. There were not 100,000, there were not 50,000, there were not 30,000—there were 20,000. Later on we shall see how many of the 20,000 fell; but for the present, I shall pass from this part of the subject asking the reader to bear in mind that we have to deal with 20,000, and not with 300,000.

There is yet another matter on which I must touch by way of introduction. This Rebellion is often spoken of as if English and Irish stood on a footing of perfect equality with reference to it. This, of course, is not the case. The English came as conquerors. That is a vital point to be borne in mind in considering the ethics of the question. It is the duty of every people to defend their territory against the foreign invader. 'I would rather die,' said the great Lord Halifax, 'than see a blade of English grass crushed by the foot of a foreign trespasser.' This is a sentiment which we can all admire. It is a noble sentiment. But there is nothing specially sacred in an English blade of grass. The blades of grass of other soils are quite as well entitled to be defended. It is possible, indeed, that a people, in defending their own territory, may commit excesses; and for these excesses they must stand at the Bar of History. But it is not for the conqueror to complain. Let me put a homely case. A burglar enters your house. Instead of showing him quietly to the door, you seize him neck and crop, pitch him into the street, and fracture his skull. It may be that you have acted with unnecessary, and even reprehensible violence. But, if, when the burglar takes his stand in the dock, he complains that you broke his head, what think you would the judge say? Why, the answer is obvious: What business had you in the house? And so, it may be, that Ireland must stand at the Bar of History, for the excesses of 1641; but England must not be the accuser. The honest householder may

have exceeded the bounds of moderation in defending his property against the thief. But Bill Sykes must not come forward as the accusing angel.

The Rebellion of 1641 was a continuance of the war waged by the Irish not only to defend their land, but to preserve the very existence of their race. To make this point clear, a brief retrospect of Irish history, for at least a hundred years before the Rebellion, is necessary. In 1541, Henry VIII summoned a parliament in Ireland. In that parliament Irish chiefs, and Norman barons sat side by side. It was a thoroughly representative Irish body. The Speaker addressed the House of Commons in Irish; and his speech was translated into English by the Earl of Ormonde. Irish sentiment was not wholly ignored, Irish views were more or less considered. The question for the Irish was whether they should carry on the war to the bitter end, or, being worsted in the field, accept honourable terms of peace. Henry's English advisers in Ireland and in England urged him to give the Irish no terms. The true policy, they said, was to root out the Irish race, and to pour in English settlers to possess the land. Henry refused to adopt this policy. He resolved to make honourable terms with the vanquished. The chiefs were to acknowledge him as 'King of Ireland;' he was to leave them in possession of their lands (though they were to hold these lands on the terms of feudal tenure rather than in accordance with Irish tribal law), and in the enjoyment of political autonomy. The policy of wholesale extermination and confiscation (urged upon the King) was utterly repudiated. The 'peace' so made left Ireland tranquil. 'Well would it have been both for England, and Ireland,' says Mr. Joyce, 'if a similar policy had been followed in the succeeding reigns.'

Henry died in 1547. The breath was scarcely out of his body when everything was changed. The policy of extermination and confiscation—the policy of 'stamping out the Irish,' as if, to use the language of Mr. Froude, they were of 'no more value than their own wolves'—was at once adopted, and rigorously enforced.

In 1547, the Chiefs of Leix and Offaly were attacked. The O'Moores, the O'Connors, the O'Dempseys were driven from their possessions, and a horde of English settlers—the Barringtons, the Cosbies, the Breretons, the Hartpools, the Deverels, the Bowens, and the Pigots—poured into the country to seize the lands of the plundered clans. A fierce struggle followed. 'The warfare which ensued,' says Mr. Richey, 'resembled that waged by the early settlers in America with the native tribes. No mercy whatever was shown to the natives, no act of treachery was considered dishonourable, no personal tortures and indignities were spared to the captives.' This warfare went on during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. The combatants, on both sides, were at length exhausted, and terms of peace were proposed. It was agreed that the English settlers should hold the lands they had captured, and that the Irish clans should keep the lands they had preserved; and that both should, in future, live side by side in friendship. In 1577 the English invited the Irish chiefs to meet them in conference at the Rath of Mallamast, in order that the terms of peace should be ratified. The Irish—the O'Moores, the O'Lalors, the O'Kellys, the O'Donnellys—came with their retainers to the number of 200. They were met by the English settlers—the Cosbeys, the Hovedens, the Hartpools. The Irish—who were unarmed—marched between files of English soldiers into the rath. But none of them ever returned. When the last man had filed past, the English soldiers surrounded the fort, and the doomed clans were slaughtered to a man.

The warfare of extermination was carried on in the North as well as in the South. In 1570 the lands of the Ardes in the County Down was granted to Elizabeth's Secretary, Sir Thomas Smith. In 1573, Smith sent his son to take possession of the territory and to drive out the 'wolves.' The 'wolves' on this occasion were the O'Neils of Clandeboy. They fought for their homes. Smith's son was killed, and the 'settlement' was abandoned.

In 1573, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, was granted

the whole of what is now called the County of Antrim. He was given plenary powers to exterminate the natives ; and he exercised these powers to the full. He attacked the O'Neils of Clandeboy. Again they fought for their homes. He found he could not destroy them, and he made peace with Sir Brian O'Neil. On the termination of the struggle Brian invited Essex to his castle. Essex, accompanied by a military escort, came. He remained for three days. There were festivities in his honour. He was treated with royal hospitality. On the third day, when Brian's household had retired to rest, Essex called in his soldiers, surrounded the castle, seized Brian, his wife, and brother, and 'put all his people men, women, youths, and maidens to the sword.' Brian, his wife, and brother were sent to Dublin Castle, where 'they were cut into quarters.'

In 1575, Essex sent Captain Norris with a force of English soldiers to attack the Scots in Rathlin Island. The Scots defended themselves bravely, but they were overpowered, and men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. The massacre lasted for several days. While it was going on Essex wrote cheerfully to the Queen : 'News be brought to me that they be occupied still in killing, and have slain that they have found in caves and cliffs of the sea to the number of 300 or 400 more.'

Despite these atrocities, the 'settlement' was a failure. Essex returned to Dublin baffled and chagrined, and died in 1576, as many a scoundrel has died before and since, full of religious sentiments. Two more incidents of the Elizabethan wars may be mentioned :—

An English officer, a friend of the Viceroy [says Mr. Lecky], invited seventeen Irish gentlemen to supper, and when they rose from the table had them all stabbed. A Catholic Archbishop fell into the hands of the English authorities, and before they sent him to the gallows they tortured him to extort a confession of treason by one of the most horrible torments human nature can endure—by roasting his feet with fire.

But, as Mr. Lecky rightly says, these 'isolated episodes, by diverting the mind from the broad features of the war,

serve rather to diminish than to enhance its atrocity.' He continues :—

The suppression of the native race in the wars against Shane O'Neil, Desmond, and Tyrone, was carried on with a ferocity which surpassed that of Alva in the Netherlands, and has seldom been exceeded in the pages of history. . . . The slaughter of Irishmen was looked upon as literally the slaughter of wild beasts. Not only the men, but even the women and children who fell into the hands of the English were deliberately and systematically butchered. The sword was not found efficient. But another method was found much more efficacious. Year after year, over a great part of all Ireland, all means of human subsistence was destroyed, no quarter was given to prisoners who surrendered, and the whole population was skilfully and steadily starved to death. The pictures of the condition of Ireland at this time are as terrible as anything in human history.

And all this was done in pursuance of a well defined policy.

The Government [continues Mr. Lecky] believed that the one effectual policy for making Ireland useful to England was, in the words of Sir John Davies, to root out the Irish from the soil, to confiscate the property of the septs, and to plant the country systematically with English tenants.

The plantation of Ulster came between 1603 and 1610. The Irish chiefs were dispossessed, and English and Scotch adventurers poured in to take their place. The native population was driven from the rich lands to the poor, and English and Scotch tenants were imported instead.

Says Mr. Gardiner :—

Six counties were declared to be forfeited to the Crown, under an artificial treason law which had no hold on the Irish conscience. English and Scotch colonists were brought in to occupy the richest parts of the soil. The children of the land were thrust forth to find what sustenance they could on the leavings of the intruders, and were debarred even the poor privilege of serving the new settlers for hire, lest they should be tempted to fall upon their masters unawares. . . . Everything which had been done in Ireland since . . . 1607 had been of a nature to lead up to such a catastrophe [as the Rebellion of 1641].

Says Burke :—

Unheard of confiscations were made in the northern parts, upon grounds of plots and conspiracies never proved upon their supposed authors. The war of chicane succeeded to the war of arms, and of hostile statutes; a regular series of operations were carried on in the ordinary courts of Justice, and by special commissions, and inquisitions; first under the pretence of tenures, and then of titles in the crown, for the purpose of the total extirpation of the interest of the natives in their own soil—until this species of ravage being carried to the last excess of oppression and insolence . . . it kindled the flames of that rebellion which broke out in 1641.

Finally, Mr. Lecky sums up the policy which had been pursued prior to the rebellion in the following words :—

It had become clear beyond all doubt to the native population that the old scheme of rooting them out from the soil was the settled policy of the Government; that the land which remained to them was marked as a prey by hungry adventurers, by the refuse of the population of England and Scotland, by men who cared no more for their rights and happiness than they did for the rights and happiness of the worms which were severed by their own spades.

Thus, throughout the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I was the 'wind sown.' In the reign of Charles I, the 'whirlwind was reaped.' Provoked by the 'accumulated wrongs and anomosities' of generations, the people rose against the foreign oppressors who had robbed them of their lands and planned the destruction of their race.

Behind them [says Mr. Lecky] lay the maddening recollections of the wars of Elizabeth, when their parents had been starved by thousands, when unresisting peasants, when women, when children, had been deliberately massacred, and when no quarter had been given to the prisoners. Before them lay the gloomy and almost certain prospect of banishment from the land which remained to them [and] of the extirpation of the religion which was fast becoming the passion as well as the consolation of their lives.

The Rebellion broke out in Ulster on the night of October 22nd, 1641. It was the rising of an undisciplined body of men, a 'tumultuary rabble.' On the 30th of

November, Ormonde wrote to the King, 'the rebels are in great numbers, for the most part merely armed with such weapons as would rather show them to be a tumultuary rabble, than an army.' They first rushed on the English settlements, and drove the settlers from the lands of which their fathers had been robbed only thirty years before. The Scotch settlers were not attacked. The Irish, apparently, desired to have no quarrel with them. The wrongs inflicted on Ireland had not been done by Scotland, but by England. It was the English name that was abominated. It was the Englishman that represented the dominion of the foreigner. It was his presence that revived memories of the past, and stirred up fears for the future. It was the power of England that had crushed Ireland and, naturally, it was on the English 'garrison,' that the Irish fell. The English settlers were driven out, as the natives had been driven out thirty years before. The settlers were left to shift for themselves as the natives had been left to shift for themselves, the natives recovered their own. The settlers fled for refuge to the towns, perishing in thousands, through want and cold on the way. 'Probably,' says Mr. Lecky, 'by far the greater number of those who were represented as massacred, died in this manner from cold, want, and hardships.'

Those who perished [says Mr. Gardiner] were for the most part those who were driven naked through the cold November nights amongst a population which refused them a scanty covering, or a morsel of food in their hour of trial. To the Irish it seemed mercy enough when no actual blow was struck against the flying rout. Men hardly beyond middle life could remember the days when Mountjoy had harried Ulster, and when the sunken eye, and the pallid cheek of those who had been dearest to them had told too surely of the pitiless might of the Englishman.

As the English had sown, so had they reaped.

It is clear that at the outset there was no intention on the part of the rebels to commit murders. Their sole object was to drive out the settlers and to recover the lands. Mr. Lecky reminds us, that even Sir Phelim O'Neil

—the one blameworthy rebel leader—‘had the reputation much more of a weak and incapable than of a deliberately cruel man.’ On the 24th of October, he issued a proclamation ‘denouncing the penalty of death against any who committed outrages,’ and declaring that the ‘rising was not against the King,’ but only for the defence and liberty of ourselves, and the Irish natives of this kingdom.’ On the same day—October 24th—Chichester wrote to the King from Belfast, saying :—

The Irish in the northern parts of your Majesty’s Kingdom of Ireland, two nights last past, did rise with force, and have taken Charlemont, Dungannon, Tonragee, and The Newry, with Your Majesty’s stores there—towns all of good consequence—and *have slain only one man.*

On the 23rd December, 1641, a Commission was issued by the Government to make inquiries on oath respecting the rebellion. The spirit in which the Commissioners—Mr. Jones, Dean of Kilmore, and several other Protestant clergymen—set to work may be gathered from the statement of the objects of the Commission : ‘To keep up the memory of the outrages committed by the Irish to posterity.’ Nevertheless, it is a curious fact, that, in this Commission there is no direction to inquire into the ‘murders’ committed by the Irish. The Commissioners are instructed only to inquire into the ‘losses’ sustained by the English, and the ‘robberies’ committed by the Irish. A second Commission was issued on the 18th of January, 1642, and ‘murders’ were included in it ; but the fact that ‘murders’ were not included in the first seems to show that murders were not a prominent feature at the outbreak of the Rebellion. The general character of the Rebellion may, perhaps, be gathered from the following extract from Clogy’s *Life of Bedell* :—

There was no people under Heaven lived in a more flourishing state and condition for peace and plenty of all things desirable in this life, when, on a sudden, we were turned out of house and hold, and stripped of all outward enjoyments, and left naked and bare in the winter ; and on the Sabbath day put to flight but had no place to flee to. The land that was a little

before like a garden of Eden was speedily turned into a desolate wilderness.

The best history of the Rebellion was written by Mr. Warner, a Protestant clergyman, who lived in Ireland in the eighteenth century. He had strong prejudices against the Irish and the Catholics. Nevertheless, he wrote :—

Whatever cruelties are to be charged upon the Irish in the prosecution of their undertaking—and they are numerous and horrid—yet their first intention went no further than to strip the English and Protestants of their power and possessions, and, unless forced to it by opposition, not to shed any blood.

‘Blood’ was ultimately ‘shed ;’ ‘horrid crimes’ were committed by the ‘tumultuary rabble ;’ but not, in all probability, until the disciplined armies of England showed the example.

It is certain [says Mr. Lecky] that there was nothing resembling a massacre in the first days of the Rebellion. It is equally certain that, before a week had passed, the troops slaughtered numbers of the rebels without the loss of a man on their side. And [he adds] it is very difficult to distinguish [the cases of those] who were murdered in cold blood from the case of those who perished in fight ; and it must be remembered that during the latter part of the time the English had been waging what was little less than a war of extermination against the Irish.

Petty, one of the Cromwellian plunderers, who naturally hated the people whom he had helped to rob, says, upon this question of who began the bloodshed : ‘As for the bloodshed in the contest, God best knows who did occasion it’—a remarkable statement from such a quarter. ‘Horrid crimes,’ cold-blooded murders, were ultimately committed by the Irish, and Sir Phelim O’Neil shares responsibility for some of these excesses. To what extent he was responsible it may be difficult to say, but it is clear that he was quite unable to restrain the excesses of the ‘tumultuary rabble,’ when they had been driven to outrageous extremes by the butcheries of the disciplined armies of England.

It is probable [says Mr. Lecky, speaking of the charges brought against Phelim O’Neil] that these crimes [the murder of English

persons] were exaggerated, and it is a remarkable and a significant fact that, when Owen Roe O'Neil assumed the command in July, 1642, he found English prisoners alive in [Phelim's] camp.

It was stated that Sir Phelim O'Neil murdered Lord Caulfield. But Prendergast says:—

[Phelim O'Neil] treated Lord Caulfield and his family with great care when he surprised the fort of Charlemont on the 23rd day of October, 1641; there Lord Caulfield was kept until the 14th of January, when he was sent, under an escort to Clongorth Castle.

Lord Caulfield was shot at Clongorth Castle by one of the 'rabble;' but O'Neil was absent at the time, and knew nothing of the business. Mr. Lecky mentions the fact that 'numbers of Protestants were sheltered by the mother of Sir Phelim O'Neil;' and Mr. Walpole—an Englishman—in his history of Ireland, says:—

In recounting the ferocity of the Irish insurgents, it should not, however, be forgotten that there were frequent cases of English and Scotch Protestants being protected by their Irish neighbours, and owing life and safety to their unselfish generosity. Some of the Irish priests, and Jesuits, were especially conspicuous for these acts of Christian mercy, hiding terrified suppliants under the altar cloths, and striving to stop the bloodshed at the risk of their own lives.

It is notorious, that wherever the rebels were led by competent commanders, outrages were rarely, if ever, committed. This was notably the case in the County Cavan, where Philip O'Reilly led the insurgents. No doubt fugitives were robbed, and sometimes killed by wandering bandits and starving and infuriated peasants; but, in the main, as Mr. Lecky says, 'there appears to have been no general attempt to destroy the fugitives.' O'Reilly captured Belturbet. He allowed 800 English settlers to leave with their property. They set out for Dublin. The rector who accompanied them tells us what happened:—

That night we all lay in open fields. Next day we were

met by a party of Rebels, who killed some, robbed and spoiled the rest. Me they stripped to my shirt in miserable weather ; my wife was not so barbarously used ; both of us, with a multitude of others, hurried to Moein Hall. That night we lay in heaps, expecting every hour to be massacred.

But they were not massacred. They ultimately reached Kilmore in safety, and took refuge with Bishop Bedell. Finally, the numbers of fugitives increased to 2,000, and these, then, continued their march to Dublin, accompanied by a rebel guard of 200. At first the guard did their duty successfully, protecting the settlers from the fury of starving and naked peasants, who hung on the flank of the refugees. At last, as the mob swelled to larger dimensions, the guard was rushed, and the refugees plundered :—

The warm clothes of the hated English [says Mr. Gardiner] would be a precious possession in the cold winter nights which were approaching. It was but a moment's work to rush upon the helpless crowd, to strip both men and women to the skin, and to send them on in their misery. Irish women and Irish children rushed to the spoil even more savagely than the men.

But we do not hear that any of the refugees were killed. Out of the whole 2,000, 100 perished on the way, from cold and hunger, the rest reached Dublin safely, but miserably.

Bishop Bedell was, as I have said, the English Protestant Bishop of Kilmore. The County of Cavan, in which he lived, was wholly in the hands of the rebels. He was absolutely at their mercy. But he was not only left unmolested, but he was allowed to protect the refugees who flocked to him from all quarters. He was for a time kept in captivity on Lough Erne ; but even then, as his biographer and son-in-law Clogy, tells us, he was allowed perfect liberty, 'to use the divine exercises of God's worship, to pray, read, preach, and sing the songs of Zion in a strange land, as the Three Children, though, in the next room, the priest was acting his Babylonish Mass.'

Bedell died in the hands of the rebels in February, 1642. Says Clogy :—

He was laid in the grave, according to his desire in his last

will and testament, hard by his wife's coffin that had been buried there four years before. The chiefs of the Irish Rebels gathered their forces together, and, accompanied the corpse from Mr. Sheridan's house to the churchyard of Kilmore, in a great solemnity; and desired Alexander Clogy, the Minister of Cavan, to perform the Office for the Dead (according to our manner in the former times), and promised not to interrupt in the least; but we, being surrounded with armed men, esteemed it more prudent to bury him, as all the patriarchs, prophets, Christ and His apostles, and all saints and martyrs, in former ages, were, than attempt such a hazardous office (and sacrifice for the dead, as they call it), and needless at such a time in the presence of those Egyptians. But instead thereof, they gave him a volley of shot, and said with a loud voice: *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum.*

Bedell's family, with about 1,200 English, set out later for Dublin. They were escorted by a rebel guard of 2,000.

The Rebels [says Clogy] offered us no violence—save in the night, when our men were weary with continual watching, they would steal away a good horse, and run off—but were very civil to us all the way, and many of them wept at our parting from them, that had lived so long and peaceably amongst them, as if we had been one people with them.

The essential fact to emphasise, in dealing with the outrages perpetrated during the Rebellion is, that, while the outrages committed by the rebels, were the acts of a 'tumultuary rabble,' the outrages committed by the English were the acts of disciplined armies, stimulated by authoritative commanders, and sanctioned by Parliament. 'From the very beginning,' says Mr. Lecky, 'the English Parliament did the utmost in its power to give the contest the character of a war of extermination.' Excesses one naturally expects from a 'tumultuary rabble;' one does not expect them from disciplined armies and civilized governments. But the armies and the government of England exulted in the slaughter of the Irish. Sir C. Coote, St. Leger, Sir F. Hamilton, Sir William Parsons, Sir Arthur Loftus carried fire and sword throughout the country, butchering indiscriminately guilty and innocent, men, women, and children. 'These men,' says Mr. Lecky, 'rivalled the worst crimes perpetrated in the

days of Mountjoy and Carew.' 'The soldiers,' says Carte, 'in executing the orders of the Lords Justices murdered all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes not children.' Lord Castlehaven says that 'orders were issued to the parties sent to every quarter to spare neither man, woman, nor child.'

The expression, 'nits make lice,' was used by the soldiers to justify the murder of infants. All these things were done not by a rabble, but by trained soldiers carrying out the orders of their commanders who, in all they did, acted under the authority of the English Parliament. Far different was the conduct of the great Irish leader, Owen Roe O'Neil. He took command of the Ulster Rebels in July, 1642. His first act was to send all the English prisoners whom he found in camp to Dundalk; his next to issue a proclamation condemning outrages, and making the awful threat that he would rather join the English than tolerate excesses. He soon converted the rabble into an army; and that army gave a good account of itself at Benburb and Clonmel.

'All the Irish officers,' as Mr. Lecky tells us, 'laboured to give a character of humanity to the war.' All the English officers laboured to give it a character of inhumanity. Parliament itself stimulated the butcheries of the soldiers. In 1643, there was a cessation of hostilities.

The cessation of hostilities [says Clarendon] was no sooner known in England, but the two Houses declared against it . . . persuading the people that the Rebels were brought to their last gasp, and reduced to so terrible a famine that, like cannibals, they did eat one another; and must have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, by Popish counsels at Court, the King had not been persuaded to consent to this cessation.

I repeat, that the civilized government which provokes, or sanctions outrage, is infinitely a greater criminal than the 'tumultuary rabble' which, maddened by injustice and oppression, and goaded by fears of utter destruction, rushes into violent excesses.

The last question is, how many of the English fell in

the Rebellion? The most reliable English authority on this subject, despite his anti-Irish prejudices, is Warner. Writing about the year 1763, and having examined all the materials collected by English hands, he sums up the evidence thus :—

The number of people killed upon *positive* evidence collected in two years after the insurrection broke out, adding them all together, amounts only 4,109; on the *report* of other Protestants 1,619 more; and on the *report* of some of the Rebels a further number of 300; the whole making 4,028.

Besides these, he tells us, that ‘8,000’ were ‘killed by ill-usage’ Thus, the grand total would, according to this estimate, amount to 12,000 English destroyed in one way or another—a total sufficiently terrible, but far below the original estimates which, as we have seen, varied between 30,000 and 300,000. I think, that, at this time of day it is absolutely impossible to say, with precise accuracy, how many of the 12,000 fell in battle, or were killed in defending their houses and property; how many perished by cold, want, and hunger, or were murdered in cold blood. I am myself prepared to accept Mr. Lecky’s statement of the case, that, ‘probably by far the greater number of those who were represented as massacred died in this manner [driven from their homes in the winter nights] from cold, and want, and hardship.’

How many of the Irish fell? I know not, and I do not think that anyone knows. The Irish were not left in a position to make estimates; and the English writers cared not to reckon the number of ‘wolves,’ or ‘worms’ that were destroyed. One statement, however, may be made :—

We can hardly [says Mr. Lecky] have a shorter or more graphic picture of the manner in which the war was conducted, than is furnished by one of the items of Sir William Cole’s own catalogue of the services performed by his regiment in Ulster—‘starved and famished of the vulgar sort, whose goods were seized by this regiment, 7,000.’

Twelve thousand English were destroyed by the whole ‘tumultuary [Irish] rabble’ in Ulster. Seven thousand

Irish were destroyed in that province by one disciplined English regiment, acting under the orders of an authoritative English commander, who manifestly gloried in his work.

To sum up the whole question of the Rebellion of 1641, it comes to this :—

1. The Rebellion broke out after ninety years of untold wrongs and miseries inflicted on the native race ;

2. It took place in that part of the country which, thirty years before, had been the scene of wholesale confiscations ;

3. The original intention of the rebels was to drive out the English settlers, and to recover the lands from which the native population had been dispossessed ;

4. Murders and outrages began when a war of extermination was waged against the Irish ;

5. The outrages committed by the Irish were committed by a ‘tumultuary rabble’ ;

6. The outrages committed by the English were committed by disciplined armies, stimulated by authoritative commanders, and provoked or sanctioned by the English Government ;

7. Finally, all the Irish officers laboured to give the war a character of humanity ; all the English officers laboured to give the war a character of inhumanity.

In considering the whole case and, generally, in judging the sins of the conquerors and the conquered, it should never be forgotten that the one comes to attack, the other to defend ; that the one comes to rob, the other to hold what is his own ; that the one fights to enslave, and that the other rightly struggles to be free.

R. BARRY O'BRIEN.

LAST WORDS OF VIRGIL TO DANTE

PURGATORIO, XXVII. 124-142

THERE is something very pathetic in the last words addressed by Virgil to Dante. He had conducted him in safety through the eternal fire of Hell, and the temporal fire of Purgatory, and had led him to the verge of the earthly Paradise, which itself leads on to Heaven. But Virgil, who in life had been a pagan, could now no further go. He, therefore, takes his leave, and comforts his devoted follower by telling him that Beatrice, with her beauteous eyes full of gladness, was coming to greet him. In the meantime, he may gratify his senses with the beauties of the earthly Paradise. He no longer needs a guide. His soul has been purified from every stain of sin, in passing through the Seven Circles of Purgatory; and his free-will, on earth inclined to evil, is now made sound and upright, and he may follow its bidding with a safe conscience. Therefore, Virgil sets a crown upon his head, as a token that henceforth he is master of himself. To enter fully into the meaning of this passage, it is necessary to remember that, in Dante's poem, Virgil represents human intelligence, while Beatrice represents Christian faith. The one may serve as a guide in the steep and difficult ways of life; the other alone can lead us up to Heaven.

Come la scala tutta sotto noi

Fu corsa, e fummo in su il grado superno,

In me ficcò Virgilio gli occhi suoi,

E disse: ' Il temporal fuoco e l'eterno

' Veduto ai, figlio, e sei venuto in parte

' Ov'io per me più oltre non discerno.

' Tratto t'o qui con ingegno e con arte;

' Lo tuo piacere omai prendi per duce;

' Fuor sei dell'erte vie, fuor sei dell'arte.

' Vedi là il sol che in fronte ti riluce ;
 ' Vedi l'erbetta, i fiori, e gli arbuscelli,
 ' Che qui la terra sol da sè produce.
 ' Mentre che vegnan lieti gli occhi belli,
 ' Che lagrimando a te venir mi fenno,
 ' Seder ti puoi e puoi andar tra elli.
 ' Non aspettar mio dir più, nè mio cenno ;
 ' Libero, sano, e dritto, è tuo arbitrio,
 ' E fallo fôra non fare a suo senno ;
 ' Perch'io te sopra te corono e mitrio.'

When the whole flight of stairs beneath us lay,
 And we were now upon the topmost step,
 Virgil his eyes upon me fixed, and said :
 ' The temporal fire thou hast seen, my son,
 ' And the eternal too ; and thou hast come
 ' Where I no further, of myself, can see.
 ' With judgment and with skill I've brought thee here ;
 ' Henceforth thy pleasure thou shalt take for guide ;
 ' Beyond the steep and narrow ways thou art.
 ' See there the Sun that shines upon thy brow ;
 ' See the fresh herbs, the flowers, and the trees,
 ' Which here the earth produces of itself.
 ' Until the gladsome beauteous eyes shall come,
 ' Which erewhile weeping made me come to thee,
 ' Thou mayest sit, thou mayest walk, 'mid these.
 ' Expect no further speech or sign from me ;
 ' Free, healthy, upright, is thine own good will,
 ' And 'twere a fault its bidding not to do ;
 ' Therefore I crown thee ruler of thyself.'

GERALD MOLLOY.

THE IRISH BRIGADE AT FONTENROY

1745¹

I N his life of Frederick the Great, Carlyle refers in the following terms to the manner in which Englishmen regard the events of the War of the Austrian Succession, a war which occupies an important place in the history of the eighteenth century :—

Of Philippi and Arbela educated Englishmen can render an account, and I am told young gentlemen entering the army are pointedly required to say who commanded at Aigos-Potamos, and wrecked the Peloponnesian war ; but of Dettingen and Fontenoy where is the living Englishman that has the least notion, or seeks for any ?²

Such is not the attitude of Frenchmen, nor of Irishmen. They take a lively interest in the events of that great war ; and particularly in one of the most important events in it—the battle of Fontenoy. Quite recently a French writer, M. Charles Gailly de Taurines, has made the battle of Fontenoy the object of special study, and

¹ In the preparation of this paper the following works have been consulted :—*Memoires et pieces relatives aux campagnes du Marechal de Saxe en Flandre depuis 1744 à 1748*. Two volumes in manuscript marked 3,084, and 17 *Fonds de Suede*, Archives historiques du Ministère de la Guerre, Paris ; *Fontenoy*, an article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 15th June, 1887, by M. le Duc Albert de Broglie, de l'academie française ; *Memoires des Duc Richelieu*, vol. vii., pp. 131-136. Paris, 1790 ; *Memoires du Duc de Luynes*, tom. vii., pp. 161-167 and 179-185 ; *Histoire de Maurice Comte de Saxe*, par D'Espagnac, edit. 1775, vol. ii., pp. 75-79. Third volume has plates ; *Précis du siècle de Louis XV.*, Voltaire, tom. iv. ; *Fragments historiques sur l'Inde et sur le General Lally*, idem. art. iv., pp. 346-351 ; *Frederick the Great*, Carlyle, vol. iv. ; *England in the Eighteenth Century*, Lecky, vol. ii. ; *Histoire de France*. Louis XV. Michelet ; *Fontenoy—Liste des officiers tués et blessés par regiments tirés des archives de la Guerre*, par M. Charles Gailly de Taurines. Paris, 1904 ; *Historical Notes on the services of the Irish Officers in the French Army*. Addressed to the National Assembly in 1792 by General Arthur Dillon. Translated by J. P. Leonard. (Duffy, Dublin) ; *Les Campagnes du Marechal de Saxe ; Fontenoy* (February and March, 1905), a series of studies in the *Revue d'Histoire rédigée à l'état Major de l'Armée*, with documents, not yet finished, to be published later in a volume.

² Carlyle, *Frederick the Great*, vol. iii., p. 333.

has published a list of the officers, regiment by regiment, who were killed or wounded in that famous battle. On that list are to be found the names of many valiant Irishmen, officers of the Irish Brigade (consisting of six regiments of infantry and one of cavalry), who had so large a share in turning the tide of victory in favour of France. The Irishmen who fought at Fontenoy deserve to rank with 'the unforgotten brave.' Nothing which throws greater light on their valour can fail to interest Irishmen. The object, therefore, of the present paper is—first, to give a general account of the battle of Fontenoy; secondly, to examine how far the glory of the victory was due to Irish valour; and, thirdly, to lay before the reader the names of the valiant Irishmen who fell in the combat.

I.

In the spring of 1745 Marshal Saxe, Commander-in-Chief of the French forces, advanced into Flanders at the head of an army of about 90,000 men, and laid siege to Tournay. The Duke of Cumberland, with 93 pieces of artillery and an army of about 60,000 men, of whom 20,000 were English, 3,000 Hanoverians, and the rest Dutch and Austrians, marched to relieve the beleagured city. The hostile forces met on the field of Fontenoy.

The French general had left nearly 20,000 men to continue the siege of Tournay. With the main body of his army he took up a position on the right bank of the Scheldt to await the enemy. The day before the battle was spent in preparation. Marshal Saxe fortified Antoin and Fontenoy, and erected three redoubts in the interval which separated them. In front of Fontenoy a deep trench was dug; and at the wood of Barry two redoubts were constructed, and trees were felled to bar the progress of the enemy. The French headquarters were fixed at the village of Calonne. Bridges were also thrown across the Scheldt, to facilitate the passage of troops in case of retreat. Louis XV with the Dauphin had arrived from Paris to be witnesses of the engagement. The Allied

Forces on their side advancing from Brussels, by way of Mons, had fixed their headquarters at Vezon.

When day dawned on the 11th May, a fog covered the plains on the banks of the Scheldt. About six o'clock, the fog cleared away, and revealed the two armies in position awaiting the struggle. The French line extended from Antoin on the right, to Fontenoy in the centre, and then away to the wood of Barry on the left. The French King, with his Household troops, to the number of 6,000, took up a position at the village of Notre Dame-aux-Bois, on an eminence surmounted by a windmill, a circumstance which earned for him the title of *Louis du Moulin*. A large body of troops had been posted to guard the bridges, thus reducing the French forces in the field to between 50,000 and 60,000 men with about 80 cannon.¹

In front of the French lines lay a plain, oval in shape, measuring about a mile and a half in breadth, by about two miles in length, flanked by woods and sloping down towards the banks of the river. In their rear lay the Scheldt, and away in the distance, about five miles off, the walls of Tournay were visible. To reach Tournay and raise the siege it was necessary that the Allied Army should cross the plain in front of Fontenoy, and cut its way through the French lines. The Duke of Cumberland, at that time about twenty-two years of age, commanded in person. The English and Hanoverians formed his right,

¹ The writer of the articles in the *Revue d'Histoire*, February and March, 1905, states that the number of men engaged on each side was nearly equal, amounting to about 50,000 in each army. The French infantry in the field consisted of fifty-five battalions, making about 35,000 men; the cavalry of 101 squadrons, or about 14,000 men; or about 49,000 in all. The strength of a battalion would, therefore, be about 640 men, that of a squadron of horse 140. What was the strength of the Irish Brigade? From the official report at the *Ministère de la Guerre* of the inspection of Dillon's regiment, made in 1788, it appears that it consisted of two battalions, making a total of 1,136 men. FitzJames' cavalry in 1764, consisted of four squadrons of 138 men each. The Irish infantry regiments seem to have consisted of two battalions, each amounting to a total of from 1,100 to 1,200 men. In the official account of the order of battle, it is stated that the Irish Brigade consisted of six battalions. Taking 640 as the strength of a battalion this would make the Irish infantry at Fontenoy 3,840 men. Add FitzJames' horse with 300 to 500 men, and we reach a total of over 4,000. Of course if the regiments were at their full strength the total would be over 6,000 men.

opposite to Barry and Fontenoy ; the Austrians and Dutch his left, opposite Antoin. Early on the morning of 11th May, he advanced against the French centre at Fontenoy, while the Dutch moved forward to attack Antoin. Three times the English attacked Fontenoy with the greatest bravery. But each time they were met by deadly fire from the French batteries ; and the trench in front of Fontenoy was filled with dead. Twice the Dutch attempted to capture Antoin, but with no better success. Nothing seemed to remain for Cumberland but to retire ingloriously from the field. As a last resource, by the advice of the Austrian general, Konigseck, he took the daring resolution of forcing his way through a pass not more than 900 yards wide, between Barry and Fontenoy. It was a hazardous attempt, for the pass was intersected by ravines impracticable for cavalry, and was exposed to the fire of the batteries at Fontenoy and Barry. Should it prove successful the French army would be cut in two, and probably the French King made captive. Cumberland, therefore, ordered his English and Hanoverian troops to advance through the pass, and turn the French position at Fontenoy. They moved forward, numbering about 16,000, in three columns, dragging with them twelve field pieces. They were supported at first by the cavalry. But the nature of the ground and the loss of their commander, Lord Campbell, whose leg was carried off by a cannon ball, compelled the cavalry to fall back. The three columns of infantry merging into one, continued to advance. At first they moved in the direction of Barry, but the presence of the Irish Brigade and the fire of the forts compelled them to keep more towards Fontenoy. Under a galling fire which thinned their ranks, they crossed the ravines, and emerged on the open plain. Here they were met by the French and Swiss Guards. When the hostile forces arrived within about fifty paces of each other, according to most historians, there took place a scene which recalls the conference of Glaucus and Diomedes on the plains of Troy

Lord Charles Hay and the English officers saluted the

French officers by raising their hats. The French, true to the politeness of their nation, returned the salute. For a moment the two lines stood face to face. Then Lord Hay cried out : *Messieurs des Gardes Françaises, tirez—* ‘Gentlemen of the French Guards, fire.’ Count Aute-roche, on the part of the French, replied : *Tirez vous mêmes Messieurs les Anglais, nous ne tirons jamais les premiers—* ‘Fire yourselves, gentlemen, we never fire first.’¹ Whether this was an act of politeness carried to excess, or whether, as the Duc de Broglie thinks more probable, it was a principle which Marshal Saxe had strongly impressed on his troops, to reserve their fire, it cost the French dearly. The English fired, and their first volley swept down more than one half of the first French line. The survivors finding that the second line was too far behind to support them broke and fled.

Onward the oblong English column advanced, despite the galling fire from the redoubts. Troop after troop of foot and horse advanced to stop its progress, but only to be broken and dispersed. The French fought with indomitable courage. Some squadrons returned as many as eight times to the charge. The Duc de Biron had three horses killed under him, and two wounded. The Irish cavalry of FitzJames charged the column, but with no better success than the French. The infantry regiments also charged the terrible column. The regiments of the Royal Vaisseaux and that of Normandy, together with those of Lally, Rothe and Berwick,² put forward by Lord Clare, charged three times. Colonel Dillon,³ too, fell at the head of his men. Still the column continued to advance, keeping up a rolling and continuous fire of cannon and musketry. Already it had passed Fontenoy. Had the Dutch now supported the English and Hanoverians their progress could not have been resisted. At this juncture, Marshal Saxe, fearing for the safety of the King, sent him a mes-

¹ Lord Hay afterwards gave a different version of the incident. He states that he said : ‘Wait for us, Gentlemen. Don’t be in a hurry to swim the Scheldt, you will not find it so easy as the Main.’

² *Fonds de Suède*, p. 125.

³ Colonel Dillon was succeeded in the command by his brother who was killed at Lawfeld in 1747 at the head of the same regiment.

sage advising him to retire across the Scheldt.¹ Louis replied : ' Tell him I know that he will do his duty. I will stay here.' At this moment the Duc de Richelieu, one of the royal aides-de-camp, rode up, breathless. ' What news ? ' asked the Duc de Noailles. ' My news,' replied Richelieu, ' is, that the battle is won if we like. My advice is to bring forward cannon to play upon the front of the column, and while the cannon throws it into confusion, let the Household troops and the rest of the army make a combined attack upon it.' Then he went on to describe how he had found the Irish Brigade on the extreme left, rallied in face of the enemy by Lally Tollendal ; and by its example carrying off with it the regiment of the Royal Vaisseaux. A council of war was hastily held. Saxe arrived upon the scene ; and it was resolved to make a last and a combined charge upon the column. Four pieces of cannon, which had been placed in reserve for the security of the royal person, were ordered forward. Richelieu rode off and bade the Household troops advance. Marshal Saxe galloped off to the left where the Irish Brigade was posted near the wood of Barry, under the command of Lord Clare, and ordered them to charge. Then, hurrying with all possible speed to the right he rallied the troops in that quarter. At the same moment the English column was assailed vigorously in front and on both flanks. The Irish Brigade, with fixed bayonets, led the charge on the right flank of the column, with the utmost intrepidity. For a moment they were in extreme danger. The French Carbineers, misled by the style of the Irish uniform, mistook them for English, and fired upon them. But the Irish Brigade cried, '*Vive France*,' and dashed forward to attack their common foe. In a few minutes the terrible column, hitherto firm as a rock, was pierced through, broken and driven from the field. The English cavalry moved forward to cover the retreat of the infantry. The

¹ The account given by the valet of Marshal Saxe has the following : ' Le roi suant à grosses gouttes et tout consterné dit. *Q'on avance ma Maison.*' Words which Davis seems to have had before him in ' Push on my Household cavalry.'

Dutch also were driven from the field. The French continued the pursuit as far as the hedges of Vezon. About half-past two in the afternoon, after a battle of nine hours' duration, the victory of the French was complete. The enemy left upon the field 9,000 men in killed and wounded, 2,000 prisoners, and forty pieces of cannon. The French loss amounted to 6,000, including 400 officers of all grades.

When the battle was ended, Louis XV came down from his position at Notre Dame-aux-Bois, and rode over the field, accompanied by the Dauphin. Wherever he appeared he was hailed by the cheers of the soldiers, who waved their caps on the points of their bayonets in the enthusiasm of triumph. The officers whose bravery had been most remarkable, Richelieu, Lowendal, Biron, and Lally Tollendal, were presented to the King, to receive the expression of his gratitude, and all formed a scene which Horace Vernet has endeavoured to immortalise in his famous painting of Fontenoy, which adorns the galleries of Versailles. In the joy of victory sentiments of humanity were not forgotten. The King gave orders that the English wounded should be treated with equal care as the French ; and none was more active in the work than the impetuous Lally of the Irish Brigade.

The victory at Fontenoy filled all France with rejoicing. It was the first time since Poitiers that a French king had met the English on the field, and this time victory had crowned his efforts. But the victory had results yet more important. On 23rd May, Tournay surrendered, and soon after Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Dindermonde, Ostend, Nieuport, and Ath were occupied by the French. The victory at Fontenoy raised the hopes of the Jacobites ; and the Scotch rising, which ended so disastrously at Culloden, was the consequence.

It belongs to military critics to pronounce upon the talent displayed by the rival generals. They may question whether it was wise on the part of Marshal Saxe to risk a battle with a river in his rear, endangering his retreat in case of defeat ; or whether it was as prudent as it was daring on the part of Cumberland to attempt the passage between

Barry and Fontenoy, exposing his troops to the fire of the batteries on either side. Statesmen may question the value of conquests which were abandoned a few years later at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But what concerns us most is the share which the Irish Brigade had in turning the tide of victory at Fontenoy in favour of France.

II.

What was the part taken by the Irish troops in the battle of Fontenoy? This is a question which may be determined by the testimony of those who took part in the battle, and by the accounts which historians have handed down to us. It is true all the witnesses do not express themselves in the same terms. But this is true of the history of every battle. For, as Thucydides remarked centuries ago, 'Such as were present at every action spoke not all after the same manner, but as they were affected to the parts, or as they could remember.' Yet the variety of details serves but to bring out the main facts with greater clearness.

At Fontenoy the Irish regiments of infantry, six in number, and numbering at least 4,000 men—viz., Clare's, Bulkeley's, Berwick's, Dillon's, Rothe's, and Lally's, with Lord Clare as Lieutenant-General and Rothe as General of Brigade—were posted at the distance of about a gun-shot in front of the wood of Barry. In front of them were two redoubts and quantities of felled trees. To their right stood the Swiss Guards; their left extended beyond the redoubts towards the village of Ramecroix. Cumberland, early in the day, had ordered Colonel Ingoldsby to march through the wood of Barry, and attack the enemy in that quarter. But Ingoldsby, finding the wood occupied by a body of light troops, fell back. In consequence, during the greater part of the day the troops on the French left, and amongst them the Irish Brigade, took but little part in the battle. If we except the onset in which Colonel Dillon was killed, their action was chiefly confined to the final charge which broke and dispersed the English column, and turned a

defeat into a victory. Let us examine the various testimonies regarding the part taken by the Irish in that final charge. In the month following the battle, Voltaire published his poem on Fontenoy; and in it he makes honourable mention of the Irish :—

Clare avec l'Irlandais, qu'animent nos exemples.
Venge ses rois trahis, sa patrie ; et ses temples.

' Clare and the Irish fired by our example,
Avenes his King, his Country, and his Altars.'

In his history of Louis XV he also testifies to their valour. But we possess testimony more valuable than that of Voltaire. The Duke of Richelieu was present at the battle; and in his Memoirs is found a report of it which he prepared at a later period for the information of Louis XVI. Richelieu writes :—

At that critical moment [when the day seemed lost] Marshal Saxe rallied once more that infantry ever beaten but never conquered, and joined it to the Irish Brigade which had formed in face of the enemy under the orders of Clare. He brought forward also the Normandy Regiment and that of the Vaisseaux Berenger. Lord Clare was ordered to attack the right flank of the enemy. Then the King's Household troops, the gens-d'armes, the carbineers, led by the Duke of Richelieu, fell upon the centre, until then unbroken. Four pieces of cannon, well pointed, assail them like so many thunderbolts. Our troops on the right and in the direction of Fontenoy advance and attack that portion of the English army. The invincible column wavered, was pierced through, broken, and thrown into confusion. It fled from the field of battle, abandoning its cannon. Several regiments were annihilated. Our troops pursued the fugitives as far as the hedges of Vezon. At last, at half-past two, the battle was won. . . . The Irish captured a flag.

Another witness, no less valuable, is Count Lowendal, one of Marshal Saxe's staff, who was also present on the field. On the day of the battle, Lowendal wrote to announce the victory to his wife :—

The battle [he says] was lost. All were flying. God inspired me to put myself at the head of the Irish Brigade, and of the French Guards, whom I had rallied. We took the enemy on the flank. I defeated and drove them off the field of battle.

Count Lowendal's secretary added a postscript to the letter, in the following terms: 'Marshal Saxe has publicly stated that the King owed this victory to Count Lowendal and the Irish Brigade. These are his very words.'¹

Another testimony, no less weighty, is found in the account of the battle sent to the Queen of France, by the Count d'Argenson, soon after the event. The Count writes in the following terms:—

The Marshal [Saxe] wearied by this uncertainty rallied in person the infantry which had at first given way; but which returned courageously to the charge. He joined it to the Irish Brigade, which had already formed in face of the enemy, under the command of Lord Clare. M. Lowendal, who had come up from the left where there was no fighting, and M. Berenger, who commanded the Normandy Brigade, joined Lord Clare, and all together charged the enemy on the right flank, while the Household troops, the gens-d'armes, and the carbineers, led by the Duke of Richelieu, fell upon their centre, against which four pieces of artillery hitherto held in reserve had been pointed and had spread dismay. . . . The Irish who captured a flag, the Household troops, the gens-d'armes, and the carbineers merit special praise.²

But the most valuable testimony of all is that given by Marshal Saxe himself. Writing from the camp at Antoin on the day after the battle, he describes the varying fortunes of the day, and how defeat seemed certain. Then he adds:—

At last, as a final effort, I took the Irish Brigade, that of Normandy, and the remnants of the French and Swiss Guards. I put M. de Lowendal at their head, and bade them charge the English column, whilst I went to bring up the carbineers who had already been repulsed, but had formed again, and with them I attacked on the other flank. The Household troops, emulous of the carbineers, rushed forward at full speed and charged at the same moment, together with a portion of the cavalry. I saw that body of English and Hanoverians destroyed in a moment.³

¹ Letter of Count Lowendal to his wife, 11th May, 1745. 'Fontenoy,' par le Duc de Broglie, *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 15th June, 1887.

² 'Relation de la bataille de Fontenoy envoyée par le Comte d'Argenson à la Reine,' *Memoires du Duc de Luynes*, vol. vii., pp. 166-167.

³ Letter of Marshal Saxe, 12th May, 1745, from the camp at Antoin.

In another letter, written on the 13th May, he describes the same events in almost the same terms, and he adds :— ‘ We moved forward and the Irish Brigade which led the van attacked with the greatest possible daring.—*Nous nous ébranlâmes, et la brigade irlandaise qui avait la tête, se porta aussi audacieusement qu’il est possible.*’¹

To testimonies so explicit it seems needless to add more. But there is one which comes down to us from the pen of the son of an Irishman whose valour was conspicuous at Fontenoy, and which appears to express the tradition of the Irish Brigade itself. In the *Biographie Universelle* by Michaud, there is an article on General Lally Tollendal,² which is believed to have been contributed by his son the Marquis Lally Tollendal. In that sketch the writer states that on the day before the battle, Lally went over the field, and discovering, between Antoin and Fontenoy, a road which was erroneously supposed to be impracticable, but by which the enemy could easily have turned the French position, he caused three redoubts and six cannon to be posted in that position. The writer continues :—

The famous battle took place. It is well known how much the Irish Brigade contributed to the victory by breaking through in a bayonet charge the terrible English column, while Richelieu assailed it in front. This last decisive attack was decided on at the most critical moment, in a conversation, eager and quick as lightning, exchanged between Richelieu, rushing from rank to rank, and Lally impatient that the valour of the Irish Brigade was not being turned to account. His address to his regiment, as at their head he dashed into the hostile column, was printed in all the papers of the period.

Voltaire³ also mentions the valour Lally displayed at Fontenoy and his address to his men. ‘ Forward, he said, against the enemies of France, and your own. Don’t fire until your bayonets touch their stomachs.’ After the battle Lally Tollendal was singled out for special

¹ Lettre à M. le Contrôleur General, *Memoires du Duc de Luynes*, vol. vii., pp. 183-185.

² Thomas Arthur O’Mullally of Tollendally.

³ In *Fragments Historiques sur l’Inde et sur le General Lally*.

honour. Together with Lowendal, Biron, and Richelieu, he was presented to the King, who raised Lally to the rank of Brigadier upon the field of battle. The records of the *Ministère de la Guerre* testify to the valour of men less in rank than Lally. A valiant captain of Bulkeley's regiment named Patrick McMahon (a name borne a century later by the hero of Malakoff and Magenta), with ten volunteers of his company, and as many from the regiment of Clare, charged an English battery and captured two pieces of cannon.¹ Poets and historians have handed on the tradition of the valour of the Irish at Fontenoy. A writer in the *Mercure de France* (July, 1645) celebrates their valour thus :—

L'Irlandais qui sur eux s'élançe,
Ne craint pas d'essuyer leur feu.
Il venge son pays, et ses rois et son Dieu,
Et son honneur et celui de la France.

Then, alluding to the motto, *Nisi Dominus frustra*, inscribed on the captured English flag, he continues :—

De ce cruel revers le funeste présage
Était écrit sur vos drapeaux.
Pour nous combattre en vain vous traversiez les eaux.
Le ciel a détruit votre ouvrage.

Michelet, in his vigorous and picturesque prose, is no less laudatory of the Irish :—

There were [writes Michelet] on both sides men burning for the fray. As on our side the Irish Brigade scented English blood, so in the English ranks the sons of the Protestants eager for the fight would have given their lives to capture the grandson of Louis XIV. . . . It [the English column] advanced. For six hours it advanced. . . . What is certain is, that Maurice, who trembled for the King, began to effect a retreat. But many were unwilling to fall back. Our Irish troops were furious.—*Nos Irlandais frémissaient de fureur.*²

Summing up, then, all these testimonies it is manifest how great was the share the Irish Brigade had in the victory at Fontenoy. When all seemed lost they stood firm

¹ *Le Marechal de MacMahon*, par Leon Hennet, sous chef aux ordines de la Guerre, p. 8. Paris, 1894. MS. papers of Bulkeley's regiment.

² Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Louis XV.

and faced the enemy. There is reason to believe that the idea of the final charge originated with them. It is beyond all doubt that they led the decisive charge on the right flank of the enemy. Of them alone is it recorded that they captured a standard. Davis's thrilling lines are, therefore, no mere legend, but *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί*,¹ a treasure for ever. We cannot but admire the courage of Marshal Saxe, moving about in his litter or in the saddle for nine hours, and cheering on his men in spite of his dropsy. The Household troops and the carbineers deserve their meed of praise. But there is good reason to believe that

Fontenoy, famed Fontenoy, had been a Waterloo

Were not those exiles ready there, fresh, vehement and true.

III.

The valour of the Irish troops earned for them great glory, but at the cost of heavy loss. According to a report presented to the National Assembly by Count Arthur Dillon, in 1792, but which seems in excess of the official returns, the Irish lost in the battle of Fontenoy, one-third of their soldiers and one-fourth of their officers, and amongst the latter Chevalier Dillon, colonel of his regiment.

The names of those brave officers have long lain buried in the archives of the Ministère de la Guerre, or War Office, in Paris.² Recent researches have brought them to light, and we proceed to lay them before the reader, feeling assured that they will not be uninteresting.³

INFANTRY

BULKELEY'S REGIMENT

M. Swiney (Sweeney)	. captain	. arm fractured
„ Flood	. do.	. leg fractured
„ Bourke	. lieutenant	. gunshot wound
„ Magennis	. do.	. dangerously wounded

¹ Thucydides, *History*, Book i.

² Aux archives de la Guerre, 3,084 (pieces 45 et 175bis), and *Fonds de Suede*, 17.

³ The writer desires to express his thanks to M. Gailly de Taurines for his kind permission to make use of the lists in his brochure. He has, however, carefully compared them with the original lists at the *Ministère de la Guerre*, and has corrected the list of names from other documents, and has added the number of men killed and wounded.

CLARE'S REGIMENT

M. O'Neil	. lieutenant-col.	killed
„ Maguire	. captain	. killed
„ FitzGerald	. lieutenant	. killed
„ MacNamara	. do.	. killed
„ Schortall	. major	. wound in leg
„ M'Elligott	. capt. grenadrs.	. wrist fractured
„ Grant	. captain	. wound in foot
„ Plunkett	. do.	. wound in knee
„ Bernard O'Brien	. do.	. wound in head
„ Creagh	. do.	. pierced through body
„ Prosser	. do.	. wound in face
„ Kennedy	. do.	. leg fractured
„ MaCarty	. do.	. wound in neck
„ Charles O'Brien	. lieutenant	. wound in shoulder
„ Davoren	. do.	. leg fractured by a cannon ball
„ Falvy	. do.	. jaw fractured
„ Bernard O'Brien	. do.	. wound in abdomen
„ O'Neil	. do.	. wound in leg

BERWICK'S REGIMENT

M. Barnewall	. capt. grenadrs.	slight contusion on shoulder
„ John Nagle	. half-pay captn.	killed
„ Bart. Andrew Aylmer	. captain	. gunshot in thigh
„ Colclough	. do.	. gunshot in thigh
„ Nugent	. do.	. gunshot in face
„ Anthony	. half-pay captn.	shot through body
„ Cooke	. do.	. gunshot in thigh
„ Hickey	. do.	. gunshot in thigh
„ Christopher Plunkett	. lieutenant	. shot through leg
„ Dease	. do.	. gunshot in heel
„ Denis MaCarty	. do.	. wounded
„ Michael Carol	. do.	. wounded

ROTHER'S REGIMENT

M. St. Leger	. captain	. killed
„ Grace	. lieutenant	. killed
„ James Windham	. captain	. leg fractured
„ Christy	. do.	. shot through body
„ Timothy Sullivan	. lieutenant	. contused leg
„ Richard Hally	. do.	. gunshot in arm
„ Florence O'Donoghue	. ensign	. gunshot in knee
„ Florence Sullivan	. lieutenant	. gunshot in leg
„ O'Brien	. captain	. contused arm
„ John O'Connor	. do.	. contused thigh

DILLON'S REGIMENT

Chevalier Dillon	. colonel	. killed
M. Barry	. captain	. killed
„ Charles Mannery	. do.	. killed
„ Mannery	. lieutenant-col.	wound in leg ; arm fractured
„ Nihell	. captain	. arm fractured
„ Heguerty	. do.	. arm fractured
„ Wogan	. do.	. loss of leg
„ Cusack	. do.	. shot through body
„ Bourke	. do.	. arm fractured
„ Barry	. lieutenant	. leg fractured
„ Flanagan	. do.	. stabbed through body
„ Michael Bourke	. do.	. fracture of thigh
„ Glascoë	. do.	. fracture of leg
„ Moriarty	. do.	. loss of hand
„ Francis Dillon	. do.	. shot through body

LALLY'S REGIMENT

M. Ennys	. half-pay capt.	killed
„ Kelly	. lieutenant	. killed
„ Trootty (Crotty ?)	. do.	. killed
„ Butler	. captain on foot	arm fractured
„ Warren	. half-pay capt.	gunshot in arm
„ FitzGerald	. do.	gunshot in groin
„ Byrn (Byrne)	. half-pay lieut.	three gunshot wounds, of which two through body
„ Stack	. do.	. arm fractured
„ O'Heguerty	. lieut.-colonel	. contused leg
„ Glascoë	. major	. contused back
„ Wogan	. lieut. on foot	wound in leg
„ Creagh	. do.	wound in leg
„ Hennessy	. do.	. contused back

CAVALRY

FITZ-JAMES'S REGIMENT

M. Taaf	. major	. wounded
„ Carew	. assist. major	. do.
„ Betagh	. captain	. do.
„ Bellage (Bellings ?)	. do.	. do.
„ Patrick Nuzean or Lugan (Nugent ?)	. do.	. do.
„ Mullady	. do.	. do.
„ Butler	. do.	. do.

FITZJAMES' REGIMENT—*continued.*

M. Taaf	. captain	. killed
„ Charles Cook	. do.	. do.
„ Coulahan	. do.	. do.
„ Sackville	. do.	. wounded
„ Falvy	. lieutenant	. do.
„ Day	. do.	. do.
„ Brima (Brien ?)	. do.	. do.
„ Soly (Foley ?)	. cornet	. do.
„ Fergus O'Ffarel	. do.	. do.
„ Stapleton	. do.	. do.

Summary of killed and wounded taken from MS. above referred to at the *Ministère de la Guerre*.

REGIMENT.	KILLED.		WOUNDED.	
	Officers.	Sergeants & Soldiers.	Officers.	Sergeants & Soldiers.
Bulkeley's ..	0	20	4	34
Clare's ..	4	56	14	72
Dillon's ..	3	51	11	70
Rothe's ..	2	47	8	46
Berwick's ..	1	52	11	60
Lally's ..	3	35	10	42
FitzJames' ¹ ..	3	—	14	—
	<hr/> 16	<hr/> 261	<hr/> 72	<hr/> 324
Total killed—Officers	16	Wounded—Officers		72
Men	261	Men		324
	<hr/> 277			<hr/> 396
Total loss = 673.				

The foregoing list is a true roll of honour. It testifies to the fearless bravery of the Irish Brigade. Yet Fontenoy was but one of the many fields on which they signalled themselves. According to the learned Abbé MacGeoghegan, from 1691 to the battle of Fontenoy, 450,000 Irishmen died in the service of France. Add to these the 40,000 who took service in the armies of France and Spain after the wars of Cromwell, and the number who imitated their example between 1652 and 1691, as well as those who formed the Brigade from 1745 to 1791, and it will be found that more than half a million of Irishmen died in the

¹ The number of sergeants and soldiers of FitzJames' regiment killed and wounded is not given in the MS.

French service. France nobly acknowledged the services rendered by the Brigade. She gave to those who served under her flag the rights of French citizens ; and to several of the Irish regiments higher pay than to her own native soldiers. The Irish officers ranked with the other officers of France.

Nor was this the only benefit which France conferred on Ireland. At a period when no civil or military career was open to Irish Catholics in their own land, and when the great colonies beyond the seas were still unknown, France offered to Irishmen a field where they might rise to honour. To Irishmen, too, in search of profane or sacred learning she opened her colleges and universities. As by the Crusades the arts and civilisation of the East were communicated to the West, so a communication was established between France and Ireland. Even in the darkest days of persecution the noble ambition of honour was not permitted to decay, nor the lamp of learning to be extinguished. The civilisation of the Continent extended its influence, even to the remotest glens of Ireland. Irishmen, on their side, gave their services to France without regret.

About 1730, not many years before the battle of Fontenoy, the Superiors of the Irish College in Paris resolved to rebuild the chapel of their College. In their appeal for alms for that purpose they mention the bonds which bound France to Ireland, and in particular the services of the Irish Brigade :—

The remembrance [they said] which France has been pleased to preserve of the battles of Marseilles, Luzata, Almanza, of the sieges of Namur, Charleroi, Barcelona, etc., and, last of all, of the battle of Cremona, and of some other occasions on which the Irish did their duty, is so flattering that they do not regret the blood that has been shed in her service ; they are ready to give all they have left. The laymen will fight, the ecclesiastics will pray.

So spoke the superiors of the College in 1730. Laity and clergy both were exiles for the cause of Faith. The Irish Colleges in France and the Irish Brigade mutually aided each other. In the officers of the Brigade the

Colleges found protectors. The Colleges in their turn furnished to the Brigade priests who acted as their chaplains and give spiritual instruction in their native tongue.¹ The names O'Neil, and O'Brien, and Magennis, and M'Carthy, and Stapleton, are found repeatedly on the list of pupils and benefactors of our College in Paris; and, doubtless, many of them were relatives of the brave men who fought at Fontenoy. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Duke of FitzJames and the Marquis Lally Tollendal, descendants of Fitz-James and Lally of Fontenoy, were members of the Board of Administration of the College. The writer of this paper, therefore, feels that in recording the valour of those brave men he is but discharging a debt of gratitude.

The Irish Brigade is now but a historic memory. Yet Ireland recalls with pride the valour of her sons. But how sad that, for more than a century and a half, the flower of the Catholic youth of Ireland were compelled to devote their talents and their energy to the service of a foreign land!

What changes have taken place since Fontenoy! England and France are united in amity. The army of France is valiant as of old. But the religion for which so many Irishmen were in exile is not less free in Holland and in England, than in the land of St. Louis. Irishmen have now no other wish but to be permitted to live in their own land, and to devote their energies to the promotion of its welfare. Yet the memory of Fontenoy merits to be preserved. In that great battle the steady intrepidity of the English, and the dauntless impetuosity of the Irish won the admiration of all. If, instead of being opposed, as at Fontenoy, they were united together by the bonds of just legislation and constitutional freedom, what power could resist them?

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

¹ Each regiment had a chaplain. In 1782 Father Corbally was chaplain to Dillon's regiment, and Abbé Canvan to Berwick's.—Archives de la Guerre.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

TRANSCFERENCE OF MASSES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Since the publication of the Decree *Ut Debita* is a priest free to transfer to another priest 'intentions' which he can personally discharge within the time specified in the Decree? In many places priests get more 'intentions' than they are able to discharge. Formerly those priests had no difficulty in making up their consciences regarding the lawfulness of giving the surplus to other priests not so favourably situated as themselves. It seemed to be generally admitted, in practice at least, that donors consented to have 'intentions' discharged by another unless the opposite was in some way indicated. Is it lawful for a priest, who knows that he will receive more 'intentions' than he can discharge, to transfer them to others so as to have himself always free according to the terms of the Decree *Ut Debita*, to undertake new obligations?

In the I. E. RECORD for November it is stated that a priest cannot accept more Masses than he can personally celebrate in a specified time, unless he has the consent *explicit* or *implicit* of the donor. Am I right in taking the word *implicit* to mean the same thing as *tacit*?

An answer in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD will much oblige.

SACERDOS.

A priest can lawfully accept Masses for the purpose of transferring them to other priests whenever he can reasonably say to himself that he is acting in conformity with the will of the donors. When a priest can find out from the express statement of the donors, or from the circumstances of the case what the will of the donors is, no difficulty exists. But if a priest cannot find out either from the statement of the donors, or from the circumstances of the case then some difficulty arises about the lawfulness of accepting Masses for the purpose of trans-

ferring them to other priests. We believe that it is safe in that case to presume on the will of the donors to transfer the Masses to others. Seeing that no indication of his will has been given by the donor, and remembering that the efficacy of the Mass does not depend on the individual priest who celebrates it, we consider that we are justified in holding this view. As we indicated clearly in the article of the I. E. RECORD, to which our correspondent refers, we included under the implicit will of the donors all cases where there is a reasonable presumption of the donors' consent to transfer Masses.

This leads us to a question of practical importance. Suppose a priest has already lawfully accepted Masses, and now wishes to transfer these Masses to another priest for the purpose, say, of leaving himself free for the acceptance of more honoraria. Can he lawfully do so? It depends altogether on the nature of the acceptance already given, the will of the donor, and the degree of necessity for transference which exists. When the donors, from the beginning, did not wish to bind the priest to a personal satisfaction of the obligations imposed he is free to transfer the Masses, even though at the time of acceptance he did not advert to this freedom. The priest can judge of this consent of the donors in the way indicated in the previous paragraph.

When the donors, however, in giving the honoraria demanded a personal satisfaction the priest accepting the honoraria is bound to a personal satisfaction. *Per se*, he cannot lawfully, in this case, transfer the honoraria to others. *Per accidens*, however, occasions arise when he can lawfully make the transfer. This is true whenever such exceptional necessity exists as justifies him in presuming on the consent of the donors to make the transfer. This necessity must be exceptional in the sense that it must be something not foreseen at the time of accepting the honoraria, as certain to happen, because the priest could not lawfully accept the honoraria for himself unless, having considered the future, he thought that he could probably celebrate the Masses. Though exceptional the

necessity need not be very grave, because the personal obligation, as a rule, does not seem to be a grave obligation. The mere desire to make room for the acceptance of other Masses is not of itself a sufficient cause to warrant the transfer of these previously accepted honoraria. Something more is required such as inconvenience in refusing honoraria subsequently offered, which was not foreseen with certainty when the obligation was undertaken. Apart from some such exceptional cause there is no excuse for not fulfilling the obligations already undertaken.

INTERRUPTION OF FORM OF BAPTISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—I wish to know whether Baptism in the following case was valid. A priest, after pronouncing the words *Ego te baptizo*, noticed that the sponsors were holding the child's head over the baptismal font instead of the sacarium, and told them to move back the child a little. He then continued the form, and pronounced the remaining words, *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*. Was there here an interruption of the words such as to necessitate the re-Baptism of the child conditionally?

SACERDOS.

The interruption of the form of Baptism mentioned by our correspondent is certainly not substantial. Hence no repetition of the Baptism is necessary. There seems to be a perfect parity between this case and that mentioned by Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., p. 12:—‘Valere baptismum, si parochus dicat: Ego te baptizo (convertens se ad garrientes pueros inter ponit: silete pueri) in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.’ In both cases the interruption is of such a nature as not to make the meaning of the form, in the estimation of men, even doubtful.

REFUSAL TO ‘CHURCH’ A WOMAN. CASE OF ‘SIGILLUM’

REV. DEAR SIR,—You would oblige me and a few others of your readers by answering the following questions in the next number of the I. E. RECORD:—

I. Would it be lawful for a Parish Priest to refuse to ‘church’ a woman for the simple reason that her husband did not pay a sufficient honorarium on the occasion of the Baptism?

2. Is it a *violatio sigilli* in a confessor who informs the president of a college that there are certain irregularities going on amongst the students (v.g. smoking), which information the confessor acquired *in tribunali*?

JUNIOR PRIEST.

I. A parish priest is not justified in refusing to 'church' a woman for the reason mentioned by our correspondent. A parish priest is bound by his office to administer the Sacraments and the sacramentals to the members of his flock who reasonably ask for these spiritual graces. It is altogether against the policy of the Church to admit such a reason as that mentioned by our correspondent as sufficient to prevent a person from reasonably demanding these favours. This policy is specially manifested in the legislation of the Church in connection with the Sacraments. But the same policy holds in connection with the sacramentals, amongst which the ceremony of 'churching' holds an important place. This is specially true when no crime has been committed by the person immediately concerned.

II. There would be a direct violation of the *sigillum* if the confessor were to mention the students who confessed the irregularities of which 'Junior Priest' speaks. There would be an indirect violation of the *sigillum* if the confessor spoke in such a way as to create a danger of discovering those students. There would also be an indirect violation of the *sigillum* if the confessor's action were of such a nature as to cause, directly or indirectly, an *incommodum* to the penitent. When there is question of rules of a community which are often violated no such *incommodum* exists in the statement of a confessor that they are broken, unless the penitent is mentioned, or danger of discovering him arises. When there is question of rules which are not often violated there would be some defamation of the community in the disclosure of the fact, and consequently there would be an *incommodum* caused to the penitent at least indirectly. 'Junior Priest' knows as well as we do to which class of rules the example mentioned by him belongs.

**PAPAL DISPENSATION FROM ABSTINENCE. OBLIGATION OF
GIVING ABSOLUTION. ROYAL ANTEDILUVIAN ORDER OF
BUFFALOES**

REV. DEAR SIR,—An answer to the following questions in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD will oblige :—

I. (a) Was it necessary that the dispensation from the abstinence on the Feast of the Epiphany should be known through one's own Ordinary in order to be lawfully used? Would a person, having no intimation of the dispensation from his own Ordinary, though aware of it from another source (*e.g.* another Bishop's official declaration), be obliged to abstain?

(b) The first intimation of the dispensation that we received from our Ordinary was on the Wednesday preceding the Feast. Were those priests justified in publishing the dispensation on the previous Sunday if they were certain of it from other sources?

II. A person forgets a mortal sin in confession, but, remembering it, returns immediately and confesses. Is there any obligation in justice or charity to give absolution? If so, would the confessor in any circumstances sin gravely by not absolving? (*Cf.* Lehmkühl, vol. ii., 238-239.)

III. Is the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes a secret society? Has it been condemned? Have the American Bishops issued any decree on it?—Yours truly, C. P. L.

I. (a) It was not necessary that the dispensation from the abstinence on the Feast of the Epiphany should be known through one's own Ordinary to be lawfully used. It was promulgated in Rome for the whole world so that any person knowing of its existence from any reliable source could lawfully use it.

(b) We see no reason why a priest should not tell his people that he had learned on good authority that the Holy Father had dispensed from the abstinence, even though the Bishop did not give him express intimation of the dispensation. No Bishop was unwilling that the faithful should enjoy the dispensation. The church was the most convenient place to make the announcement.

II. There is an obligation both in justice and charity

to give absolution in the case mentioned by our correspondent. The obligation of justice arises from a quasi-contract by which the priest binds himself to give absolution when he hears the confession of a penitent. The obligation of charity arises from the position which a priest holds as the dispenser of Christ's sacraments. These obligations are not so absolute as to admit of no exceptions. In the present case the usual exceptions which exist in all confessions exist. Want of due dispositions, utility of deferring absolution for the purpose of avoiding scandal, or necessity of making sure of the fulfilment of obligations such as restitution will permit the priest to defer absolution when the sin has been confessed. Moreover, as Lehmkuhl in the place referred to by our correspondent holds, it would not be absolutely outside the power of a priest to defer absolution in the case if he be certain that the penitent will make his next confession to him. It would, however, be inadvisable to adopt this course, because it would interfere to some extent with the freedom of confession, since it would place some obstacle in the way of a change of intention on the part of the penitent with reference to the selection of a confessor.

III. We are not sure that our correspondent is quite serious in asking about the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes. We have, however, glanced through the book of rules of the society which he kindly sent us. We have seen nothing in this little book which would prove that the Order is a secret society in the sense in which secret societies are condemned by the Church. It is not, however, from the printed rules of a society a person can usually find out whether it is a secret society or not. As far as we know the American Bishops have not taken the trouble of condemning this Antediluvian Order. Our correspondent need have very little fear that a society of this kind will spread very widely. It is a society which is more prolific in rules than in wisdom. Its rules cover seventy-six pages of closely-printed matter. A sample will best show the wisdom of the laborious framers of these rules. Under Rule 108 we find a schedule

of fineable offences of which the following is worth noting :—

Speaking of cigars, tobacco, snuff, pipes; and matches otherwise than as stick-weed, soft-weed, pulverised-weed, weed-consumer, stick-lights; or wine, spirits, and malt liquors, otherwise than as juniper or gatter. All mineral waters shall be classed as gatter. 'Penalty, one D.'

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

COM. PRO DEF. IN 'MISSIS PRO VIVIS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—From what is laid down in *Rubricae Generales* of the Roman Missal (t. vii. n. 6, and t. ix. n. 12) may a priest say more than one Collect for the Dead in a Mass for the living? In tit. vii. n. 6, the words are: 'Si facienda sit *commemoratio*' (in the singular) 'pro Defunctis,' etc. In tit. ix. n. 12, three, five, or seven prayers are allowed on certain days.—Yours, etc.,

SACERDOS.

The *commemoratio pro defunctis* referred to by the Rubrics of the Missal, tit. vii. n. 6, is a substitute for the *Requiem Mass* which is prescribed by the preceding Rubric, tit. vi. n. 1, and which is impeded by the character of the Office for the day. Mindful of the claims of her deceased children the Church, with thoughtful solicitude, orders, in certain cases, the Sacrifice of the Mass to be offered up for them on some suitable day at the beginning of each month and week of the year. The occasions, however, when this Mass is *de praecepto* are very rare; but sometimes the commemoration is ordered, and it is to this that the Rubric, tit. vii. n. 6, refers. A priest, then, may not say more than one such Collect for the Dead. The *Orationes ad libitum* mentioned in Rubric, tit. ix. n. 12, are of a different character. These may be taken from the *Orationes ad diversa* at the end of the Missal, and also from any of the approved Votive Masses. The context of the Rubric, tit. vii. n. 6, makes it sufficiently clear that only one commemoration (*Fidelium*) may be made here:—'Si

facienda sit commemoratio pro defunctis semper *ponitur in penultimo loco.*'

OFFICE OF TITULAR

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly state in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD :—

1°. How far in conscience *adscripti Ecclesiae* are bound to celebrate the *festum Titularis* as a double of the first class with an octave ?

2°. If the octave day of the Feast always displaces an ordinary double, is the latter to be transferred to the first free day. If a Feast (*dup.*) which is had *in aliquibus locis* is transferred, and it is transferred before the Feast displaced by the Octave day, which gets the preference on the first free day ?

The reason of my first request is that I have met no Priest who celebrates the Titular of his Church as a double of the first class with an octave. They excuse themselves on account of the trouble involved in changing the *Ordo*.

A. L. D.

1. A kindred question to this was asked and answered in the I. E. RECORD of 1893.¹ The Office of the Titular of a Church—which has been merely blessed—is to be celebrated as a double of the first class with an octave by all the clergy attached to that church. A decree of the Sac. Cong. of Rites, dated June, 1880, states that this Office is to be celebrated in the manner described by the clergy under pain of not satisfying the obligation of the Office. In July, 1895, the same Congregation enjoined the celebration of the three principal local Feasts. The words used in regard to the Titular of a Church run thus :—‘*Eodem ritu Duplici primae classis cum octava celebrari debet Festum solemnius Titularis Ecclesiae ab omnibus e clero, quibus eadem Ecclesia propria est, aut ratione beneficii aut ratione subjectionis.*’

This obligation is grave *per se*, as is evident from the first of the decrees mentioned. In most places provision is made in local calendars for the due celebration of

¹ Pages 940-4.

Feasts such as the Titular, the Patron of the place, and the Dedication of a Church. Then, where the Patron and the Titular are identical one celebration does ample honour to the saint in his two-fold capacity. Also when the Titular happens to be a saint, or a mystery that is solemnly celebrated throughout the whole Church, no difficulty about it arises. We may remark here that, as the name of the Titular is to be inserted in the prayer *A Cunctis*, care should be taken to have it inscribed on a tablet in a prominent place in the sacristy, so that all Priests may know before going to the altar what name they have to mention in this Collect.

2. The Feast of double rite that is perpetually impeded by the octave of Titular, should be transferred to the first vacant day, that is, one not having a feast of nine lessons. This day becomes for the transferred Feast its *dies fixa*, and enjoys all the privileges, as regards permanence, that are enjoyed by the *dies propria*. When two feasts are to be transferred about the same time the order of precedence, or, in other words, the right to the first vacant day is determined by (a) rite ; (b) class ; (c) quality—*primary* being preferred to *secondary* ; (d) dignity. A Feast having an octave—if it is to be transferred has prior claims on a vacant day *inf. oct.*, while for some of the greater Feasts that have to be translated from time to time, special days are kept in reserve. This rule will be sufficient to help our correspondent to arrange the order of priority between the two Feasts he mentions. If a feast is merely *accidentally* disturbed it cannot be transferred unless it be of a rite greater than a Double Major, or, unless it is a Doctor of the Church of simple double rite. When it cannot be transferred it is generally *simplified* and commemorated.

CONSECRATION OF 'ALTARE FIXUM'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you be kind enough to give me an answer to the following questions in as early as issue as possible:—

1°. Is it allowable to consecrate a stone altar in a temporary wooden church ? 2°. Is there any incongruity in doing so ?

3°. When the future church is built (in an adjoining plot of ground) and the altar removed to it, will the altar have to be reconsecrated? 4°. If the gradine rests upon the slab of the *mensa*, should the necessary crosses be incised on that part of the slab which is unoccupied by the gradine; and may a slab of this nature receive consecration, notwithstanding the position of the gradine?

Thanking you in anticipation, I am,

B. W.

1 and 2. We have not seen any formal prohibition against consecrating a stone altar in a temporary wooden church, but we consider that there is, at least, a certain amount of incongruity in doing so. The temporary character of the building is rather incompatible with the stability and permanence usually associated with the idea of a consecrated altar.

3. In its essence the *altare fixum* consists of a slab or table (*mensa*) of a rectangular shape, and a base or support, (*stipes*) both being so united as to form a single structure. As a rule the table is made of one piece of stone, and completely covers the base on all sides. The base may be composed of a solid mass of masonry, or may be hollow in the centre, or may be formed of three small walls—the posterior and two lateral—or, as now for the most part obtains, it may be so arranged that the rere half of the *mensa* rests on a solid wall, while the anterior half is supported by two or more small columns. The junction of the *mensa* and *stipes*—which is secured with cement or some such substance—is all-important, and its enduring character is typified in the ceremony of consecration by anointing with chrism the points of contact at the four angles. The *retabulum*, or reredos, or gradine forms no part, therefore, of the *altare fixum* strictly so called. If, then, the removal of the altar necessitates the separation of the table from its base the consecration is certainly lost. But if the transfer can be effected so that the whole *altare fixum* is removed without disturbing the unity between the *mensa* and its *stipes*, then it is not so clear that the consecration is not retained.

Gardellini¹ maintains that a complete removal of this kind does not invalidate the consecration, and explains that a *fixed* altar is so called not because it is firmly attached to the ground on which it is erected and, therefore, in a manner, immovable, but rather on account of the permanent union of the table with its base. This case is scarcely of any practical moment, because it rarely happens that an altar of this description can be removed in its entirety from one place to another. It may be noted, however, that in this view the incongruity we spoke of above would be very seriously diminished.

4. The gradine, we have said, does not belong to the *altare fixum* strictly so called. It ought not, therefore, project over the table. But a slight projection would not seem to unfit the slab for consecration, provided it does not interfere with the integrity and independence of the table and its base.² The crosses in this case should be incised on the front portion of the slab.

TRANSFER OF SOME OFFICES. DATE OF EASTER THIS YEAR

REV. DEAR SIR,—On January 22nd of this year the Office and Mass were *De ea*. Why was not either the Office and Mass of St. Munchin (January 2nd), St. Albert (January 8th), or St. Paul, the First Hermit, celebrated on that day, seeing that on Sunday, February 12th, we had St. Titus, whose Feast day occurred on February 6th?

Why is it that Easter Sunday this year does not fall on March 26th, since it is the 'first Sunday after the full moon, which happens upon, or next after the 21st March'?

JUNIOR PRIEST.

1. The 22nd January being occupied by an Office of semidouble rite is not available for the reception of transferred Feasts. This year the Third Sunday after Pentecost supplants the Martyrs SS. Vincent and Anastasius, but as the Office of the Martyrs is also a semidouble it is evident

¹ *Apud* Bucceroni, *Enchiridion Morale*, p. 357 (ed. 1904).

² *Cf.* Van Der Stappen, *Del Cel. Min.*, p. 27.

that even on ordinary occasions this day is not a *dies libera* in the sense of the Rubrics. Moreover, the Feasts of St. Munchin, St. Albert, and St. Titus, being perpetually impeded on their *dies propriae* have been assigned *dies fixae* on the dates on which they are now celebrated generally throughout Ireland, and formally established. It is another question why St. Titus got preference over St. Munchin and St. Albert, to the 12th February. Possibly he had to be provided for before them, and having got his *d.f.* he enjoys a certain immunity from disturbance.

2. We had not been able to insert an answer to this query in the April issue owing to want of space; but, seeing the question put in another journal, and surmising it originated from our present correspondent, we gave in substance the reply we are now about to give. The rule advanced is indeed the common one. It is not, however, quite accurate. For, instead of the 'full moon,' we must read 'the fourteenth day of the moon,' which is a different thing. The latter phase takes place exactly midway between two new moons, and as each lunation is twenty-nine and a-half days, new moon occurs not on the fourteenth day but after fourteen days and three-fourths, which point—reckoning the day of the new moon as the first—will happen on the fifteenth day. This year the fourteenth day of the March calendar year falls on the 20th March. This is before the Vernal Equinox, which occurs on the 21st. Accordingly, the next moon will be the Pascal moon. Its fourteenth day falls on 18th April, and the Sunday following, that is, 23rd April, is Easter Sunday. It should be borne in mind that the phases of the Ecclesiastical or Calendar moon do not always coincide with those of the Astronomical moon, and that the Vernal Equinox for the purposes of the Calendar is fixed for 21st March, although it does not always fall on this date.

In the Winter Quarter of the Roman Breviary the rule is given as follows:—'Quoniam ex decreto sacri Concilii Nicaeni Pascha, ex quo reliqua Festa mobilia pendent, celebrari debet die Domenica qui proxime succedit xiv lunae primi mensis, *i.e.*, luna cujus xiv dies eadit die 21

mensis Martii (Verni Aequinoctii) vel proprius ipsum sequitur, etc.' Here the rule is accurately given. A careful study of the chapter in the Breviary entitled *De anno et ejus partibus* will well repay the trouble of perusal, and give a very good idea of the *Computum Ecclesiasticum*. To this source, and also to some papers on the Calendar contributed in these pages in the years 1891 and 1892, we are indebted for most of the information contained in the foregoing observations.¹

P. MORRISROE.

¹ We have seen it stated that this year, as a matter of fact, the phenomenon of full moon as observed at Greenwich *preceded* by three hours the sun's entry into Aries, or the Vernal Equinox, and that, therefore, the fixing of Easter 1905 is quite in accordance with the old rule as enunciated by our correspondent. The emendation of the Old Rule, however, into its present prevailing form indicates that if followed it would not always give accurate results.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE REPRINTING OF IRISH BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE I. E. RECORD

REV. DEAR SIR,—Among old letters I recently happened to turn up the two which I send to you ; they were written to me by the late Rev. Bartholomew MacCarthy, D.D., who died in March, 1904, then Parish Priest of Inniscarra, in the diocese of Cloyne. These letters exhibit a carefully thought out plan of reprinting the extremely rare books treating of the lives of the Irish saints, which our learned countrymen had published on the Continent during the seventeenth century. Dr. MacCarthy was induced to communicate with me by John O'Daly, of Anglesea-street, Dublin, whom I had almost persuaded to undertake a page for page republication of one of those books, making a mere mechanical copy of it, without the correction of a single misprint. Dr. MacCarthy's project was of a more scholarly character, but much more expensive. Many great literary undertakings, such as editing the *Annals of Ulster*, the Todd Lectures before the Academy on the *Codex Palatino Vaticanus* ; his monograph on the *Stowe Missal* ; and the *Textual Studies on the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, used up, however, all of his time that remained over his duties as a priest, and consequently the reprinting project fell through.

Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, folio, 906 pages, printed in 1645, gives the lives of the Irish saints whose festivals occur in the months of January, February, and March, with many valuable notes and indices. His *Triadis Thaumaturgae . . . Acta*, printed A.D. 1647, folio, 742 pages, contains Fiech's Hymn and Six Lives of St. Patrick, with Appendices ; five Lives of St. Columba, with Appendices ; and six Lives of St. Brigid, with Appendices and six Indices. Both these volumes abound with typographical inaccuracies, which the author attributes to the *crassa negligentia* of the printer. Not thirty copies of these books are to be found in Ireland, England, and Scotland, and it is almost certain that there are not fifty copies in existence ; they are, consequently, very high priced. Stewart, of King William-street, Strand, London, catalogued these books in 1869 at £34,

though the 'first volume is rebound and somewhat cut.' Colgan published at Antwerp, in 1658, the *Life of John Duns Scotus*, in octavo, which is a work of still greater rarity.

Father Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*, published at Louvain, in 1667, treats principally of the life and writings of St. Columbanus, and of several of his contemporaries—St. Comgall of Bangor, and others. The *Life of Columbanus* is by Jonas, who was a monk in Bobbio under the Abbot who immediately succeeded St. Columbanus. It was copied from a manuscript at present preserved in the Archiepiscopal Seminary of Treves. This manuscript has been lately recognised by Bruno Krusch, who published, in 1902, a critical edition of the *Life*, presenting it in the form in which it was originally written. (See Paper by Dr. Lawlor, *Transactions Royal Irish Academy*.) The *Collectanea Sacra* is a quarto volume of 480 pages, which has varied in price from £30 to £40. Dr. Todd's copy was sold, in 1869, for £75.

To these rare volumes we must add the *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum* of Messingham, published at Paris, in 1624, which though badly edited contains many tracts of great value. These writers well deserve the gratitude of the nation for having preserved under such difficulties the actions and the names of its greatest children. Yet their writings are totally outside the reach of our countrymen, and that they are such is a disgrace to the Irish priesthood. Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee, writing on the subject thirty years ago, said:—

'The Irish Catholic clergy owe it to themselves to see that the merit of making them known in this generation be not grasped by others. It is not probable that laymen would undertake the task of editing martyrologies and lives of the saints; but there is an increasing class in Ireland who begin to regard these sealed books as sacred national property, which indeed they are. It were much better, however, that hands consecrated to the altar should unclasp those memoirs of the canonized and the martyred. Let not the Catholic Irish clergy in the dawn of their prosperity, cast from them the companions of their way through the long bleak night, the lamps that lighted their feet and the staffs that stayed their hands.'

We would all wish to see these books brought out in the scholarly manner in which Dr. Kelly produced *Cambrensis Eversus* for the Celtic Society, but it is to be feared that we are far from being able for such an enterprise. The most

practical way of reprinting any of these books, in my opinion, would be to intrust the book to one operative printer, directing him to place it in a glass covered case, and to print off an exact copy that would have in each column and in each page what is in the corresponding column and page of the original book. This plan would save the enormous trouble of altering the elaborate and valuable indices. Printers who had no knowledge of Latin printed most accurately, for my *History of Down and Connor*, long extracts from the Bollandists, Theiner, *Spicil. Ossor.*, etc.; while a printer, who was a good Latin scholar, sent down to me a proof sheet of the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, with the words corrected up to the orthography of Arnold, and he seemed rather surprised when he was directed to restore the quaint spelling of the old Bangor monks.

I have placed these matters before your readers in the hope that some one may be induced to bring out any one of these rare works at a price such as would render it no longer a sealed book.

Holywood.

JAMES O'LAVERTY, P.P., M.R.I.A.
Dom. Apostol. Praesul.

MACROOM, CO. CORK,
April 29th, 1885.

MY DEAR FATHER O'LAVERTY,—I have to thank you very much for your valuable assistance in the projected series of reprints. You are probably the only Irish priest in Ireland who has a copy of the *Acta S. S.*; and the calculation to be made by your printer will be of the utmost advantage. I have received the following estimate from Duffy & Sons, Dublin. They will print 500 copies of each sheet of 16 pages (same size as Migne's *Patrology*, i.e., 2 columns, 60 lines in each) for £6 15s.; stitching covering in paper extra. They recommend issue in parts of 10 sheets = 160 pages, the binding of which would cost £2 5s. Total for 500 copies of each part of 10 sheets, £69 15s. Again, they say that adding one-fourth to the actual pages of the book, gives approximately the quantity of the reprint, i.e., *Acta S. S.* 902 pages, *Trias Thaum.* 742 = 1,644, plus 412 = 2,056, or about thirteen parts of 160 pages each.

Say the cost of each part is £70; that means that with the postage, advertisements, etc., each part could be given for 3s. 6d. I may add their charge for printing 1000 copies

would be £8. This price does not include corrections, which would be numerous—if all the blunders of the original were to be rectified. The reason I hit upon Migne's *Patrology* was for uniformity, as the works of Fleming and Messingham are not the same size as Colgan's. But of course the old pagination should be inserted at the proper places.

Now I should be glad to learn your opinion on the foregoing scale of charges. They (Duffy) say they can turn out a part in five weeks; all we want, therefore, is the sinews of war. Surely we ought to get 496 subscribers amongst the Irish priests. Our committee is strong enough to issue the parts as fast as they could be printed. Our numbers and names are as follows, alphabetically :—

COMERFORD, REV. M., Monasterevan.

HILL, REV. R. A., O.S.F., Dublin.

KELLY, REV. J. J., Tusk.

MACCARTHY, REV. B., Macroom.

MORRIS, REV. W. B., The Oratory.

MURPHY, REV. J., Queenstown.

O'LAVERTY, REV. J., Holywood.

Probably the best plan to adopt would be to bring the project formally under the notice of the Bishops assembled at Maynooth or Dublin. But, doubtless, Dr. Walsh, *Vic. Cap.*, will best advise as to what course is best to adopt to make it known.

With many thanks for your offer of help,

Yours very faithfully,

B. MACCARTHY.

—————
MACROOM,

May 11th, 1885.

DEAR FATHER O'LAVERTY,—Yours, with the estimate, to hand this morning. I have to thank you very much for all your trouble; in particular for the thoughtfulness of enclosing the printed page. It shows how crass (as Colgan says) was the negligence of the original printers.

Your project is too large, I regret to say, for my expectations. Keeping copies in stock, and leaving half the subscription outstanding presupposes a fund, which, of course, is not to be thought of. The plan which alone, to my mind, can be successful is, not to go to press till all the money is on hands.

If Maynooth and Paris took up, say, 200 subscriptions between them, we might increase the number ; but, as I have no reason to calculate upon this, we must abide by the 500 copies for subscribers. Could that number be issued, I have no doubt but that any bookseller investing in fifty, would make cent. per cent. on the speculation.

However, to return. Beginning with the *Trias. Thaum.* It contains 742 pages ; plus one-fourth (for the pages of the reprint) = 928. Divide by 160 (pages in each sheet) and we have, say, six sheets. Cost of printing each sheet £69 10s. $\times 6 =$ £405. Add stitching and covering in paper 500 copies, £15 —total £420. As five copies must be given to public libraries, this leaves £495 for subscribers, which leaves a good margin for advertising, press corrections, and a balance to carry to the *Acta Sanctorum*. In regard to correcting the original errors, I suggest to forward the sheets (the books are to be got from the Franciscans) *before printing* to the various correctors, who would make the corrigenda on slips, giving the page and number of line, thus:—Page 828, column 1, line 2, 'Withbrodo' for 'withbrodo ;' line 8, 'fana' for 'sana'—underlining the letter or words to be changed, and then the sheet, with the slips of corrections, could be put before the printer, and all extras for errors of the press saved. This, I think, is quite feasible, but I should like to hear your opinion upon it.

I come now to the *Acta Sanctorum*, 906 pages in the original, 1,132 in the reprint = say, 7 sheets. Cost of printing, £472 10s. + £15 = £487 10s. This shows we should have to raise the subscription to about 21s. or 22s. But as the subscribers to the *Triad. Thaum.* would object to have their subscriptions devoted to bringing out another work, we could add a short annotated text to the work, or lessen the cost of the *Acta*, *pro rata*. But this, on the other hand, would necessitate keeping accounts, so that I think the best thing would be to issue a brief text, such as the *Confessio* of St. Patrick, or some such document.

Upon all the foregoing, I shall feel much obliged for your judgment. It may be of interest to learn that application was made to Gill, and Browne & Nolan : the former did not think fit to reply, and the latter said their hands were full.

Yours very sincerely,

B. MACCARTHY.

We are very glad that Mgr. O'Laverty has raised this

question. It is one that affects the honour of the whole Irish Church. We ourselves have more than once thought of suggesting a national collection of works such as those mentioned by Mgr. O'Lavery and Dr. MacCarthy, which might be entitled *Hibernia Sancta*, or *Monumenta Hiberniae Sacra*. Into such a collection might be gathered not only the works of supreme importance, such as those of Colgan, Fleming, and Messingham, but various and almost innumerable other works and fragments of works which are to be found scattered up and down through the collections of Surius, Canisius, Mabillon, the Bollandists, Serrarius, Rader, etc. The great collection of Pertz entitled *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* is full of documents relating to Ireland, and to the religious history of our early missionaries. Of this great work there is not a single copy, as far as we are aware, in any library in Ireland, certainly not in any ecclesiastical library. How, then, is it possible for any Irish scholar to pursue his investigations into the history of that most interesting period in the life of the Church, or for any one interested in the subject, to find reliable information in this country at first hand? The thing is impossible. In the collections of the Academies of Vienna, Zurich, and other Continental cities, there are a great many documents of importance to our religious history that should not be abandoned. Then there are such works as the *De Patria Sancti Rumoldi*, of Father Hugh Ward of Louvain; the *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae*, of Father Fitzsimon; and the *Vindiciae Scotorum Veterum*, of Father White. All these, in our opinion, should be gathered together in one great collection which would be a monument at least as worthy of the Irish clergy as any Cathedral in the land, and one, we think, which would enlist the sympathy and support of the Irish clergy the world over.

It is only when one comes to consider the magnitude and importance of such a project that the loss to the Irish Church, particularly to Irish historical scholarship, of the late Dr. Bartholomew MacCarthy can be fully realized. A committee, however, could do all that would be required; for with sufficient funds at their disposal they could get the assistance of

the best experts available at home and abroad. The subtitle of *Collectio Manutiana* might be given to the collection thus associating it with an institution which will survive all committees and collaborators, and take an interest in the work when both shall have passed away that will be the surest guarantee of its success. To what nobler work could the College put its hand? To what undertaking more worthy of Catholic Ireland could the Maynooth Union extend its aid? In any case it is well to ventilate these views, and we sincerely hope something practical will result from their discussion. Possibly Mgr. O'Laverty, or somebody interested in the subject, may get it brought under the notice of the clergy at the Maynooth meeting in June. We should then know what chance there would be of sufficient support. Nobody would like to commit himself to such an undertaking without carefully computing the cost and considering the prospects of success. But neither, we imagine, would anybody be satisfied to see Ireland covered with great religious monuments of stone and marble while the equally religious and far more intellectual and inspiring monuments of our faith, handed down to us by our forefathers with such jealous care, should be allowed to fall into oblivion and decay. If the collection we suggest is impossible just now, could we not at least do something to make it possible in the future?

ED. I. E. RECORD.

WHERE WAS SAMUEL'S RAMAH?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you allow me to thank 'R. W.' for his generous review of *The Tabernacle* volume in your March number? And also to say a few words as to *Ramet*, near Hebron, and *Rentis* near Lydda? As to these places, the only difference between us is as to the birth-place of Samuel. Your reviewer is of opinion that *Rentis* was Samuel's birth-place, and was one of the six Ramahs which are enumerated in Hastings' *Dictionary*. He is willing to allow that Abraham, Solomon, Absalom, as well as Samuel, sacrificed at *Ramet*. This more than concedes my main contention, as it brings evidence to show that *Ramet* was a place of historical importance before

and after the time of Samuel. So far we are agreed, and I am under obligation to 'R. W.' for strengthening my main position.

A minor point, however, remains. It is that as to the Ramah at which Samuel first saw the light. It is not a matter of much historical importance, except so far as it bears upon the relative weight of authority which is to be given to the historians. On the one hand we have the Fathers Eusebius and Jerome agreeing in the statement that Samuel was born at *Rentis* near Lydda. I need not say that the date of these witnesses is A.D. 264-340 and 340-420. On the other side we have the statements that Samuel's ancestors were settled at Ramathaim Zophim, where he was presumably born (1 Sam. i. 1), that his house or home was at Ramah (1 Sam. vii. 17), and that he was buried in his house at Ramah (1 Sam. xxv. 1). These facts are testified to by some unnamed writer, whose date of contemporary evidence is at least B.C. 1000. The laws of evidence require us to give credence to the earlier document, in cases where there is a conflict of evidence. It has not yet, however, been shewn that there is any conflict of evidence, as Ramathaim may mean one place, and Ramah another. To this point I shall now address myself. Against the fact of the difference in name, is to be put the presumption that Samuel's attachment to Ramah as his life-long home, and place of sepulture, was based upon the fact that it had been the home of his family for five generations. If this was not so, why was he not buried at or near the tomb of the great ancestors of his race, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, which lay within three miles of *Ramet*? In place of this he was buried 'in his house at Ramah,' David, then in hiding near, being probably one of the mourners.

As to the change of name from Ramathaim to Ramah. This is in complete accordance with what I imagine to have been the topographical conditions of the country. During the time of the Judges the two bare and stony peaks to the immediate North of Hebron were unoccupied. It is probable that it was to the ridge of which they form the highest points that Celeb referred when he said 'Now therefore give me this mountain' (Joshua xiv. 12). It was not given to him, but a richer portion of valley-ground was measured off to him, in which were the upper and the nether springs (Joshua xv. 19, Judges i. 8-15). The 'mountain' was thus unoccupied by dwellings and became the Hills-of-the-Watchers (or Ramathaim

Zophim), from which outlooks were kept for those marauders from the East, from which Palestine had never been free. For this purpose these two heights, lying east and west of one another, with a roadway between them, were eminently suitable. This was their name when Zuph or Zophai removed there. As, in course of time, a settlement was made and cottages began to spring up on the one of them on which was a spring of water it received, necessarily, a singular, and not a plural or dual name, and was known as Ramah.

This is the course of historical argument by which I arrived at my belief that Samuel was born, lived and died near the place the Arabic name of which is *Râmet el-Khûlîl*.

The article on Ramah in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* is written in two parts by Sir Charles Warren and Dr. Driver. The former of these, with some geographical confusion as to the division in which Ramah was situated, writes, 'Ramah, a city of Benjamin, which is possibly also identical with Ramathaim-Zophim, the birth-place and home of Samuel.' The latter, confirming the last part of this sentence, says, 'Ramathaim-Zophim . . . the birth-place, residence and burial-place of Samuel.'

I have not traversed the ground previously taken up by me in *The Tabernacle*, which I may suppose is known to your readers as well as by my reviewer. But I cannot conclude without expressing my sense of satisfaction at finding that so small a thing as this separates us on so important a matter as the whole question under discussion.

W. SHAW CALDECOTT

Silver How, Bournemouth.

THE ITALIAN PRONUNCIATION OF 'MIHI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have no wish to enter into any possible controversy regarding Dr. Donnelly's directions for the pronunciation of Latin in the Italian manner; though, speaking for myself, I have so pronounced it for the past thirty-nine years. It is M. R.'s amazing assertion in the I. E. RECORD for April which almost forces me to say a word on the matter.

I spent eight years in Rome (1866-1874), finishing my classics in the first two, and doing my Philosophy and Theology in the remaining six. During the first four of these years I attended classics in the Roman College; for the others I

followed the Jesuit Fathers to the German College, where my professors were Franzelin, Palmieri, Ballerini, etc. These facts mention merely to prove that I should have some slight authority in speaking of 'the Italian pronunciation.'

Now, in contradiction to M. R.'s words, I assert most positively that those who 'wish to adopt the Italian pronunciation' may not pronounce *mihi* 'meehee,' but must pronounce it 'meekee,' and that this is 'the pronunciation of cultured Italians (the Jesuit Fathers, for example) who make a point of enunciating accurately.' Yours faithfully,

M. B.

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the last number of the I. E. RECORD I read with great interest a brief correspondence relating to the Italian pronunciation of *mihi*. As I do not share the opinion put forward by the writer of the letter, and, moreover, consider the statement somewhat misleading at the present juncture, when the country is making an honest effort to secure and adopt the correct Italian pronunciation of Latin; I take the liberty of interfering only to express my notion about the question at issue. Your correspondent quotes first a passage from the *American Ecclesiastical Review* of January, where the Editor of that periodical, in reproducing the set of directions for the Roman pronunciation of Latin, compiled by Dr. Connolly and published in the December number of the I. E. RECORD, suggests that the letter *h* in the middle of the words given in the above-mentioned rules as somewhat like *c* or *k*, is thus pronounced only by a common habit, and that this is not the pronunciation of cultured Italians, who make a point of enunciating accurately. Then he proceeds to state that 'some who wish to adopt the Italian pronunciation will be glad to find that they may pronounce *mihi* "meehee," and not "micky."'

Indeed, it would afford me genuine pleasure to find that I may adopt the suggested pronunciation, and I, for one, would promptly adopt it were I convinced of its accuracy by any conclusive proof. But, unhappily, this statement is not corroborated by any positive argument, and left, as it is, in the condition of a mere assertion it may be denied just as gratuitously as it is made.

Nor does the suggestion made in the letter follow from the

passage of the *American Ecclesiastical Review* quoted by the writer. It was only stated there what, according to the Editor's view, the pronunciation of *h* in the middle of words should not be, and I fail to perceive how from that can be logically inferred that 'meehee' is the correct pronunciation of *mihi*—especially taking into account that in the mouth of an Italian *mihi* cannot be possibly sounded as 'meehec.' Even those who have only a smattering of the Italian language can bear testimony to the fact that the letter *h*, whether in the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of words, does not exist in Italian as an aspirate; thus, Italians never pronounce it as an aspirate in Latin words.

Rejecting, therefore, the pronunciation suggested by your correspondent I venture to show by my own long experience that 'mickee' is the only and correct one adopted by all Italians, even by those who make a point of enunciating as accurately as possible.

I have special claim to a fair knowledge of the Italian tongue, and of the pronunciation of Latin in the Italian manner. I have spent almost all my life in Italy, and was educated there from the elementary up to the theological schools. In Rome for the lapse of ten years I had ample opportunity in the philosophical and theological schools of listening to all sorts of Italians speaking in Latin. My school companions belonged to different parts of Italy, my professors in the Roman Universities were all men of world-wide reputation, men of profound and varied knowledge. Above all, I had the privilege of hearing on several occasions the celebrated Latinist of the last century, who answers to the name of Leo XIII, speaking the best of his classical Latin; and after all that I may assure your correspondent that none of them, whether cultured or otherwise, ever pronounced 'meehee.' Their only pronunciation on all occasions was 'mikee,' flavoured, of course, with the distinctive brogue peculiar to people of different parts of Italy.—Yours faithfully,

S. L.

DOCUMENTS

PREROGATIVES OF THE CHAPTER OF THE PATRIARCHATE
OF VENICEEX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM
PIUS IX PRAEROGATIVAS CONCEDIT CAPITULO PATRIARCHALI
VENETIARUM

PIUS EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

Romana Ecclesia aliarum omnium mater et magistra concessum sibi a coelesti Sponso Iesu Christo supernum auctoritatis et dignitatis Principatum ita semper in cunctas Ecclesias obtinuit, ut sacris Ministris earum servitio mancipatis, pro locorum temporum et personarum conditionibus, ampliores eximiasque honoris praerogativas indulserit prout ad Dei gloriam promovendam, ad Catholicae Religionis maiestatem tutandam, et ad Ecclesiasticam servandam Hierarchiam, Romanis Pontificibus, eiusdem Iesu Christi Vicariis ac Petri Apostolorum Principis successoribus, visum est in Domino salubriter expedire.

Idcirco Nos ad ipsius Romanae Ecclesiae regimen meritis quantumvis imparibus constituti, et Praedecessorum Nostrorum vestigia sectantes, pronas aures intendimus precibus dilectorum Filiorum hodiernorum Capituli et Canonicorum Patriarchalis et Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Venetiarum, exponentium, quod eorum Capitulum, cuius origo ad quatuor et ultra saecula assurger fertur, ob specialia quae sibi de utraque republica comparavit merita, ob perennem erga Apostolicam Sedem observantiam, pluribus honoribus et privilegiis a Summis Pontificibus, praesertim a fel. rec. Pio Papa Septimo et Gregorio Papa Decimosexto, Praedecessoribus Nostris, cohonestari obtinuit. Verumtamen ad exteriora insignia quod pertinet, Canonici praefati Cappam Magnam violaceam cum pellis armellinis supra Rocchettum hyemali, aestivo autem tempore Cottam supra ipsum Rocchettum induunt, et Crucem ante pectus funiculo serico viridi abligatam deferunt; dum e contra haud pauca ex suffraganeis Ecclesiis Collegia valde potioribus insigniis augentur. Cum

autem, sicuti Exponentes praefati subiungebant, ut debitus effato Patriarchali Capitulo honos accedat, quo, cum in caeteris, ita in exterioribus ipsis insigniis, inferioribus aliis et subiectis Ecclesiis antecellat, praecique vero ut ad Divinum cultum et Domus Dei decorem promovendum alacrius excitentur qui Ecclesiae servitio mancipantur, memorati Exponentes plurimum cupiant maioribus honoris praerogativis per Nos et Sedem Apostolicam praefatam benigne, ut infra, condecorari; quare pro parte eorundem Capituli et Canonicorum Nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, quatenus hisce eorum votis favorabiliter annuere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur.

Nos igitur praefatis Capitulo et Canonicis Pontificiam Nostram considerationem declarare volentes, ipsosque et eorum quemlibet a quibusvis excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti aliisque Ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris et poenis, si quibus quomodo libet innodati existunt, ad effectum praesentium tantum consequendum, harum serie absolventes et absolutos fore censes, supplicationibus praemissis Inclinati, Exponentibus praedictis ut ii, eorumque Successores effatae Patriarchalis et Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Canonici, tam Residentiales, quam Honorarii, Protonotarii Apostolici nuncupari, et in Choro et Ecclesiasticis functionibus, quovis anni tempore, ac alias, quandocumque, ubicumque, et quotiescumque opus fuerit, habitum ipsorum Protonotariorum gestare, ac pileum ornatum purpureo torculo, honoraria scilicet rubri coloris fasciola, deferre, et in insigniis eorum familiae galerum imponere, ac dum Sacrosanctae Missae Sacrificium celebrant, illius Canonem et Lichneolum adhibere, caeterisque quibus Protonotarii Apostolici de numero Participantium nuncupati insigniis et praerogativis rite perfruuntur, absque ulla tamen participatione, aliove horum Collegii praeiudicio, ac sine ulla Praebendarum affectione, et salva Praesulis Patriarchae Venetiarum iurisdictione, guadere: itemque viridem funiculum dictae Crucis innexum in violaceum sericum auroque immixtum commutare: nec non in memorata tantum Patriarchali et Metropolitana Ecclesia, ac dum effatus Praesul Patriarcha Pontificalia exercet, Mitram deferre etiam in praesentia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium, etiam de latere Legatorum, Vice-Legatorum, dictaeque Sedis Nunciorum, Episcoporum et Archiepiscoporum, necnon Ordinarii etiam proprii, et aliorum quorumcumque, libere et licite possint et valeant, Apostolica auctoritate tenore praesentium concedimus et indulgemus.

Decernentes, Exponentes nec non pro tempore existentes Canonicos praefatos super praemissis a quocumque quavis auctoritate, praetextu, colore vel ingenio, molestari inquietari perturbari et impediri nullatenus posse. Ac easdem praesentes ex qualibet causa, quantumvis iuridica et legitima, de subreptionis vel obreptionis seu nullitatis vitio aut intentionis Nostrae seu quopiam alio defectu, notari vel impuguari aut invalidari, seu per Nos et Successores Nostros Romanos Pontifices pro tempore existentes, ac Sedem Apostolicam praefatam, seu, eiusdem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinales, etiam de latere Legatos, Vice-Legatos, dictaeque Sedis Nuncios praefatos, vel quosvis alios quavis auctoritate honore et praerogativa fulgentes, revocari, suspendi, limitari, ad viam et terminos iuris reduci, seu adversus illas restitutionis in integrum aut aliud quodcumque iuris vel facti aut gratiae seu iustitiae remedium impetrari, seu etiam Motu Proprio et ex certa scientia concedi, aut illis in aliquo derogari, sive quidquam in contrarium disponi nullo unquam tempore posse.

Nec illas sub quibusvis similium vel dissimilium gratiarum revocationibus suspensionibus limitationibus derogationibus aut aliis contrariis dispositionibus, etiam ut praefertur, aut alias quomodolibet, etiam per Cancellariae Apostolicae regulas, aut Constitutiones Apostolicas, pro tempore factis et faciendis, comprehendendi vel confundi; sed semper ab illis excipi: et quoties illae emanabunt, toties in pristinum et validissimum statum restitutas, repositas et plenarie reintegratas, ac de novo, etiam sub quacumque posteriori Data per Exponentes et pro tempore existentes Capitulum et Canonicos praefatos quandocumque eligenda, concessas esse et fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, ac ab omnibus ad quos nunc spectat, et pro tempore quomodolibet spectabit, ac spectare et pertinere poterit quomodolibet in futurum firmiter et inviolabiliter observari: eisdemque Exponentibus ac Capitulo et Canonicis praedictis pro tempore existentibus semper et perpetuo plenissime suffragari.

Sicque et non alias per quoscumque Iudices Ordinarios vel Delegatos, quavis auctoritate fungentes, etiam Causarum Palatii Apostolici Auditores, ac praefatae Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinales, etiam de latere Legatos, Vice-Legatos, dictaeque Sedis Nuncios, iudicari et definiri debere ac irritum quoque et inane, si secus super his, a quocumque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari.

Non obstantibus quibusvis, etiam in Synodalibus Provincialibus Generalibus et Universalibus Conciliis editis vel edendis specialibus vel generalibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis : dictaeque Patriarchalis et Metropolitanae Ecclesiae, etiam iuramento confirmatione Apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, Statutis et Consueudinibus : Privilegiis quoque indultis et Litteris Apostolicis quibusvis Superioribus et personis, in genere vel in specie aut alias, in contrarium praemissorum quomodolibet forsan concessis approbatis, confirmatis et innovatis. Quibus omnibus et singulis, etiam si pro illorum sufficienti abrogatione de illis eorumque totis tenoribus specialis specifica expressa et individua, non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes, mentio seu quaevis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret (tenores huiusmodi, ac si de verbo ad verbum nil penitus omisso et forma in illis tradita observata inserti forent, eisdem praesentibus, pro plene et sufficienter expressis habentes), illis alias in suo robore permansuris, latissime et amplissime ac specialiter et expresse, ad praemissorum omnium validissimum effectum, pro hac vice dumtaxat, harum quoque serie, derogamus caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae absolutionis, concessionis, indulti, decreti et derogationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominicae Millesimo octingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, Nonas Iulias, Pontificatus Nostri anno quintodecimo.

PIUS PP. IX.

**INDULGENCES FOR THE PIOUS WORK OF MARY
IMMACULATE**

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

INDULG. CONCEDUNTUR SODALIBUS PII OPERIS A MARIA IMMACULATA NUNCUPATI

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

Cum, sicut ad Nos relatum, Parisiis canonice erectum extet pium Opus a Maria Immaculata nuncupatum, cuius sodales ex

utroque sexu iam per universum fere terrarum orbem diffusi, piis precibus mulierum ethnicarum, haereticarum vel schismaticarum ad veram fidem conversionem procuratae student; Nos, ut tam frugiferum opus sacro indulgentiarum praesidio potiora capiat, Deo favente, incrementa, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu in dictam societatem nunc et in posterum ubique terrarum adlectis, qui vere poenitentes ac confessi ac S. Communione refecti, festivitate Immaculae Conceptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis aut uno quo cuique eorum libeat e septem diebus continuis immediate sequentibus, unoque alio per annum die similiter pro uniuscuiusque sodalis arbitrio eligendo, singulis annis devote ecclesiam quamlibet sive publicum oratorium visitaverint, ibique pro christianorum principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae pias ad Deum preces effuderint, quo praefatorum die id egerint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Insuper dictis memorati pii Operis sodalibus nunc et in posterum pariter ubique terrarum existentibus, quoties lingua latina, vel alio quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, corde saltem contrito recitent antiphonam quae incipit *Salve Regina*, toties trecentos dies de iniunctis eis, seu alias quomodolibet debitis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones et poenitentiarum relaxationem etiam animabus fidelium in purgatorio detentis per modum suffragii applicari posse indulgemus.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Volumus autem ut, praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae praemunitis, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae; utque derogatae sint aliae quaevis indulgentiae dicto pio Operi alias forte concessae, prout per praesentes apostolica auctoritate derogamus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXI Iunii MCMIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

Pro Dno. Card. MACCHI,
N. MARINI.

PIUS X AND THE 'ARCADIA'

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

PIUS X ARCADICUM COETUM DE URBE BENEVOLENTI ANIMO
PROSEQUITUR*Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

Litterarum studia, quae valde humanitati conferunt, excoli atque provehi Nobis pergratum est. Quamobrem Academicorum coetum cui praees, quem Decessores Nostri benigne semper habuerunt, Nos quoque benevolenti animo prosequimur. Tibi autem laudi vertimus, quod, temporum utilitati prospiciens, ad litterarum exercitationes tractationes publicas accedere volueris, quibus et religio et civile bonum promoveretur. Perge igitur, qua datur via, de religione et litteris mereri bene. Nostrae vero charitatis testem Apostolicam Benedictionem habeto, quam tibi et collegis tuis universis amanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die XIII Februarii Anno MDCCCCV, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

PIUS PP. X.

PIUS X AND THE CONGRESS OF STRASBURG ON
GREGORIAN CHANT

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

PIUS X GRATULATUR DE MOX COGENDO CONVENTU, ARGENTINAE,
CIRCA CANTUM GREGORIANUM

Dilecto Filio Petro Wagner, Doctori Decuriali in Lyceo Magno Friburgensi et generalis conventus studiosorum cantus Gregoriani moderatori.

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

Quemadmodum servari praecepta gaudemus quae fidelium utilitati subinde damus, ita nunciato a te conventu delectamur, in quem studiosi Gregoriani concentus viri ex omni populo confluent, hac una vehementer permoti re, ut quae Nos de Musica Sacra monuimus, ad usum fideliter adducantur. Coetum autem et frequentem coniici futurum et e viris coaliturum censi, qui non modo musicae peritiam artis, sed etiam, id quod magni

in re sacra interest, pietatem sensumque alte teneant christianae fidei, valde profecto laetamur, capimusque inde argumentum explorati faustique exitus certum. At illud uberiores Nobis fructum e laboribus vestris portendit, deliberatum vobis esse non modo voluntatem erga avitum Ecclesiae Romanae cantum admoveere atque excitare verbis, sed exempla etiam, adjuvandae praxi perutilia, ob oculos ponere, unde probe ac rite possint studiosi perspicere, quantum et artis et elegantiae et religionis in servandis musicae sacrae praeceptis insit. Animatis egregie vobis multam sese ac facilem impertiat gratia divina illudque ex alacritate vestra eliciat optatissimum commodum, ut ea demum existat in catholico orbe voluntas, praeceptis de sacro concentu Nostris parere diligenter. Tibi interea praecipuam benevolentiam testamur, auspicemque munerum coelestium tibi atque universis, qui in memoratum coetum se conferent, Benedictionem Apostolicam peramanter in Domino impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXIII Ianuarii, anno MDCCCXV, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

Pius PP. X.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE HISTORICAL METHOD AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Père Lagrange, O.P. Translated by Rev. E. Myers. London : Catholic Truth Society.

AT the present day works on Biblical subjects possess special utility, provided they come from the hand of a master. Père Lagrange is one of the best scholars, equally at home in theology and in Oriental languages, customs, history, topography, etc. He knows what is being said by critics and commentators, inside and outside the Church. To many readers, unless we are mistaken, one of the chief advantages accruing from the perusal of his *Historical Criticism* will be a clearer knowledge of the assertions that recommend themselves to some scholars, and of the answers that are being given to them by others. The book is, in fact, an object-lesson in modern methods. With parts of it we agree, with parts of it we are dissatisfied, and with parts of it we disagree. In our opinion Père Delattre, S.J., has taken a true view of it in his pamphlet, *Autour de la Question Biblique*. With regard to the translation, it is admirable and it reads as freely and naturally as the original with which we have carefully compared it. Readers will bear in mind that the book is the permanent record of lectures delivered to a highly educated audience, and therefore many topics are but slightly touched on without being explained, a thorough knowledge of them being taken for granted. With the above reservations the book may be recommended; it is learned and suggestive, and deserves to be widely read.

R. W.

VERFASSUNG UND GEGENWÄRTIGER BESTAND SÄMTLICHER KIRCHEN DES ORIENTS. Silbernagl-Schnitzer. Mans : Regensburg, 1904. 6s.

ONLY a German professor could write this book. It is a veritable mine of erudition in canon law and history. It deals with nothing less than the constitution and condition past and present of all the Eastern Churches; the heretical ones as well as

those united to the Holy See. Many persons in this part of the world use the term 'Eastern Churches,' but how few persons realize what it stands for. Races differing in rites and practices, almost as much as they do in territory and language, parts of whom have fallen into heresy, while parts have remained faithful to the successor of St. Peter. The subject is a most interesting one, and no one work contains so much information on it as this one by the lamented D. Silbernagl. For instance, the so-called orthodox Greeks have four Patriarchs, several Metropolitans and Bishops, and a numerous clergy. In the kingdom of Greece alone, there are 169 monasteries and nine convents. These sectarians form a powerful body in Russia, Roumania, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro; while the 'orthodox' Oriental church is paramount in Bulgaria and Servia. But by far the more interesting part of the volume is that which treats of the ecclesiastical organization and present condition of the various Eastern Churches in communion with the Holy See. Anyone that desires a reliable history brought down to the present day of the Uniat Greeks, Abyssinians, Copts, Maronites, Chaldeans, etc., will find it here in a compendious form, together with a succinct account of their canon law, etc.

The lamented author was about forty years Professor of Canon Law in Munich University, and when Döllinger fell away he was selected to take up the lectures on ecclesiastical history, which he delivered for nearly fifteen years. The present work is worthy of his great reputation as a canonist and historian. In 1865 the first edition appeared; the one now before us which is greatly enlarged has been brought out by Dr. Schnitzer, one of his former pupils, now Professor of Theology in Munich.

G. N.

MARIA, DIE UNBEFLECKT EMPFANGENE. L. Kusters, S.J.
Mans: Regensburg 1905. Price 3s. 6d.

DURING the year of Jubilee many works on the Immaculate Conception appeared, but none like this has come into our hands. It is a careful study of doctrinal development as exemplified in what led to the definition of the dogma. The arguments from Scripture and Tradition are clearly set forth, and we are then shown how their force was gradually brought

home to theologians. The learned author has taken pains to gather a vast amount of useful information, and his work should be read by those who desire to know the course of events that culminated in the definition of 1854.

P. L. L.

EVANGELION DA-MEPHARESHE. Vol. I., Text and Translation ; Vol. II., Introduction and Notes. By F. C. Burkitt, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 1905.

THE Cambridge University Press has published so many erudite works that a lifetime would hardly suffice to master their contents, but among them all the present one will ever hold a conspicuous place. There is no need to enlarge on the importance of this Syriac version of the Gospels. Though not so old as Tatian's Diatessaron, it is of great antiquity. It dates approximately from A.D. 200, and it reproduces the Greek text current in Antioch about that time, though the translator's use of the Diatessaron has occasioned the introduction of some Western readings. The extant MSS. containing this version are the Curetonian and the Sinai Palimpsest, both of them famous, so that a word about them will not be out of place. The Curetonian (C.) is so called from its editor, Dr. Cureton (Chaplain to Queen Victoria, and Canon of Westminster ; called in his day, 'The great Syrologue'). The MS. itself came from the Convent of St. Maria Deipara, near Cario. The Sinai Palimpsest (S.) was, so to speak, discovered by Mrs. Lewis and her sister Mrs. Gibson in 1892. It is preserved in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. In Mr. Burkitt's learned introduction, both of these ancient MSS. of a version more ancient than the Peshitta are fully described, their grammatical peculiarities, etc., noted, and their critical value discussed. One part of this admirable piece of work is especially noteworthy, viz., Chapter III., 'The Peshitta New Testament and its rivals.' The investigation of the quotations found in Syrian writers, St. Ephraim particularly, could be accomplished only by one who like Mr. Burkitt has made the subject his own. (Mr. Burkitt's well known treatise, *St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, appeared in 1891.) The Syriac text in vol. i. is mainly taken from C. In St. Mark's Gospel (of which only

a few verses remain in C.) and in some other parts the text is from S. All the variants that Mr. Burkitt collected in his extensive reading are given in the footnotes. As regards his translation, the remark he himself makes must be quoted : ' To sum up, my aim in the translation has been to give the reader who knows little or no Syriac such help as will enable him, by the exercise of reasonable care and intelligence, to understand the meaning of the Syriac on the opposite page, and also to compare the renderings of this Version in any given passage with its renderings elsewhere.' This is just what was wanted.

R. W.

IN THE MORNING OF LIFE. Considerations and Meditations for Boys. By Rev. Herbert Lucas, S.J. London and Edinburgh : Sands & Co., 1904. Price 3s. 6d. net.

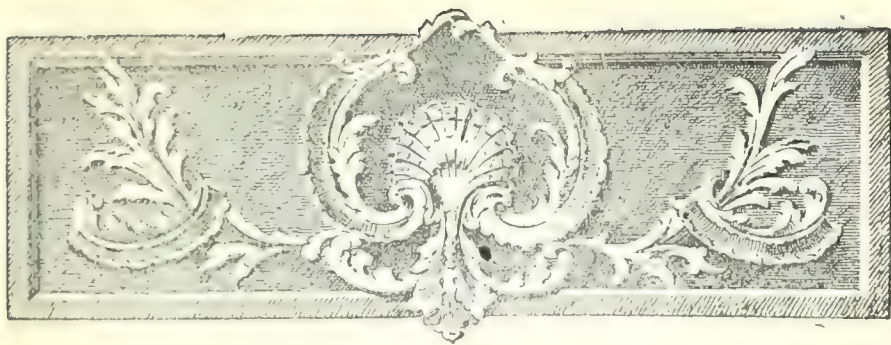
THE author tells us in a prefatory note that the discourses contained in this volume were addressed to the boys at Stonyhurst, and that he has published them in the hope that they may be found helpful to others besides school-boys. We thank him for having done so, because the thirty-one discourses which the volume contains are replete with food for thought, and are striking in their freshness and originality, as also in the clear-cut, characteristic style, which not unfrequently rises to a level of subdued eloquence. We confess we have been very highly pleased with this volume.

P. B.

ST. COLUMBA'S. Issued by the League of St. Columba, Maynooth College. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd. Price 1s. net.

WE congratulate the League of St. Columba, both on the early appearance of their *Annual* and on the value of its contents. We congratulate them not only on the literary achievement of their contributors, but still more on the promise of greater achievement which almost all their articles hold out to us.

In the introductory article on 'The Need of a Religious Literature in the Irish Language,' the Rev. William O'Kennedy deals with a question of the greatest importance to the religious interests of the country as well as to the language movement.



ENCYCLICAL OF POPE PIUS X

THE recent Encyclical of His Holiness Pope Pius X is intended chiefly for the clergy. On that account it has not been ordered by the Bishops to be read in the churches. Its aim and object are clear enough from the text which we publish elsewhere. It has been thought well, however, that besides publishing the text we should call attention here to the salient features of this important instruction of His Holiness to the clergy of the whole world.

The Encyclical opens with a description of the prevailing ignorance of the essential truths of Christianity, and shows how this unfortunate darkness of the mind affects the life and conduct of men and their consequent chances of salvation:—

That there are among Christians in our day large numbers who live in ignorance of the truths essential to salvation is a subject of common lament amongst us, and one that is unhappily only too well founded. And when We say *among Christians* We mean not only the poor and those in the lower walks of life who are not always to blame, owing to the harshness of masters who leave them little time to think either of themselves or their interests, but also and more especially to those who are endowed with a certain amount of talent and culture, and possess abundant knowledge of matters of the world, but have no care or thought for religion. It is hard to find words to describe the dense darkness in which the latter are enveloped, and more painful still to consider the indifference with which they regard it. Rarely do they give any thought to the

Supreme Author and Ruler of all things, or to the teaching of the faith of Christ. Consequently, they are absolutely without knowledge of the Incarnation of the Word of God, of the Redemption of mankind wrought by Him, of grace which is the chief means to attaining eternal welfare, of the Holy Sacrifice, and of the Sacraments by which this grace is acquired and preserved. They fail to appreciate the malice and foulness of sin, and have consequently no care to avoid it or free themselves from it. Thus they reach their last day in such a state that the minister of God, anxious to take advantage of the slightest hope of their salvation, is obliged to employ those last moments which should be consecrated entirely to awakening in them the love of God, in imparting the rudiments of instruction on things indispensable for salvation. And even then it often happens that the invalid has become so far the slave of culpable ignorance as to consider superfluous the intervention of the priest, and to face calmly the terrible passage to eternity without reconciling himself with God.

This is, indeed, a terrible picture of modern society ; but fortunately for us it applies to the conditions of life on the Continent much more directly than it does to Ireland. We must not think, however, that it has no application at our own doors. In any case His Holiness takes good care to point out the means by which it can be averted where it does not exist as well as uprooted where it does. It is to this blinding ignorance that His Holiness attributes most of the corruption, depravity and perverse opposition to the Church that is so characteristic of modern times. It is on account of it that divine faith decays and dies. And without faith the doctrine of Jesus Christ no longer illuminates the soul with its divine light. The human intellect when left to its own powers is helpless in spiritual matters, and can make no progress in the way of salvation.

Hence the necessity of instruction so that all the children of the Church may drink in, as it were, from their earliest years the refreshing draughts which are the pledge of life eternal. His Holiness dwells on the sublime character of this instruction and the merit of those who devote themselves to it. It is in a special manner the work of the priest ; for ' the lips of the priest shall keep knowledge ' (Mal. ii. 7), and the Bishop in addressing the

candidate for Orders says to them, 'Let your spiritual doctrine be as medicine to the people.'

If this is true of all priests [writes His Holiness], what is to be thought with regard to those who possess the title and the authority of parish priests, and in virtue of their rank and in a sense by contract, have the office of ruling souls? These, in a certain measure, are to be numbered among the pastors and doctors designated by Christ in order that the faithful may be no longer as children tossed about by every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, but that 'doing the truth in charity they may in all things grow up in Him who is the head, even Christ' (Eph. iv. 14, 15).

Hence the sacred Council of Trent, treating of the pastors of souls lays down as their first and second chief duty that of instructing the faithful. It prescribes that they must speak to the people on the truths of religion on Sundays and the more solemn feasts, and do the same either daily, or at least three times a week during the holy seasons of Advent and Lent. Nor is it content with this, for it adds that parish priests are bound, either by themselves or through others, to instruct the young, at least on Sundays and feast days, in the principles of faith, and in obedience to God and their parents. And when the Sacraments are to be administered it enjoins upon them the duty of explaining their efficacy, in the vulgar tongue, to those who are about to receive them.

On these and similar grounds His Holiness lays down certain rules to be observed in the universal Church. The rules are:—

I.—All parish priests, and, in general, all those who have the care of souls, on every Sunday and feast day throughout the year without exception shall, with the text of the catechism, instruct for the space of one whole hour the young of both sexes in what everyone must believe and do to be saved.

II.—They shall, at stated times during the year, prepare boys and girls, by continued instruction, lasting several days, to receive the Sacraments of Penance and Confirmation.

III.—They shall likewise, and with special care, on all ferial days of Lent, and if necessary on other days after the feast of Easter, by suitable instructions and reflections, prepare boys and girls to make their first Communion with becoming holiness.

IV.—In each and every parish the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine is to be canonically erected. Through this the parish priests, especially in places where there is a scarcity of priests, will find valuable helpers for catechetical instruction in pious lay persons, who will lend their aid in this holy and

salutary work, both through zeal for the glory of God, and as a means of gaining the numerous indulgences granted by the Sovereign Pontiff.

V.—In large towns, and especially in those which contain universities, colleges, and grammar schools, religious classes shall be founded to instruct in the truths of faith and in the practice of Christian life, the young people who frequent these schools from which all religious teaching is banned.

VI.—Considering that in those days, adults, not less than the young, stand in need of religious instruction, all parish priests and others having the care of souls shall, in addition to the usual homily on the Gospel delivered at the parochial Mass on all days of obligation, explain the catechism for the faithful in an easy style suited to the intelligence of their hearers, at such time of the day as they may deem most convenient for the people, but not during the hour in which the children are taught. In this instruction they are to make use of the Catechism of the Council of Trent ; and they are to divide the matter in such a way as within the space of four or five years to treat of the Apostles' Creed, the Sacraments, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Precepts of the Church.

These regulations, it will be observed, are not mere recommendations or counsels of perfection ; for His Holiness says :—

This, Venerable Brethren, We do prescribe and command by virtue of Our Apostolic authority. It now rests with you to put it into prompt and complete execution in your dioceses by all the force at your command, and to see to it that these prescriptions of Ours be not neglected, or, what comes to the same thing, carried out superficially. And that this may be avoided, you must not cease to recommend and to require that your parish priests do not impart this instruction carelessly ; but that they diligently prepare themselves for it.

These are the chief prescriptions of the recent Encyclical.

ED. I. E. RECORD.

PHILOSOPHY AND THE SCIENCES AT LOUVAIN

II

THE Philosophical Institute at Louvain University is known alike as the *Institut Supérieur de Philosophie* and as the *École St. Thomas d'Aquin*. It is a special school or department of teaching within the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. But it is autonomous within its own sphere : has its own president and secretary, its own programme of studies, its own courses and examinations, and confers its own degrees. In this it is like the many other special schools that have sprung up and developed within the other Faculties of the University, and whose existence forms a striking feature of the organization and methods of teaching at Louvain. We may instance the *École de Sciences Politiques et Sociales* and the *École de Sciences Commerciales et Consulaires* in the Faculty of Law, and the *Institut Agronomique* in the Faculty of Sciences. The professors of these various schools belong mainly but not exclusively to the corresponding Faculties ; hence the professors of the various Faculties lecture freely outside their own Faculties as well as within the latter.

Although the Philosophical Institute had small beginnings its progress in every respect has been steady since its foundation.¹ We have heard people take objection to its claim to the title of 'higher' or 'superior,' on the ground that it begins at the beginning, presupposes not even an elementary knowledge of Philosophy, and adapts its teaching to the body of its students who are mainly youths commencing Philosophy for the first time. But even granting all this we believe that it is nevertheless perfectly justified in its title. This we hope to make sufficiently evident in the course of the present article. Meantime it must be borne in mind that if the students

¹ From 1900 to 1903 the numbers of its students each year were 46, 56, 67, and 71, respectively.

of the Institute are *mainly* beginners in Philosophy, *these* are a small number of the most talented students selected by competition from the six Belgian diocesan seminaries, and sent to the Louvain Institute for a special training in Philosophy. Then, besides these native ecclesiastics, a small number of *lay* students also,—chiefly from the Faculties of Law and of Philosophy and Letters,—attend the courses of the Institute with the object of getting a special grounding in that Philosophy which is at the basis of all true religion, of all sound ethics, of all social and economic progress, and of all individual, domestic and social rights and duties. Moreover, a goodly number of the students at the Institute, from the beginning, have been foreign ecclesiastics,—many of them priests already versed in Philosophy,—sent there from all parts both to pursue their studies as far as opportunities allowed, and to familiarize themselves with all that is characteristic not only of the contents, but of the methods of the Neo-Scholastic teaching. Not only the Continental countries, France, Holland, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, but the English-speaking countries, England, Ireland, Canada, the United States, have been sending and are still sending their present and future professors of Scholastic Philosophy to the University of Louvain: knowing that there they will find Scholasticism not merely in the class-halls as a discipline, but in living contact with modern science and in actual conflict with opposing systems in modern philosophic thought.

At present there are about a dozen priests—secular and regular—from various countries, about the same number of foreign ecclesiastics, upwards of thirty Belgian ecclesiastics, and a small number of lay students, following the courses of the Institute.¹ Very many of those who have

¹ Adjoining the Institute there is a residential College for ecclesiastical students in Philosophy—the *Seminaire Leon XIII*—consisting of two separate buildings, one for priests and one for unordained students. The former is in charge of M. le Chanoine Nys, Faculty of Sciences, professor of Cosmology and Chemistry. The latter is in charge of M. l'Abbé Simons (Rue Vésale, 6-10). The Right Rev. President of the Institute,—Mgr. Mercier,—the Rev. S. Deploige, Faculty of Law, Secretary of the Insti-

already passed through its halls are now professors in their various countries, and a large percentage of its present students are intended for the same work. Let us see what sort of a philosophical training they receive during their three years' sojourn at the Institute.

A glance at the following programme will show us how the three years' course is divided, and will help us to realize the nature and extent of the teaching imparted :—

FIRST YEAR—BACCALAUREATE.

General Courses.

Logic (D. Mercier, and M. de Wulf of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters), four classes of an hour and half, or six hours per week, during first half-year.

Ontology (M. de Wulf), four classes, or six hours per week during second half-year.

History of Mediæval Philosophy (M. de Wulf), two years' course, first part, one class per week during first half-year.

Physics (M. Thiéry of the Faculty of Medicine), four classes per week during first half-year.

Psychophysiology (M. Thiéry), three years' course, two classes per week during second half-year.

Chemistry (M. Nys of the Faculty of Sciences), three hours per week during first half-year.

Special Courses.

(FIRST SECTION.)

Trigonometry, Analytical Geometry, and Differential Calculus (M. Sibenaler of the Faculty of Sciences), two classes per week during whole year.

General Biology, Botany, and Zoology, with Practical Exercises (A. Meunier of the Faculty of Sciences), two classes per week during second half-year.

General Anatomy and Physiology (M. Ide of the Faculty of Medicine), two classes per week during second half-year.

tute, professor of Natural and Social Law, and the Rev. A. Thiéry, Faculty of Medicine, professor of Physics, Psychophysiology and Psychology, also dwell on the premises. There is a chapel attached. Every convenience is offered to ecclesiastics; and with its many obvious advantages for strangers, the terms are very moderate. The pension is 800 francs (£32) for the academic year, payable in three parts; extras about £2 additional. Opening with the modest number of seven students in 1892, its inmates numbered fifty-eight last year.

(SECOND SECTION.)

Political Economy (M. Defourny, *chargé de cours*), two classes per week during first half-year.

Method of Historical Criticism (A. Cauchie of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters), two classes per week during first half-year.

SECOND YEAR—LICENTIATE.

General Courses.

Cosmology (M. Nys), three classes per week during first ; four during second half-year.

Psychology (D. Mercier and M. Thiéry), two years' course ; two hours per week during whole year.

Psychophysiology (M. Thiéry), three years' course. *See* Baccalaureate.

Moral Philosophy (J. Forget of the Faculty of Theology), four classes (six hours) per week during whole year.

History of Mediæval Philosophy (M. de Wulf), two years' course, second part.

History of Ancient and of Modern Philosophy (M. de Wulf), two years' course, two classes per week during second half-year.

Anatomy and Physiology (M. Ide), two classes per week during first half-year.

Special Courses.

(FIRST SECTION.)

Integral Calculus (M. Sibenaler), two classes per week during first half-year.

Analytical Mechanics (E. L. J. Pasquier of Faculty of Sciences), two classes per week during first half-year.

Embryology, Histology, and Physiology of the Nervous System (M. Ide), two hours per week during first half-year.

Mineralogy and Crystallography (F. Kaisin, of Faculty of Sciences), two classes per week, second half-year.

(SECOND SECTION.)

History of Social Theories (M. Defourny) two classes per week, second half-year.

Method of Historical Criticism (A. Cauchie), two classes per week, first half-year.

THIRD YEAR—DOCTORATE.

Psychology (D. Mercier and A. Thiéry), *see* Licentiate.

Psychophysiology (A. Thiéry), *see* Baccalaureate.

Natural and Social Law (S. Deploige of the Faculty of Law), four classes (six hours) per week during first half-year.

Theodicy (D. Mercier), one class per week during year.

Theodicy (L. Becker of the Faculty of Theology), two classes per week during year.

History of Ancient and of Modern Philosophy (M. de Wulf), see Licentiate.

Apart from the *Practical Courses* and *Laboratory work*, of which we shall speak later on, the above programme represents in faithful outline the amount of work done by professors and students alike. Each student standing for degrees gets a detailed oral examination in each subject from the professor of that subject. In addition, written and original dissertations on philosophical theses are required both for the Licentiate and for the Doctorate. Students who have got their Doctorate with the highest distinction may return afterwards to the Institute to pursue their studies, to write and publish a book on some philosophical question, and to sustain a public defence of a number of philosophical theses. In this way they qualify for the further degree of *Docteur agrégé* of the school of St. Thomas: the *agrégation* corresponding more or less to Junior Fellowship in the Royal University with us.

As will be seen from the programme, the teaching is extended over three years,¹ and during the first two the courses are divided into general and special. The general courses are *obligatory* on all. They comprise all Philosophy proper including the History of Philosophy, and, in addition, the natural sciences in direct connection with Philosophy: Physics, Chemistry, Anatomy, Physiology and Psychophysiology. The matter of *all* the general courses of the *three* years, without exception, must be presented at the examination for the Doctorate. The special courses fall

¹ The ordinary course at Maynooth is a two years' course, at the end of which about 10 per cent., or less, of the students receive the degree of Licentiate. The Doctorate is given after a third year devoted to Philosophy, when the ordinary four years' course of Theology is finished. This arrangement secures greater maturity in the candidate for Doctorate than the Louvain system. At Maynooth also the Natural Sciences and Mathematics belong to the Faculty of Philosophy, and these branches are taught simultaneously with Philosophy. This is the proper basis for Neo-Scholasticism.

into two sections of very different kinds : the first comprising mathematics and the natural sciences, the second comprising economic, social and political sciences. Now those special courses are described as optional, but they are optional only in this sense that the student may choose either the first or the second section according to his taste, but *must choose either section*. If he choose the first section he has yet further choice between mathematics and the other courses of that section.

One cannot help being struck by the close alliance thus secured between the sciences and Philosophy. Cosmology—the Philosophy of Matter—can be studied, as it ought to be, in connection with Chemistry, Physics, Mineralogy, Mathematics, etc. Psychology—the Philosophy of Life—in connexion with Biology, Anatomy, Physiology and Psychophysiology. Ethics—the Philosophy of Conduct—in connexion with the Social and Economic Sciences. And this union is not merely apparent but real. It is not a mere juxtaposition but a living, actual intercourse between Philosophy and the sciences. This will be better appreciated when it is understood that Chemistry and Cosmology are taught by one and the same professor who is specially qualified in each, and that Psychophysiology and Psychology are likewise taught by one and the same professor similarly qualified. The former, M. le Chanoine Nys is Doctor in Sciences as well as in Philosophy, having studied Chemistry under Professor Ostwald in Leipsig ; the latter is Doctor in Medicine as well as in Philosophy and studied Psychophysiology under Professor Wundt at the same University. And it is hoped that the same principle will be gradually extended as far as may be feasible to the other departments also.

Another feature of the teaching of the Institute is that it is in French throughout. Occasional debating exercises are held in Latin. The works of St. Thomas and some other Latin text-books are in the hands of the students. But that is all. Both the text-books and the teaching of the Institute are in the vernacular. In view of the prolonged controversies that have been carried on in the Continental

Catholic reviews relative to this whole question of the advisability of teaching Philosophy and even Theology to ecclesiastical students in the vernacular, it was not to be expected that the innovation at Louvain would escape opposition. As a matter of fact Leo XIII was for a time so much influenced as to order the adoption of Latin in the philosophical courses there. But when it was represented to him that, as a consequence of this order, the Institute was rapidly losing its lay students, he at once withdrew the order and allowed the use of French to be continued throughout. Speaking to the Belgian Catholics in December, 1900, he remarked that the studies of the Institute were intended for laics as well as for clerics. 'And that,' he added, 'is why I have decided that while the Philosophy of St. Thomas must be studied in Latin the courses there should be given in French.' Mgr. Mercier has recently pointed to the brilliant successes of a few past students of the Institute, in their Theological studies at the Gregorian University in Rome, as a proof that the study of Philosophy in the vernacular does not necessarily handicap the student who has to study his Theology in Latin.¹

He would have a very narrow and inadequate conception of the professor's duty, who would see nothing further in it than the mere oral and passive transmission to his students of the legacy of learning bequeathed to him from the past; and he would have a no less imperfect conception of the student's duty, who would limit it to the mere passive reception and rehearsal of such a lifeless load of 'learned lumber.' Personal, original, scientific work or research in some department, under the direction of his professor, ought to be expected from at least the student who aspires to honours. *A fortiori*, the professor himself is expected

¹ That is obviously true of the better class of student in question. The adoption of the Royal University programme and examinations in Maynooth will involve some such change in the teaching of Philosophy. Honours students will experience no special difficulty in Theology from having partially dropped Latin for a year or two. Pass students will be obliged to keep up the study of Latin throughout, and to present it with Mental Philosophy for the B.A. Examination.

to undertake and carry on such work, to study and to write if he wishes successfully to teach. In order to give him a fair opportunity for doing so, care is always taken that he be not obliged to expend his energies over too wide a field nor be unduly overburdened with class work.¹ A glance at the programme of the Institute will show how they are aiming at such a division of labour amongst the numerous members of an already large and efficient staff at Louvain. We find the teaching of Philosophy proper divided amongst *seven* distinct professors,—one of whom also teaches Chemistry, and another Physics and Psychophysiology. We find a distinct professor for Higher Mathematics,—a course that is frequented only by a small number of students; and we find four distinct courses in the Biological sciences given by two additional professors.² These will suffice as examples: a further perusal of the programme will reveal additional indications of the same tendency towards the most liberal staffing of the professorial body, and towards the consequent specialization of energy.

The results of this enlightened educational policy in Louvain have been of the happiest. There is no rush or hurry over long programmes in short periods, none of that superficial scampering and cramming without any time to think. The work is done well. The professor can master thoroughly the special branch he has a taste for, has time to write about it if necessary, and to make it interesting to his students,—in whom also, owing to their comparatively small numbers, he can often take a personal interest.³

¹ It is difficult to strike an average where there is so much variety. We should say that about six or seven hours' class-work per week would represent the average at the Institute and University.

² A comparison of those and similar facts with the facts that obtain at Maynooth are not wanting in interest and instructiveness. For example, as against ten professors for about seventy students in Philosophy, Physics, Chemistry, and Physiology at Louvain, there are three permanent professors and four extern lecturers (who give about twelve courses per week altogether) for above 200 students in the same subjects in Maynooth. Of course some of the ten above mentioned have other classes to attend to in the University,—just as our extern lecturers have—but, even so, the former are always on the scene and give more courses, so that the contrast in point of equipment is very obvious.

³ This is especially true of those students who have special tastes for the *practical* or *Seminaire* courses, or *Laboratory* work in any department

He discusses any points they submit to him, helps to clear up their difficulties, aids them with his advice and suggestions in preparing their dissertations, and by his own personal example of unflagging industry and loyal devotedness to his work, sets them an example which, perhaps, proves more precious to them in after life than anything else he may have taught them.

A printed programme is often a misleading index to the quantity and quality of the work done at an educational establishment. It is not so in the present case: and perhaps we can best show that, if we supplement its meagre outline by a few candid comments drawn from personal experience.

The course of Formal Logic taught is that comprised in Mgr. Mercier's *Logique*, which forms the first volume of the *Cours de Philosophie* that is being published by the co-operation of a number of the professors at the Institute. The notable features of the volume on Logic are to be found in the author's treatment of analytic and synthetic propositions, of the nature of reasoning and especially of induction, hypothesis and method. The science heretofore known as Material Logic, or *Logica Critica*, is dealt with by Mercier in his well-known volume on *Critériologie Générale*. This subject is still taught immediately after Logic proper at the Institute, although Mercier claims that the proper place for it is immediately after Psychology, with which it has undoubtedly an inseparable connexion. He has accordingly made it the *fourth* volume of the *Cours*, his *Ontologie* forming the second, and his *Psychologie* the third volume.

There is no doubt about the difficulty of initiating beginners, who are as yet strangers to Psychology, into the various theories of truth and certainty, of scepticism and dogmatism, of idealism and realism, of the subjectivity or objectivity of Human Knowledge. It is perhaps even more difficult to deal with those questions in an intelligent way at that early stage than with any of the metaphysical abstractions of General Ontology. At all events, while the latter are tackled during the student's

first year at Louvain they are postponed to the second year, after Cosmology and Psychology are done, with us in Maynooth,—and that, too, in defiance of the order followed by Zigliara, the author of the text-book at present in use.

In the department of Criteriology the publication of Mercier's *Critériologie Générale* has undoubtedly marked an epoch in the study of those questions in the Catholic schools. Mercier had made a special study of Psychology and of the Theory of Knowledge, and the appearance of his book on General Criteriology, now going into its fifth edition, excited very widespread attention in Kantian as well as in Catholic circles.¹ It was only natural that it should, for it was about the first serious and sustained attempt on the part of a representative of Scholasticism to examine the numerous questions raised by the Critical Philosophy of Kant, *from the point of view of that system, and independently of any of the Scholastic presuppositions questioned or called into doubt by Kantism.* The very first principles of Scholastic Philosophy had been rejected by Kantism, as indeed by most if not all modern philosophic systems outside Scholasticism. If these are to be discussed effectively by the Scholastic he must cease to entrench himself behind such dogmatic principles, and come out to meet his adversaries upon their own ground. That is what Mercier has done in discussing the nature of truth, certitude, knowledge, etc., with the champions of Scepticism on the one hand and of exaggerated Dogmatism on the other; with French Traditionalists on the one side and with the Psychological Subjectivism of Scotch and German schools, and especially of Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason*, on the other. He vindicates the *necessary character*

¹ The Rev. Père de Munnynck, O.P., whose authority is of the highest value, spoke thus of the book on its appearance in 1899: 'Son importance est exceptionnelle dans toute la force du terme. Des publications antérieures ont montré que les questions critériologiques avaient pour l'auteur un attrait spécial et que ses secondes études lui donnaient autorité pour introduire l'épistémologie dans le cadre toujours ouvert de la philosophie traditionnelle . . . L'ouvrage constitue peut-être le premier traité spécial et complet d'épistémologie qui s'inspire des idées scolastiques, et tout porte à croire que dans ses parties essentielles le travail sera définitif' —(*Revue Thomiste*, vii., 1889, pp. 364-7).

of ideal judgments against the Positivism of Taine and Mill and Spencer. But it is especially for its searching and vigorous analysis of the Transcendental Criticism of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* that Mercier's book is most noted. He maintains against Kant the *objective character* of the mental act of *judgment*, and the *reality* or extra-mental validity of the universal *concept*.¹ At first his point of view seemed to have been misunderstood by various Catholic philosophers, and perhaps the most enjoyable pages of his thoroughly interesting volume are those devoted to answering the various critics of his definition of truth, and of his teaching as regards the problem of the validity of human knowledge.

Far more significant, however, are the criticisms and controversies to which his attack on Kantism gave rise in the Kantian schools in Germany. A professor in Halle took up Mercier's book as a basis for a *privatissimum* course with his students. Another professor of the same University devoted an article to it in the *Kantstudien*,² in which he pronounced it quite a remarkable production that must be taken account of by all Kantists. The concluding words of the article show that Kantists at least regarded the work as something quite different from the ordinary handling of Kant by the Scholastics:—

The Kantist is quite accustomed to see the Critical Philosophy insulted over and over again in Thomist works. . . very rarely does he meet with a serious discussion of its problems. But here we have a book which carries on throughout a searching and really scientific discussion of Kantism. A book of this kind is useful, even to the reader who cannot adopt the solutions proposed, for he will be likely to find in it some light thrown on the problems that are engaging his attention.

These are only a few of the many notices taken of Mercier's work in Germany. Needless to say his critics are no less divided as to the justice or injustice of his appreciation of Kant's Philosophy than they are in interpreting the Kantian system themselves.

¹ He thus rightly treats the question of the *Universals* as primarily a *Criterionological*, not a *Ontological* question, as some Scholastic philosophers assert that it is.

² Vol. i., 1901.

The domain of *Ontology* is, of its very nature, abstruse and uninviting to the beginner ; yet even here the clearness of exposition and wealth of illustration so characteristic of all the books of the Institute, succeed very largely in making even these rarified regions attractive to the young explorer. There is a very pleasing contrast between these books and the dry, didactic and dogmatic conciseness of the ordinary text-book on Metaphysics. And it is not that Mercier's *Ontology* shirks any of the numerous and profound difficulties with which Ontology is so abundantly strewn. On the contrary, he faces and discusses them loyally and candidly ; he adopts the views that recommend themselves to him, on their merits ; and even when he fails to bring us with him he never fails to make us think deeply and seriously and *understand* the questions better,—even though we may not be able to settle them to our own satisfaction. For example, his remarkable view that, in the analytical order, an adequate ultimate foundation for *possibles* and their properties, is to be had in the abstract concepts derived from actual experience, and that, accordingly, the Augustinian argument for the existence of God, the Infinite Exemplar, based on the properties of possible essences, the '*incommutabilia vera*,' is a worthless argument,—that view is controverted by very able philosophers. Although we believe that the issue here involved is one of the most fundamental in Philosophy, we can at present do no more than note the fact that such a difference of opinion prevails. Throughout the whole volume Mercier is an earnest supporter of Thomistic views regarding the relations of essence to existence, of nature to personality, of the individual to the universal, and of substance to accidents. Particularly worthy of study are the sections on the existence of substances, on final causes, on the order of nature, on the beautiful, on æsthetics and notions of art. The study of quantity, space and time are very properly left to their rightful places in Cosmology ; and the study of 'being, finite and infinite' to Theodicy.

The History of Philosophy at the Institute is in the hands of one of the best authorities at the present day on the

heretofore much neglected Mediæval Period. M. de Wulf's *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale*¹ is unquestionably the best book of its kind on the subject. It is widely known and highly appreciated. It brings together and utilizes in a masterly way the results of the all-important researches of Ehrle, Denifle, Chatelain, Baemker, Picavet, Rubczinsky, Clerval, Vacant, Mandonnet, etc., into the sources of the Middle-Age Philosophy within the past twenty years; and it is no exaggeration to say that these researches have brought about some revolutions in traditional views about the Scholastic and anti-Scholastic systems of the Middle Ages. A second edition of M. de Wulf's history, revised and largely recast, has just appeared. A companion volume published by him last year under the title of *Introduction à la Philosophie Néo-Scholastique*² gives a very luminous presentation of what Scholastic Philosophy really was and is and is likely to be, of its genesis, growth and development in the Middle Ages, of its relations to Catholic Theology and to opposing philosophic systems, of its method and essential content, of the causes of its decay and the conditions of its successful revival.

Scholasticism thus placed in its proper historical setting has simply a new meaning and a real attraction for the student. The studies of M. de Wulf have certainly thrown around it for his students an interest it could not otherwise possess. While the Mediæval Period naturally comes in for most attention, both ancient and modern systems get ample and adequate treatment as well.³

Physics is a compulsory subject for the Baccalaureate at the Institute. It is studied there mainly from the theoretic or speculative point of view, as leading up to philosophical theories. Though it is an elementary course,

¹ 1900, in 8vo, viii. + 480 pp.

² In 8vo, 350 pp.

³ As may be seen from the programme, Mediæval Philosophy gets one course per week during two terms; Ancient Philosophy and Modern Philosophy get, each, two courses per week during one term. In Maynooth, while Logic and Ontology receive nearly as much time as at Louvain, the history of Philosophy is dismissed with an insignificant number of courses at the end of the second year. No special time is allotted to it, nor any special provision made for it.

—treating of the properties of matter, heat, light, sound, magnetism and electricity, in one term with four classes per week,—it is a sufficient if necessary preparation for Cosmology, and is insisted on as such.¹

A very good elementary course of *Chemistry* is likewise insisted on at Louvain. Three classes per week for half a year are devoted to it. Specimens are shown and experiments made as far as possible. Special attention is paid to Chemical Theory and its relations to the Scholastic Theory of Matter and Form in Cosmology. The field covered embraces Organic as well as Inorganic Chemistry : it is supplemented by the essential notions of Biological Chemistry in the special courses of Biology, Anatomy and Physiology.²

The prominence given to the course of *Cosmology* at the Institute is significative of the close bond of union which exists between the Philosophy of Matter and the Natural Sciences in the Neo-Scholastic system. Cosmology monopolizes three hours per week during the first term and five during the second.³ As taught at the Institute this course does not comprise the questions of the origin and destiny—the efficient and the final causes—of the Universe. It leaves those questions to Natural Theology and confines itself to a thorough investigation of the ultimate

¹ In Maynooth about three hours a week are devoted to this subject during two years. For obtaining the Licentiate in Philosophy acquaintance with a synopsis of questions on Physics is insisted on. This requirement will be strictly attended to because it is, so far, a direct expression of the spirit and tendency of the Neo-Scholastic Philosophy. The preparation of our students for the Royal University examinations in Physics will necessitate a more extensive and detailed knowledge of the subject, and corresponding increase in the number of classes devoted to it.

² A chemical laboratory has been recently established at Maynooth. One hour per week is devoted to an optional elementary course with a small number of students ; and one hour to optional laboratory work with another small section. We understand that one year of the Science course in the Intermediate schools is to be devoted henceforth mainly or exclusively to Chemistry. The elementary course at Maynooth should be amplified and made compulsory at least on all who may not have already done an elementary course. Without at least an elementary knowledge of the theory of Chemistry an intelligent knowledge of Cosmology is simply impossible. The teaching of Chemistry for the Royal University examinations, being an advanced course, would necessitate a very considerable number of classes.

³ In Maynooth it claims six hours a week for about six weeks.

nature—the constitutive material and formal causes,—together with the properties and activities, of the Inorganic Universe. The treatise written by Professor Nys on *Cosmologie*—forming the seventh volume of the *Cours de Philosophie*—is a work of an exceptionally high standard of excellence. Out of 575 pages no less than 150 are consecrated to a direct examination—the most searching and powerful we have yet seen—of the modern Atomic or Mechanical Philosophy of the Universe. He subjects its claims to the successive tests of all the Physical Sciences—especially of Chemistry; and, with his full and intimate knowledge of the latter, he shows by irrefragable reasoning that whatever may be the ultimate philosophical explanation of the Universe, Atomism certainly is not. No idol was ever more thoroughly demolished than that of a ‘Cosmos built up by inert matter and kinetic energy’ is in those masterly pages. To the Scholastic conception of the nature and properties of the material universe; to the doctrine of the double constitutive principle, material and formal, of all corporal being; to the essence formed by their union; to a full and exhaustive study of quantity, mass, volume, impenetrability, etc.; to the natural *forces* of material things; to the *qualitative* difference of these forces, and the current theory of their mutual convertibility; to motion, kinetic and potential energy; to the harmony of the Scholastic conception with the established facts of the various natural sciences;—to a full treatment of all those questions he devotes nearly 400 pages. The remaining 40 pages are given to an examination of the pure dynamic and the atomico-dynamic theories. This excellent text-book is supplemented by two additional monographs or special studies, the one on *Space* and the other on *Time*, from the pen of the same author. Both of these abstruse subjects are dealt with in a very masterly and attractive manner. The various theories are marshalled and criticized, and the author’s bold and incisive reasoning throughout cannot fail to recommend the moderate realism embodied in his views.

‘*Psychophysiology*,’—called by many other names,

amongst which 'Experimental Psychology,'—is a comparatively new science. It is simply the study of conscious states in their relations to their physiological and physical concomitants. Its method is objective and experimental (physiological), as well as subjective or introspective (psychological). It analyses our ordinary complex conscious activities into ultimate constituent elements which it calls *impressions*. The study of those from the quantitative and qualitative points of view forms the first part of the course. It next passes to the study of these same impressions combined and co-ordinated in time and space so as to form conscious *representations*. Finally, in a third part it examines the *associations* of these representations and the laws that govern such associations. It covers that exceedingly wide and unexplored borderland between Physiology and Psychology, and seeks by inductive methods to arrive at the discovery of natural laws in that domain. For some time this new science was looked upon askance by Catholic philosophers—partly because they feared that it rested upon materialist presuppositions, and partly because its own early advocates were unduly enthusiastic about its significance and too sanguine in making promises which it could never hope to fulfil. It is now more justly appreciated by both parties, and is recognised by all as a useful auxiliary to Psychology proper, and a department of research that may bring to light valuable information about the nature and conditions of conscious organic activities. As a distinct science with a definite field of investigation it had its origin in Germany,—its first great exponent being Professor Wundt of Leipsig,—and it has been followed up with the greatest attention in many of the North-American Universities.¹ Professor Thiéry, who gives this course² at the Institute, studied under Wundt at Leipsig, and is the author of an important and original

¹ See Mercier's *Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine*, pp. 284 sqq., and Appendix B. There are many recent works in English on Physiological Psychology, and Professor Wundt's classical work is being at present translated into English.

² It receives two and a half hours per week for three terms. The subject is not taught at Maynooth.

study on the Sense of Vision: *Optische Geometrische Täuschungen*.

Passing next to the teaching of *Psychology* proper, we find very ample provision made for two distinct courses of a year each. They are given alternately and are frequented both by the students for Licentiate and by those for Doctorate. The first is a general course on the nature of living things and the principle of life—*Psychologie Naturelle*. It follows closely the text of St. Thomas' Commentary on Aristotle's treatise *De Anima*. The Latin text has been specially edited at the Institute; and a free, modernised exposition and interpretation of the text, translated into French, has been also published by Professor Thiéry under the above title—*Psychologie Naturelle*. The second course of Psychology is a very full and exhaustive study of the whole subject based upon Mercier's well known work, *La Psychologie*, which forms the third volume of the *Cours de Philosophie*.

Mercier's *Psychologie* is unquestionably one of the ablest and most remarkable books that has been published on this subject from the Scholastic point of view in recent years. The appearance of its first edition, in 1892, attracted very considerable attention from Catholics and non-Catholics alike, and was called, not without reason, 'an event in the teaching of Scholastic Philosophy.'¹ It has now reached its sixth edition in two octave volumes of nearly 400 pages each, with four excellent lithograph plates in the first volume. The first volume is devoted to vegetative and animal life, and contains the most copious and up-to-date information on the anatomy and physiology, as well as the psychology proper, of living organisms, both vegetative and sentient. The second volume deals with the higher activities of man, his nature, origin and destiny. The whole is a very masterly production, and clearly shows the substantial harmony of the traditional Scholastic Psychology with the results of modern research.²

¹ *Etudes*, 31 Dec., 1892.

² Psychology receives a treatment of two hours a week for two years at Louvain; six hours a week for somewhat less than half a year at Maynooth.

The importance attached to the study of the *Biological Sciences*, subsidiary to Psychology, calls next for a brief word of comment. A philosophical knowledge of Psychology is simply impossible without at least a general acquaintance with the group of natural sciences that deal with living organisms. Hence a general course in *Anatomy and Physiology* is regarded as the minimum to be required for all. Three hours per week during a whole term are thus devoted to studying the structure and functions of the various animal tissues, organs, members and systems,—skin, bone, blood, circulation, respiration, digestion, internal organs, muscle, nervous system, brain, external senses, sensation, spontaneous and reflex movements, emotions, passions, nervous diseases. It is rightly contended that the student who approaches Psychology without the knowledge of those things as a groundwork, and who studies it out of a Mediæval Latin text-book whose terminology and illustrations are based on the schoolmen's—or Aristotle's—notions and theories of Physics and Physiology, is practically wasting precious time trying to comprehend, as the elements of a real and *actual* psychological synthesis, much that is *unreal* and without value except to the student of history. If the greatest of the Scholastics,—St. Thomas of Aquin,—were teaching Philosophy at the present day, he would introduce his students to Psychology through contemporary—not mediæval—Physiology, merely showing himself thereby as enlightened and progressive in the twentieth century as he actually showed himself amongst his contemporaries in the thirteenth. At Louvain they think they are loyal to the Angelic Doctor's spirit, and they are not deceived. . . . Besides the minimum contained in the compulsory course just referred to, they give their students ample opportunities in three distinct special courses to pursue further this same line of studies. In a special course of *Anatomy and Physiology* the professor of the general course,—M. Ide of the Faculty of Medicine,—goes more deeply into the histology or microscopic structure and functions, as well as into the composition, physical and chemical, of the various organic

tissues. In a second and still more important special course on the *Embryology, Histology, and Physiology of the Nervous System* he follows step by step, from the fertilization of the *ovum* to the full maturity of middle life, the gradual growth and development of the nervous system which is the immediate organic basis of consciousness, and which is therefore of such primary importance to the psychologist. A third special course on *General Biology* is devoted by M. Meunier of the Faculty of Sciences to an elaborate study of the basis of all organic life,—that marvellously complex unit, the living cell. Its structure, its chemical composition, its functions, its manner of division, its differentiation in plant and animal, its most striking characteristics in the two domains of Botany and Zoology,—such are the main headings of the programme covered by this most interesting course. With such admirable opportunities as those there is absolutely nothing to prevent a student whose tastes lie in the direction of Psychology from equipping himself thoroughly for a complete mastery of his subject.¹

Students whose tastes lie rather in the direction of the Moral and Social Sciences can choose the second section of optional courses during their first two years at the Institute. They will thus enjoy, firstly, a series of lectures on the *Method of Historical Criticism* from Professor Cauchie, a distinguished editor of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*; and secondly, a course on Political Economy, and another on the History of Social Theories, both by M. Defourny, the author of a remarkable study, *La Sociologie Postiviste: Auguste Comte*. The course on Political Economy, though elementary, is extremely useful and instructive and very much appreciated. It gives a

¹ The only special provision yet made in Maynooth for any Biological science is that of an optional course, consisting of twenty or thirty lectures on the Physiology of the Nervous System, frequented by a small number of students. These lectures are given by Dr. Coffey, M.A., M.B., F.R.U.I., professor at the Catholic University School of Medicine. Needless to say, the course is excellent and most instructive so far as it goes, the lectures being illustrated by lantern slides throughout. But the teaching in this department needs further extension and development, and should be made, to a certain extent, compulsory for all students of Philosophy.

clear grasp of the principles of Economics, and deals especially with their application to the actual conditions of Belgium. In a word, it gives the student a fund of knowledge about social and economic principles and problems which will enable him to understand and to deal effectively with those problems when he goes amongst the people afterwards, whether as priest or layman.¹

The course of *Ethics* at the Institute extends over two years. During the first year three hours per week are devoted (by Professor Forget of the Faculty of Theology) to Moral Philosophy ; during the second, six hours per week of the first term are devoted (by Professor Deploige of the Faculty of Law) to Natural and Social Law. M. Deploige is the author of a study on *St. Thomas and the Jewish Question*, and of an original work of considerable value on

¹ The present writer has often heard it regretted that the Maynooth students get no such elementary training in Economics. He could not at first understand that sentiment,—not seeing any connexion between economics, even elementary, and the priesthood,—but he understands it now that he realizes all that the Irish priest *could* do for the poorer peasant and small farming classes of his people, and all that the Belgian priest is *actually doing* for *his* people in similar circumstances. Not that the Irish priests are unwilling to interest themselves in social work, or entirely inactive in that domain ; but they are so, comparatively to their Belgian brethren,—and that for want of a little early training and a little concentration of their attention on the enduring fruitfulness of effort in that department. Some of the Belgian priests, not content with a general grounding in economics, take certain courses in the *Institut Agronomique* as students at Louvain. . . . The leading part taken by the Belgian priests in the agricultural organization of the peasantry is well known. No wonder they have been so prominent in the movement, for large numbers of them go out as priests well instructed in the social work before them, and able—not merely to discourse eloquently on the idle generalities of organization, which is easy enough and attracts almost as many as politics—but to take the lead in the active work of founding and managing agricultural and co-operative societies amongst the people. In some, perhaps all, of the Belgian dioceses there is a priest specially entrusted with social work of that sort,—just as the catechist is with religious instruction. . . . Then we need to guard our Catholic flocks against the Materialist Economics—the latest ‘new gospel’—that would undermine religion by masquerading amongst our people as a sort of new Millenium promised us by the philanthropy of an English Government Department ! It seems very elementary to say that a good economist may be a bad moralist, and that material prosperity is not everything. Yet, it is very rarely we see such ideas developed in the Catholic Press of Ireland. In fact the appearance of articles like those of Dr. O’Riordan in the *Leader* are quite an event, they are of such rare occurrence. That should not be so, and it *would* not be so if our ecclesiastical students got some little training in the principles of social economy and their application to existing conditions in Ireland.

the *Referendum in Switzerland*. The latter has been translated into English in the *Studies in Economics and Political Science* (London School of Economics and Political Science).

There are, likewise, two distinct courses of *Natural Theology* during the student's third year at the Institute. Mgr. Mercier devotes one class per week during the year to a full and complete examination of all Philosophical systems, directly or indirectly Atheistical, and to the establishment of the Existence of God. A second course of three hours per week during the year is devoted by Professor Becker of the Faculty of Theology to the nature, attributes, knowledge, providence, etc., of the Deity.¹

We have now completed our general analysis of the class work proper. That represents the theoretic side of the Louvain training: though many of the lectures in the scientific department are largely interspersed by experiments and concrete illustrations of various kinds. But there is, in addition to the class-hall teaching proper, a distinct supplementary department of what are called *Cours Pratiques*, namely:—

Laboratory work in Psychophysiology, under the direction of Professor Thiéry—a few hours per week for one term each year.

Laboratory work in Chemistry, under the direction of Professor Nys—a few hours per week for one term each year.

Social Philosophy Conference, under the direction of MM. Deploige and Defourny—once a week during the year.

Seminary of the History of Mediæval Philosophy, under the direction of M. de Wulf—once a week during the year.

Professor Thiéry's laboratory was one of the first of its kind established outside Germany. It is well equipped with all the necessary instruments and appliances for Psychophysiological research, and a number of students are initiated every year into the methods of investigating and experimenting in this domain. In the chemical laboratory a number of students are trained each year in the elementary practical work of chemical tests and

¹ In Maynooth six hours per week for about half a year are devoted to Natural Theology and Ethics together.

analyses. In addition to these laboratories, the Biological class-hall is furnished with a large number of models and specimens to illustrate the various courses. Microscopes are provided, and preparations made and examined by the students under the direction of the various lecturers.

The seminaries of Social Science and of History are worked with a view to training a small number of students, who evince special tastes for those studies, in the methods of original research and original work in those departments. The students combine their efforts in a certain line of study under the guidance of the director of the seminary, and while they often thus render valuable assistance to him they are being admirably trained themselves to follow up the same sort of work. It is by means of this *Seminar* system,—carried to such a high degree of organization in the German Universities,—that the individual student, under the personal guidance of his professor, gets that specialized training which enables him to do sound and useful original work in his chosen branch afterwards.¹

Besides this official teaching, theoretical and practical, the students of the Institute have two distinct voluntary societies, each with its weekly meeting, under the direction

¹ So far as we are aware, no such system has ever been attempted at Maynooth. In what Maynooth has always aimed at it has succeeded substantially well,—in turning out a very large body of young preists with a good average general education, and an adequate equipment for missionary work. A *superior* education in any branch of learning, even of sacred learning—perhaps with the exception of Dogmatic Theology—it has very rarely if ever succeeded in communicating to even a small number of students. Nor could it be blamed, if, with its actual staff and resources for such immense numbers, its system did not foster higher specialization in any branch or branches for the comparative few. Two classes of students need special attention. Firstly, the student of under-average ability, at least, needs special tuition,—some such coaching as *all* the students of our Universities are supposed to receive from their University tutors. In the Maynooth programme certain provisions are indeed made for the performance of that sort of work, by the appointment of post-graduate students as lecturers to help the professors. But for some reason or other,—want of resources, or scarcity of graduates, or failure to realize the necessity or utility of carrying out such provisions,—the latter have been allowed to remain for the greater part dead-letters. Both the need and the opportunity to avail of them will rapidly arise from our adoption at Maynooth of the Royal University programme in Arts and Philosophy. The appointments of such additional teachers would, perhaps, render it possible to pay special attention, *secondly*, to honour students of exceptional ability who might desire to get a special training in *some* particular branch of their own choice.

of two of the professors. At these meetings papers are read and discussions carried on by the students themselves and by strangers. The subjects,—usually philosophical questions of present-day interest,—are invariably dealt with in an attractive and pleasing manner. The meetings are very instructive and have an educational value that it would be difficult to exaggerate.

What contributes, perhaps, most largely to the success of those bi-weekly reunions is the existence of a splendidly-furnished philosophical reading-room at the Institute. The *Salle des Periodiques* deserves more than a passing mention, for it is a prominent feature of the Louvain philosophical training. The teaching of Neo-Scholastic Philosophy purports to bring the student face to face with all the philosophical systems of the present day as well as with modernized Scholasticism. And so it does. In this reading-room the student finds himself in presence of *nearly one hundred and fifty* of the leading Philosophical reviews of the world,—of every shade of opinion from all directions, and in many languages. The students have free access to them, are sometimes referred to current articles on the topics discussed in class, often make use of them for their philosophical societies, and oftener still in preparing their yearly dissertations for degrees. When we reflect on the important part played nowadays by the periodical in the advancement of learning we can appreciate the immense educational value of such a reading-room.

Since the year 1895, they have been forming in this same department a very full Philosophical Bibliography, —both according to authors and to subjects,—by means of which a person can find out at once all the philosophical literature that has appeared on any subject during those years. The idea is, if we mistake not, to form at the Institute a sort of International *Bureau* of Bibliography for the use of students and professors of Philosophy over the world. The system of cataloguing adopted is the decimal system of Dewey, in use at the Brussels International Office of Bibliography. A '*Sommaire Ideologique*' of works and reviews on Philosophy is published quarterly

as a supplement to the *Revue Néo-Scolastique*,—which thus puts its subscribers in possession of a continuous and up-to-date bibliography.

The *Revue Néo-Scolastique* is the principal periodical published by the Institute, and is recognised as one of the leading Philosophical reviews of the Continent. It was founded in 1894, and is conducted, under the direction of Mgr. Mercier and the editorship of M. de Wulf, with the co-operation of the professors and past students who form the *Société Philosophique de Louvain*. It appears quarterly in numbers of about 200 pages, the subscription being ten francs a year for Belgium, twelve francs outside Belgium. Each number contains : (1) articles proper on philosophical subjects ; (2) *Mélanges et Documents*, shorter studies on current questions, reviews and movements ; (3) a chronicle of events at the Institute ; (4) reviews of books ; (5) the *Sommaire Ideologique* already referred to ; (6) a supplement of forty or fifty pages called the *Mouvement Sociologique*, conducted by the Belgian Society of Sociology. The *Revue Néo-Scolastique* enjoys a wide circulation and is self-supporting. Practically all the reviews and periodicals that stock the reading-room of the Institute are received as exchanges for this review. The *Revue Sociale Catholique*, founded in 1896 by Professor Deploige, and M. Legrand of the Agricultural School of Gembloux, is devoted chiefly to labour legislation and to social and economic questions amongst the masses. The *Revue Catholique de Droit*—founded in 1898 by Professor Crahay of Liège University, a past student of the Institute—also concerns itself chiefly with the labouring masses. Both of those reviews are published monthly at the Institute.

These various publications will convey some idea of the constant output of intellectual work which the foundation of the Philosophical Institute has been mainly instrumental in fostering and developing. Yet they really represent only a fraction of the total amount of published matter already to be found in the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut supérieur de Philosophie* which has been in existence for the past decade, and is growing in dimensions and im-

portance every year. A few years ago the Institute set up a printing-press of its own, and it now prints and publishes all its own literature.¹ We have already mentioned the various volumes of the *Cours de Philosophie* that have been published up to the present. The fifth volume, by Mgr. Mercier, will deal with special questions, problems and theories regarding the validity of knowledge, under the title *Criteriologie Spéciale*. Volumes are promised on Ethics and Natural Theology, as well as a compendium of the whole course in three octave volumes of about 500 pages each. The various volumes of the larger courses are being translated into many languages. All have been done into Polish; all are being translated into Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. A German translation of Mercier's *Psychologie* and an English translation of Nys's *Cosmologie* are in preparation. Besides the periodical literature and the volumes of the *Cours de Philosophie*, we must mention two historical collections that are being edited under the direction of M. de Wulf and M. Pelzer, entitled, *Les Philosophes du moyen âge*. It will comprise, firstly, a series of folio volumes containing the original texts of works hitherto unpublished or little known on Mediæval Philosophy; and, secondly, a series of studies (in 8vo volumes) on various mediæval philosophers. The first volume of the first series contains the text of the famous treatise, *De unitate formæ*, by Gilles of Lessines, preceeded by an introduction of 120 pages from the pen of

¹ Yet, the Institute is only a fractional part of the University, and its publications only a fractional part of the total literary output of the University. In point of staff and numbers the University has about 100 professors and 2,000 students; Maynooth about 25 professors and 550 students, the Philosophical Institute at the rate of about 4 or 5 professors to 70 students (see note, p. 492). And yet there is no printing press at Maynooth, notwithstanding all the printing and publishing work that could be found for it; there is no periodical published at Maynooth in any branch of academic studies; there is no reading-room at Maynooth in which students might learn what is going on all over the educational world in theological, biblical, historical, philosophical, scientific, and literary studies, and be thus attracted to take a livelier interest in these studies, and to form for them tastes that would last through life, and that would help to remove the reproach of intellectual stagnation and literary inactivity so often levelled against the Irish Priesthood.

M. de Wulf. The three succeeding volumes—the first of which has already appeared—will contain the *Quodlibeta of Godfrey of Fontaines*. This is an excellent collection from every point of view, and no philosophical library should be without it.

The number of isolated publications that have helped to swell the dimensions of the *Bibliothèque* is very large, and some of them of great importance. Glancing at the catalogue—which may be had on application at the Institute—we would fain bring many of them under the notice of our readers, but we must be content with mentioning two.

M. de Wulf's *Histoire de la Philosophie Scolastique dans les Pays-Bas* is a valuable work written in reply to a question proposed by the Royal Academy of Belgium, and crowned by that body for exceptional merit.

Mgr. Mercier's *Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine*, published in 1898, 'has contributed very much towards concentrating the attention of the educated world on what is going on at Louvain.'¹ German, English, French, Italian reviews of divers tendencies have greeted this work with words of praise. It is a masterly study,—critical, historical and doctrinal,—on the rise and growth and various offshoots of Cartesian Psychology, and on all the different forces and tendencies observable in the Psychology of the present day. It is a work full of light and inspiration for the student of Philosophy, and its concluding chapter on 'Neo-Thomisme' strikes the keynote to that true scientific method which has won such well-merited renown for the Louvain pioneers of Neo-Scholasticism.

A writer in the *Critical Review*,² dealing with Mercier's *Origines*, pointed out to English readers that the Neo-Scholastic doctrines form the principal intellectual force actually at work in Belgium, and have a considerable influence in France, Germany and Italy. He noted as 'full of light and progress' those words of the author

¹ Professor Dörholt, in the *Theologische Revue*, 1903, p. 292.

² 1899, ix., 17-18.

which are simply a summing up of the programme of the Institute :—

We avail ourselves of Plato, and Descartes, and Leibnitz, and Kant, and Fichte, and Hegel, and Wundt, just as fully perhaps, and certainly just as sincerely as those who count us in the number of their enemies. . . . There is no Catholic philosopher who is not ready to sacrifice 'an idea many centuries old' the moment it manifestly contradicts an observed fact. For we also are accustomed to take observation as our starting-point, as the origin of all research, the source of truth, and the sovereign mistress of science.

And those words are an unmistakable echo of what we read in the *Aeterni Patris* of Leo XIII : 'libente gratoque animo excipiendum esse quidquid utiliter fuerit a quopiam inventum atque excogitatum.'

And as to the influence of Louvain teaching, in Philosophy as in other departments, upon religious and social and scientific progress throughout Belgium, it is difficult for us here in Ireland—utter strangers, as we are, to the benefits that accrue to a nation from the higher education of its people—to appreciate properly the depth and extent of that influence. Louvain is to Catholic Belgium what the throbbing heart is to the whole body sending out its rich warm currents of life blood to stimulate and nourish the entire system. If there are to be found amongst the Belgian Catholic clergy and laity numbers of the best and ablest Catholic writers who uphold and defend Catholic and Christian principles, and who attack the Godless tenets of liberalism and socialism in the press and in the pulpit and on the platform, by pen and by voice, without a moment's abatement of zeal, it is to the progressive and militant spirit of thought and action communicated to them at Louvain, that such activity is due. If Catholic Belgium has numbers of cultured scholars ready and willing to defend social order, and to point to the true and just solution of complex social problems, and that with all the influence and authority requisite to make their voices heard, Catholic Belgium may thank the training that its youth receives in the various Faculties of Louvain University. The progress of Belgium in science and industry and agriculture

is too well known to need more than a mention : to the scientific achievements and prestige of Louvain that progress is largely due. And that material progress has not been accompanied in Belgium, as it often has been elsewhere, by a decadence in religion or morality, or in attention to the higher and ideal side, the mental and spiritual side of life. Belgium's progress is not abnormal or onesided but wholesome and universal : and that is due above all to the fact that in her Philosophy she has rejected the *outré* spiritualism of Decartes,—the system that vainly tries to suppress or ignore the material, and thereby allows the senses to run riot and usurp the place of reason ;—and has espoused the moderate realism of the schoolmen ;—the Philosophy that holds the golden mean between the spiritual and the material, that lays down the true relations between faith, grace and religion on the one hand, and reason, nature and the conduct of life on the other, and thus, as it were, fulfils the words of a great teacher, to 'render unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's and to God the things that are God's.'

We now conclude what is a necessarily inadequate and imperfect review of the current Philosophical teaching at Louvain, both in its spirit and in its letter. We commenced by an enquiry into the traditional Catholic conception of the scope of Philosophy and its relation to the other sciences.¹ We then saw that this conception, clearly formulated in the golden ages of Scholasticism, was afterwards partially lost sight of until it was once more forced on the attention of at least the Catholic world by the teaching and action of Leo XIII.² Subsequently our attention was confined to one small Catholic country, and we saw how its far-famed University, that had been for five long centuries the venerable seat of the highest Catholic culture, has now become, so very appropriately, the nursery,—the *Seminarium*,—and the home and headquarters of the new Scholasticism.³ Finally, in the present article, we have

¹ I. E. RECORD, January.

² *Ibid.*, February.

³ *Ibid.*, May.

examined the internal working of the new Philosophical Institute somewhat in detail. It has been a pleasure to us to do so because we are convinced that it deserves to be known amongst Irish and English-speaking Catholics, and because we believe that in speaking well of it we are only giving praise where praise is due.

It will be a still greater pleasure to us if what we have written may be found to be in any small way helpful towards developing our own teaching system in Maynooth along similar lines. We believe that,—without having recourse to any servile imitation,—just as Ireland has much that is profitable to learn from Belgium so has Maynooth or any Irish University much to learn from Louvain. Louvain is no State-aided University. It is supported by the donations of the Catholic clergy and laity of Belgium, and yet it can command the services of the best professors in the country. It was founded, too, at a time when Belgium was a poor country; and it had to show by its work, while still in a struggling condition, that it deserved a charter from the State, before it got one. And yet, in this freely-supported University, just think of the proportions of the Philosophical Institute alone,—its staff, its buildings, its equipment and whole organisation,—and all that, to give a sound Philosophical training to quite a small percentage of ecclesiastics and a handful of lay students! Truly the Catholics of Ireland might learn from their Belgian friends a lesson of liberality in the endowment of education! The Irish people have unquestionably a natural love for learning that yields in its depth and intensity only to their love for religion. But centuries of foreign domination and enforced ignorance have starved that strong passion into a vague, indefinable sort of craving, which they feel indeed but hardly understand. If those amongst them who are more happily circumstanced in culture and enlightenment,—particularly the Catholic clergy,—would only keep constantly before the people in general the need of higher education in the country, and the claims that *educational institutions* have upon their charity, the people would soon begin to extend to the cause

of higher education a more generous measure of support. We have unbounded faith in the generosity of our people towards education as towards religion. None have better means of knowing it, or better reason to know it, than the clergy themselves. They would do well, accordingly, both to remember themselves and to inform the people, that financial difficulties are the great obstacles to Irish educational development in every department.¹

This is no less true in Maynooth than elsewhere, and it will remain true, unfortunately, until our priests and people become more keenly alive than they are at present to the enormous losses and risks involved in educational backwardness. The proper education of a country's future clergy is one of the most sacred charges imposed on that country's present clergy: and if that education is to be efficient it must suit the circumstances of the age. Now, whatever may be true of the past century it is pretty generally admitted that there is urgent need to give the future priests of Ireland such facilities of education as will secure that, while all be well educated, a certain proportion of them—the more the better—be *especially* well educated, if we may so express it; so well as to be recognised leaders and authorities in some one particular branch of

¹ When the Catholic University was started they subscribed munificently. Would they subscribe less munificently to-day? We at least would not wrong them by saying so. If the burden were intolerable, as some think, it would be cruel and unfair to try to impose it on them. But we are of the number of those who think that it would not be intolerable. We have more respect for the manliness and nobility of our people's character than to write them down as an essentially and irretrievably intemperate people; and we are sanguine enough to hope that within the next few decades a vigorous temperance campaign, sustained by a zealous and largely total-abstaining clergy, will have reared up a *temperate generation* of Irish men and Irish women for God and their country; and we hold that if the consequent decrease in the Drink bill were taken into account and taken advantage of, a Catholic University could be founded and endowed without any intolerable burden on our people. A nation is never the worse of self-sacrifice in a noble cause: and no cause worth winning was ever won without it. The attitude of those who advocate the policy of 'waiting' till the English Government gives us a University, and who scoff at the 'absurdity' of undertaking and carrying on simultaneously two great works, and of helping the one by the other—of making Ireland temperate and setting up a Catholic University,—that attitude appears to us at least somewhat too diffident if not even cynical to be wholesome or praiseworthy.

learning or other. And so our educational methods and standards of the nineteenth century will not do in the twentieth. That is true all round : in philosophical, theological, biblical and historical, no less than in scientific and merely profane studies ; yet that is just what not many of the Catholic body in Ireland fully realize. On the Continent they have been made to realize it. The Belgian Catholics are keenly alive to the necessity of looking to their educational weapons, and of straining every sinew to cope with the powerful forces, educated, drilled and disciplined, that are being arrayed against the Catholic Church under the ægis of 'science' and 'progress' and 'solidarité' and other like shibboleths. Their watchword is to *educate, better and better*, so as to keep abreast of the progress—if it be progress—that goes on outside the Catholic Church and her schools. We, too, need to concentrate our attention on enlarging, improving, developing the education of those who will have to carry on the battle of the faith in Ireland in the rapidly changing circumstances of the age. The inroads of cheap, infidel literature amongst the masses of the people, the growth of a taste for promiscuous reading, the spread of a sort of semi-education amongst many,—that amount of learning which is enough to be dangerous,—these are a few of the many forces that the priest of the future must be armed to meet. We shall find it wise to be prompt and liberal in equipping the student with arms well up-to-date, and to regard the providing of proper educational facilities for him as of the very first importance.

The improvements that have been made in the Maynooth system during the past ten years, and those that are still contemplated or in progress, show clearly enough that the Irish Bishops are awake to the urgent necessity of keeping the education of the Irish clergy abreast with the rapid advances of knowledge amongst other classes and in other countries. They have obtained for the National College, from the late Holy Father, the power of conferring degrees in Philosophy, Theology, Sacred Scripture and Canon Law. They have established and made appoint-

ments to three new chairs. They have established two further new chairs to which they have not appointed permanent professors *from want of funds*. For the same reason they have refrained from establishing still further new professorships, the need of which they quite recognise. For the same reason they must be content with the appointment of temporary lecturers, and with making provision which they know to be inadequate in many departments, regretting that it is the most that the limited finances of the College will allow them to do.

These are facts which give food for reflection to all who are desirous that the Irish clergy should receive an education suitable to the needs of the age. And after all where is the Irish Catholic, be he priest or layman, who can afford to say that this is a matter that has no interest for him? It is a matter that interests all. All Irish Catholics will be undoubtedly pleased to learn that Maynooth has entered on her second century endeavouring, in the face of difficulties, to prepare and equip herself for the work that will be rightly expected of her in the future; higher and better work than she has been doing in the past. And if they find light and leading, and inspiration to aid her, from what Belgian Catholics have done for Louvain, they will not, we feel assured, be slow to pursue towards the *Alma Mater* of their own clergy an equally enlightened policy.

P. COFFEY.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HUMAN LIBERTY—III

IN this article I propose to treat of the question of toleration; is the Catholic Church tolerant, and are Catholics individually free to be tolerant, or does the Catholic Church oblige her children to be intolerant of other Christian churches and sects, and beliefs and unbeliefs? Is toleration a characteristic and exclusive attribute of the reformed churches, of the modern mind and modern thought, and intolerance a distinctive feature or consequence of the Catholic system of religion? The apologist of Catholic toleration can scarcely escape feeling, if addressing the Protestant world, a deep sense of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of obtaining a fair hearing for his cause; like the advocate who is addressing a jury which he knows to be strongly prejudiced against his client, and determined, perhaps, to return an unfavourable verdict; for the Protestant world is prejudiced against Catholicity, and has been taught to regard the spirit of Protestantism and modern thought as the spirit of toleration, and the Catholic Church as the embodiment and essence of intolerance. The task of the apologist is rendered more difficult because, when we deal with an organic system of religious truths, such as the Catholic system is, where the several doctrines and traditions and laws are connected and correlated like the members and functions of a living organism, we cannot expect to be able to justify the existence of each doctrine and law, or explain their functions and utility, without considering them in relation to one another, and to the whole system of which they are a part; but non-Catholic controversialists examine the Catholic position on religious toleration considered apart from the general organism of Catholic doctrine and the general Catholic claims, of which the Church's teaching and discipline in relation to tolerance and intolerance are but the natural and necessary corollaries. I hope, nevertheless, to show that Catholics

are not unreasonably intolerant in the domain of doctrine and worship, and that the Catholic position in relation to religious toleration compares very favourably with the theory and practice of toleration advocated and exhibited in the non-Catholic world, philosophical, political, and ecclesiastical.

What is toleration and what is intolerance ? Theologians distinguish doctrinal, ecclesiastical, and civil or political toleration. Doctrinal toleration, when taken in its most extended sense, is the mental conviction and the confession that unbelief and all creeds and forms of religion, natural and supernatural, are equally true and equally false ; and the corresponding doctrinal intolerance is the mental belief and confession that all doctrines and creeds are not equally true and equally false. In a less extended sense doctrinal intolerance can admit an indefinite number of degrees ; thus many Protestants, while mentally intolerant of unbelief and of Catholicism, feel themselves free to confess that the various confessions of Protestantism, though differing on most fundamental questions, are equally true and equally false ; some are intolerant of the doctrines and ceremonials of Ritualists, but can tolerate all forms of non-sacerdotal Protestantism ; while others are tolerant enough, mentally, of Catholicism and Ritualism, but cannot admit the truth of non-dogmatic or Presbyterian Protestantism. Churches and States, no less than private members of society, can make profession of doctrinal tolerance or intolerance, that is, can profess that they regard unbelief and all forms of religion as equally true and equally false, or that they believe one particular religion to be true and all others false ; but whether associated with the private members of society, or with the Church and the State, doctrinal intolerance is not understood to imply the imposition of civil or ecclesiastical disabilities on those who may profess a different creed, it is only the belief and confession that a particular religion is true and all other religions false. But Churches and States, besides accepting and professing one religion as true may be conceived to forbid all other forms of religions under pain

of legal penalties and disabilities, or to permit freedom of public worship to those who may profess a different creed ; and hence we distinguish ecclesiastical and civil tolerance and intolerance. In a severe and narrow sense ecclesiastical and civil toleration can imply that the profession of a particular creed and the public exercise of its worship, though nominally opposed to law, are connived at by the Church and State, but in a broader sense it conveys the idea of legal non-interference, that no obstacles are placed by the Church or State to the acceptance or rejection of particular dogmas, and no disabilities imposed by law on account of one's religious opinions ; and, on the other hand, ecclesiastical and civil intolerance imply the inhibition of creeds and public worship differing from the creed and religion of the Church and State under pain of ecclesiastical and civil penalties.

When dealing with private members of society there can be question of doctrinal tolerance and intolerance alone, but, as I have observed, the Church and State may be conceived not merely to profess a particular creed but also to prohibit the profession and public worship of a different creed. I shall endeavour in this article to present a statement of non-Catholic and Catholic views on religious toleration, as it should be observed by private members of society, as it should be practised by the Church, and as it should be exercised by the State. Is the private individual free to tolerate before the tribunal of his own conscience all forms of religion and irreligion ; to believe, for example, that Catholicity, which he may profess himself, and all the forms of Protestantism and infidelity, which may be professed by his neighbours, are equally true and equally in conformity with divine law, that a man is free to join whatever religious society he pleases, or to work out his salvation apart altogether from religious organisations ? Ought the Church confine her mission and her zeal to preaching the true religion of Christ, and abstain from inflicting punishment and disabilities for erroneous religious opinions and unbelief ? And ought the State be neutral in the domain of religion, and tolerate and assure freedom

of public worship and protection in their ministry to the professors and preachers of all forms of religion without distinction ?

I.

What should Mechanical and Idealist Determinists, who include philosophers and scientists of the agnostic-evolution movement and different churches of Protestants, teach about doctrinal toleration and doctrinal intolerance, as they are found among private members of society ? Evidently they should teach that we have no power of choosing between mental toleration and intolerance, that we are necessarily determined by the physical laws of nature, or the totality of our own dispositions, principles and antecedent impressions, to be tolerant or intolerant of a particular creed or particular beliefs. Do you, for example, determine to accept theism and reject atheism, or to profess atheism and reject theism, or do you think that both may be true for different persons, or at different times and in different places ? Do you resolve to accept supernatural religion and abandon rationalism, or to adopt rationalism and reject supernatural religion ? Do you decide to make your submission to Rome and to renounce Protestantism as intellectually intolerable, or to remain in Protestantism and pronounce the creed and worship of Rome mentally unacceptable ? Determinists should hold, consistently with their general philosophical principles, that in all these cases your approval and acceptance of a particular creed, and your rejection and mental intolerance of others, or your indifference to all religious creeds, are determined necessarily and mechanically, like the movements of the inanimate universe, by the physical laws of nature, or necessarily but spontaneously by the character of your own mind, disposition, antecedent beliefs and prejudices and the arguments presented for your consideration.

But we may continue our examination of non-Catholic toleration and intolerance beyond what is demanded by

the exigencies of a philosophical theory, and ask: Are Determinists really tolerant, as a matter of fact, or are they intolerant? Are Agnostics and the representatives generally of the modern mind and modern thought and the various denominations of Protestantism really tolerant of all philosophical and religious doctrines, or are they intolerant of doctrines and systems different from their own?

I would observe again that *doctrinal*, as distinguished from ecclesiastical and civil intolerance, implies no persecution of those who may profess a different creed, no punishment and no disabilities, but signifies the mental rejection and condemnation and possibly the refutation of theories that are believed to be false; and is, therefore, opposed to the belief that all systems of religion may be equally true, to indifference to and mental toleration of all propositions on religion, even the most contradictory. Now, everyone who has firm and fixed mental convictions must be *doctrinally* intolerant, though he may have the kindest feelings for and the closest and warmest social relations with those who may hold different opinions; if we believe, for example, that $2 + 2 = 4$ for all persons, at all times and in all places, we must reject and be mentally intolerant of the proposition, that $2 + 2 = 5$. Agnostic evolutionists and the admirers of the modern mind and modern thought are intolerant of the absolute affirmation of metaphysical truths, of the existence of God, the existence of an immaterial soul, a future life of rewards and punishments, ethical right and wrong, freewill, the manifestation of a divine purpose and design in the world and the government of the world by divine providence, the divinity of Christ and the existence of a supernatural church and a supernatural religion. The reformers were intolerant, on the one hand, of errors against the great mysteries of religion, the existence of God, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation; and on the other, of the Roman teaching on the constitution and prerogatives of the Church, on justification, on the rule of faith, and the worship of God by the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Anglicans generally

are intolerant of doctrines opposed to the Thirty-nine Articles, or at least of the public profession of such doctrines.¹ Anti-dogmatic Anglicans are intolerant of the imposition of dogmas as unconnected with moral goodness, and advocate the union of Church and non-Conformity in a moral but non-dogmatic Christianity; while the defenders of dogmatic religion are equally intolerant of anti-dogmatic latitudinarianism, believing that dogmatic truths, a church, a priesthood, apostolical succession and sacraments are of the essence of the Christian religion. Erastian Anglicans contend that the Church is the creation of the State, while Ritualists maintain that the Church is of divine origin, and should be independent of the State. Low Churchmen make private judgment the rule of faith; but to the Ritualist the theory of private judgment and Protestantism itself are impossible of belief, intellectually intolerable, inasmuch as they deny the duty of submission, for belief, to legitimate church authority. To all the primacy and infallibility of the Roman Pontiff are mentally unacceptable and intolerable.

II.

The philosophers, therefore, and scientists of the modern evolutionary movement are tolerant of the fullest measure of doctrinal negation and of intellectual revolt against spiritual authority, but are intellectually intolerant of religious belief; rationalist theists are tolerant of the denial of supernatural religion, but intellectually intolerant

¹ According to Anglican commentators on the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Articles are intended, in the case of the laity, to be articles of peace and union and church communion; subscription does not imply assent to them, but at most that they be not publicly disputed and contradicted; and members of the Church are bound to remain in the Anglican communion, though they disbelieve the Articles, unless they consider the Articles so erroneous that they cannot hold communion with those who profess them. But according to the more strict Anglican interpretation, clergymen of the Anglican Church when subscribing the Articles are bound to give them internal assent. However, many interpret them in a non-natural sense; some to harmonise them with Catholic teaching, others to justify their own latitudinarian and rationalist theology.—*Cf. Burnet on Thirty-Nine Articles*, pp. 7 *seqq.*; Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, ch. xl.

of its affirmation ; and Protestants and Anglicans are tolerant in varying degrees of doctrinal negations, but intolerant of the distinctive doctrines of Rome. Catholics, however, maintain that they alone have the true conception of doctrinal toleration, uniting as they do the assertion of physical freedom to believe or not to believe or to disbelieve, which is essential for responsibility in faith, with the assertion of a grave moral obligation to reduce the intellect to the obedience of faith. They distinguish between physical and moral freedom of religious toleration ; they claim to be *physically* free to tolerate all forms of belief and to affirm that all creeds are equally true and equally false ; but they hold that we are not *morally* free to tolerate all forms of creed, that we cannot without sin affirm that all creeds are equally true and equally false. They urge, too, with good reason that the words *tolerance* and *intolerance* are not the be-all and end-all of religious controversy, and should not be made the criterion of credibility or incredibility, approval or disapproval of a religion, but that, on the contrary, the absolute truth or falsehood or uncertainty of a religion or propositions on religion should be the rule and measure of our doctrinal toleration or intolerance.

The Catholic position, then, is this : If the certainty of natural religion were unattainable, or if the truth of supernatural religion were undemonstrable, or if among Christian associations the claims of the Church of Rome were not capable of generating intellectual conviction and certainty, then indeed might we be tolerant of agnosticism or rationalism or national churches or non-conformity. Again, if we believed in the relativity of religious truth, that doctrines are true only relatively to time and place and persons, that in the anti-Trinitarian controversies the doctrine of the Trinity was true for Trinitarians and false for anti-Trinitarians, that the *Λογος* was *ομοουσιος Πατρι* for Athanasius and *ομοιουσιος Πατρι* for Arius, that Christ was a divine person for Cyril and at Alexandria, but only a human person at Constantinople and for Nestorius, that transubstantiation was true in Trent but false

at Augsburg, that papal infallibility is true for Catholics but false for Old Catholics, that Episcopalianism is true in the Church and Presbyterianism in the Kirk, then indeed would intolerance of the religious opinions of others be wholly meaningless and indefensible. But it is not thus that the early Councils understood revealed truths; and if we believe in the absolute character of religious truth we must mentally disapprove and reject the opposite errors. Do I believe, then, for example, in the existence of God as an absolute truth for all time, all places, all persons? if so, I cannot admit the certainty or probability of atheism or agnosticism, I must reprobate them, and in that sense I am intolerant of them. Do I hold as an absolute truth that God has made a supernatural revelation and established a supernatural religion? then must I believe deism and rationalism to be false and condemn them, and be intellectually intolerant of them. Do I believe, as a truth for all time and for all persons and places, that Christ established one true Church in the sense in which it is conceived by the Catholic Church? then must I hold that national separated churches and the minor Christian sects are not the true Church of Christ, nor a part of it, and that their existence is in opposition to the will and in violation of the law of Christ. And as Catholics believe in the existence of God, in supernatural revelation, in the divine origin and exclusive claims and infallible magisterium of the Catholic Church, as absolute truths valid for all persons, at all times, and in all places, though they are taught and understand that they have physical liberty or the physical power of believing or not believing or disbelieving, of leaving the Church or remaining in it, of joining another Christian communion or remaining detached from all religious organizations, yet do they feel themselves under a grave moral obligation to remain in the Catholic Church, to continue to profess the Catholic religion, and to reject not only the extreme errors of atheism and agnosticism, but rationalistic theism and the distinctive negations of Protestantism, to refuse church communion with them, to repudiate their distinctive doctrines, and to refuse to participate in their worship.

The non-Catholic world will continue, no doubt, to call Catholics intolerant. Yes ; Anglicans are more tolerant along the line of negation than Catholics ; non-conformists are more tolerant still ; rationalists are yet more tolerant ; and agnostics and the representatives of the modern mind and modern thought are the most tolerant of all. But, as I have already said, the words tolerance and intolerance cannot decide the merits of the religious controversy. We can imagine a discussion on civil toleration and civil liberty between a citizen of a modern European state and some savage denizen of the desert, and we can imagine the savage to argue in this manner : ‘ I can recognise and reverence your stately hierarchy of king, governors, judges, magistrates, peace officers, naval and military chiefs ; I am sensible of the wonderful perfection and success of your highly developed political institutions ; I admire the splendour of your religious, charitable, and educational establishments ; I freely admit the unbounded success of your industries and the immensity of your commerce ; I admire your civilisation, your literature, your unprecedented conquests in the field of natural science ; I gladly bear testimony to the kindness and courtesy and hospitality of your people. But we of the desert have the advantage over you in toleration and civil liberty. We cannot think with you that Christianity marks the last step in civilisation and the religious evolution of the world. We have outgrown that stage in the evolution of humanity when the human race was bound to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, we claim absolute independence of kings and emperors ; we no longer have faith in the old commandment, Thou shalt not kill, we tolerate murder and are not averse to the eating of human flesh ; we find the old precept, Thou shalt not steal, to have been founded on an erroneous principle of private property, and we are no longer intolerant of appropriating when desirable our neighbour’s goods ; we permit free love and polygamy ; we are indifferent to parental duties ; we condemn your legal tribunals with their *ex cathedra* decisions which are derogatory to personal independence, and we claim for each

man the privilege and personal duty of exercising his own private personal judgment in the solution of all the difficulties of life, social, legal and religious.' Now who will be bold enough to say that such 'toleration' should be made the criterion of political civilisation and civil liberty? I do not advance this imaginary discussion as a demonstration of the equity of the Catholic position on intolerance of false doctrine and false worship, nor as a refutation of non-Catholic systems of toleration, but as an illustration of the truth that the words 'toleration' and 'intolerance' are not a reliable arbiter of controversy; that the religion that permits the greatest measure of toleration in respect of doctrine and worship is not necessarily the true religion of Christ; that toleration can be the toleration of disbelief of revealed truths, of disloyalty to God, of religious anarchy, of false and superstitious worship, as well as it can be toleration of different and conflicting views when there is question of debatable and doubtful matters; and that the sole legitimate test of a people's religion is not the extent of its doctrinal tolerance or intolerance, but its truth or its falsehood, its conformity with or opposition to reason and divine revelation.

Tolerance, therefore, and intolerance cannot constitute a distinct and independent subject of controversy, but depend on the great fundamental propositions maintained by rival schools in regard to religion. If there were no God or if His existence could not be cognised by us, then should we make profession of atheism or agnosticism, with all their tolerance of religious negation and intolerance of religious affirmation. If the existence of God were demonstrated but the existence of supernatural religion disproved or unknowable, then should we be rationalists. If the existence of supernatural revelation were established with private judgment as the sole rule of faith, then should we adopt some form of Protestantism with its intolerance of the Church of Rome. And if, as we contend, Christ instituted one exclusive Church, the holy Catholic Church, then are we bound to remain members of that Church, whether it be more tolerant or more intolerant than atheism,

agnosticism, rationalism and the various separated Christian churches and religious bodies throughout the world.

III.

I pass from the consideration of personal tolerance or intolerance of the creeds of others to compare the different churches in their relation to religious toleration ; and in the present section I will deal with non-Catholic churches and religious bodies. But first I must premise a brief statement of the origin and claims of the Anglican and reformed churches ; as the reasonableness or unreasonableness of imposing a confession of faith on the members of a particular communion and of condemning the distinctive doctrines of rival churches or of permitting it to be believed that all creeds are equally true and equally good, must depend on our conception of the institution, functions and prerogatives of the church.

In the reformed churches—Lutheran, Calvinist and Presbyterian—it is taught that the true Catholic Church of Christ, the heir to the promises made to the church in the New Testament, is not any external visible organisation, Roman or Greek or Anglican or Lutheran or Calvinist, but the general body of the predestined, known to God but unrecognisable by us, in their personal and individual relation to Christ, to whatever country or time or particular church they may belong, or though they be not attached to any religious organisation.

They also admit [writes an able Presbyterian theologian¹] that it is the duty of Christians to unite for the purpose of worship and mutual watch and care. They admit that to such associations and societies certain prerogatives and promises belong ; that they have, or ought to have, the officers whose qualifications and duties are prescribed in the Scriptures ; that there always have been and probably always will be such Christian organisations or visible churches. But they deny that any of these societies, or all of them collectively, constitute the Church for which Christ died, in which He dwells by His

¹ Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. i., p. 135.

spirit, to which He has promised perpetuity, catholicity, unity, and divine guidance into the knowledge of the truth. Any one of them, or all of them, one after another, may apostatise from the faith, and all the promises of God to His Church be fulfilled.

Among Anglicans different theories are maintained by divines of different schools of thought about the Apostolic origin of their church and its constitution and relation to the Catholic Church of Christ; but by none is inerrancy claimed as a prerogative for the Anglican establishment. To Catholics who deny the validity of Anglican Orders and the existence of spiritual jurisdiction in the Anglican communion, the Established Church is neither in whole nor in part of Apostolic origin, it is the creation of the State, and derives its sanction and authority solely from the civil power.

We see in the English Church [writes Cardinal Newman¹], I will not say no descent from the first ages, and no relationship to the Church in other lands, but we see no body politic of any kind; we see nothing more or less than an establishment, a department of Government, or a function or operation of the State—without a substance—a mere collection of officials, depending on and living in the supreme civil power. . . . It is as little bound by what it said or did formerly, as this morning's newspaper by its former numbers, except as it is bound by the law; and while it is upheld by the law, it will not be weakened by the subtraction of individuals, nor fortified by their continuance. Its life is an Act of Parliament. It will not be able to resist the Arian, Sabellian, or Unitarian heresies now, because Bull or Waterland resisted them a century or two before. . . . It will be able to resist them while the State gives the word; it would be unable, when the State forbids it. Elizabeth boasted that she 'tuned her pulpits;' Charles forbade discussions on predestination; George on the Holy Trinity; Victoria allows differences on Holy Baptism. . . . As the nation changes its political, so may it change its religious views; the causes which carried the Reform Bill and Free Trade may make short work with orthodoxy.

Now what are the principles and practice, in respect of religious toleration, of the reformed churches that so modestly disclaim all right or title to the prerogative

¹ *Difficulties of Anglicans*, vol. i., pp. 6-9.

of authority and inerrancy in teaching? The early Lutherans, and the Calvinist and Presbyterian churches expressly deny Freewill, advocate explicitly Ideal Determinism, and consequently should maintain that churches, like individuals, are not free to follow at will a policy of tolerance or intolerance, but are necessarily determined by the sum of their principles, antecedents, aims and impulses, to be tolerant or intolerant of other creeds and other religions. Do these churches advocate general religious toleration, that all creeds are equally true and equally false, and that all religions are equally useful and equally hurtful to mankind? No; if we except the non-dogmatic independent congregations, each religious body imposes a special confession of faith on the members of its communion, and condemns with anathema not only the ancient errors of the Sabellians, Arians and Nestorians, but the distinctive doctrines of all existing rival churches; Anglicans condemn Calvinist Presbyterianism, Presbyterians condemn Episcopalians, and both Anglicans and Presbyterians assail the distinctive doctrines of Rome.¹ Do the reformed churches advocate deprivation of office and the infliction of ecclesiastical censures for the violation of their confessions of faith? Yes; 'A second law of this visible Kingdom of our Lord is that heretics and those guilty of scandalous offences should be excommunicated . . . Our Lord teaches that such an offender when he refuses to hear "the Church" is to be regarded as a heathen man and a publican.'² Do these churches permit private judgment and freedom of conscience in the interpretation of their confessions of faith? No; they urge with insistence the competence and sufficiency of private judgment to understand the infallible word of God and determine the meaning and necessity of the great mysterious truths in the sacred writings; they affirm the right of Protestants to interpret Scripture for themselves; but by a strange inconsistency they refuse to private judgment, in the case of their ministers, the right of interpreting these same truths, and the judgments

¹ Cf. Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*.

² Hodge, vol. ii., p. 607.

passed upon other creeds, when formulated in their own fallible confessions of faith.¹

The churches, however, and the creeds being of human institution, considerable latitude and diversity of interpretation is tolerated according to the ever shifting positions of national belief. With the general acceptance of Darwinism and an absolute and unlimited belief in the uniform operation of natural law, denial of supernatural facts and supernatural religion is easily condoned among a large section of Protestants, or perhaps applauded as a manifestation of the modern mind and modern thought ; while in another section which cherishes the idea of a divinely-established and Catholic Christian Church, and perceives that the Catholicity of the Church can neither be understood nor defended with the exclusion of the Church of Rome, the doctrines of Rome are being accepted, her liturgy imitated, and her supposed errors construed as private doctrines or opinions, and not as articles of faith.

IV.

But while imposing on the consciences of their own ministers of religion a special confession of faith, and requiring internal assent to their articles of religion understood in their obvious and natural sense, and punishing with deprivation of office violations of their confessions of faith, though they confess themselves unable to decide with authority whether the doctrines of these confessions are true or false, the various reformed churches unite in condemnation of the Catholic Church for her dogmatism and intolerance. What, then, are the claims of the Church of Rome ; and what her principles and practice in relation to religious toleration ? Christ, says the Church of Rome, while He might have dealt personally and immediately with individual souls, called and gathered round Him the twelve Apostles and founded the Apostolic college. To this sacred college He entrusted the custody of the deposit of faith ; He commissioned the Apostles to go and teach all nations with

¹ Cf. Burnett, *loc. cit.*

authority, in His name, with a corresponding obligation on the part of mankind, at the peril of salvation, to accept the Apostolic teaching ; to discharge this duty of teaching the world with authority He endowed the Apostolic college and Peter its head with the gift of infallibility ; He gave the Apostles power to transubstantiate bread and wine into His body and blood and to offer sacrifice and to remit sin and to transmit these powers by ordination to their successors ; and, finally, He gave them plenary power to govern the spiritual kingdom which He was establishing and which was soon to be extended to the ends of the earth by their preaching and the preaching of their successors. The Catholic Church, Rome says, inherits the duties and the prerogatives of the Apostolate in all their essential elements. She is the custodian of the deposit of faith : she is charged to preach the Gospel with authority, to offer sacrifice through her priests and administer the sacraments and transmit this power from generation to generation by the sacrament of Orders : she is endowed with infallibility : and her bishops under the supreme pastor on earth, the Bishop of Rome, succeed to the Apostolic authority of ruling and governing this spiritual kingdom. She cannot accept the Protestant view that the Church became petrified and lost its vitality after the first few general Councils ; she maintains that the Church of Christ, like a natural living organism, shall retain her vitality as long as she retains life, which is unto the end of time ; and she insists that there is no essential conciliar difference between the Council of the Apostles in Jerusalem and the Councils of Fathers at Nice and Ephesus and Constantinople and Trent, and the Council of the Vatican.

Such being her claims, what are the Church's principles and practice in relation to toleration ? She is accused of dogmatism and intolerance, because she imposes from time to time new definitions of faith, condemns doctrinal toleration or the theory that all creeds are equally true and equally false, and exercises ' the power of the keys ' by punishing her unfaithful children for their violation of her confession of faith. Does she then claim the power

of imposing new definitions of faith? Yes; she claims that she inherits the essential prerogatives of the Apostolic college, that she is the same Church that decided controversies of faith in the Councils of Nice, Ephesus and Constantinople, and that she can, as occasion may require, unfold and define truths contained in the deposit of faith which were but obscurely perceived and believed by preceding generations. Does she permit the members of her communion to believe and profess that all creeds are equally true and all religions equally good? She distinguishes between physical and moral liberty. She alone of the western churches advocates as an article of faith the existence of physical liberty and defends it against the assaults of Mechanical and Idealist Determinists. She teaches that we have the *physical* power, that we are *physically* free to believe or not to believe that one religion is as good as another, to join whatever church we please, to remain in the Catholic Church or join the Anglican Church or the Lutheran or the Calvinist. Claiming, however, to be alone the true Church of Christ she cannot admit that we are *morally* free, that we can without sin believe all religions to be equally true and equally false, or join whatever church we please, or separate ourselves from all church organisation; she teaches that we are bound, under peril of salvation, to belong to the true Church of Christ, the Catholic Church, to accept her creed and submit to her discipline. But, unlike the reformed churches, she claims to speak with the infallible voice of Peter, whether she proposes for our acceptance the ancient creeds, or delivers a new definition of faith, or decides religious controversies, or condemns some new form of error in faith.

Does the Catholic Church, like the reformed churches, coerce the members of her communion with threats of ecclesiastical penalties and disabilities to continue in the profession of the true faith, and punish her unfaithful children for their infidelity? The Church cannot punish for unbelief Jews or pagans or the unbaptized, over whom she has no jurisdiction; and her intolerance in respect of

them and their errors is manifested and expressed in the boundless charity of her missionaries who in all ages are prepared to brave hardships and privations and dangers in order to bring them peacefully to the priceless blessings of the true faith. Again, beyond a general law of excommunication, she inflicts no punishment for unbelief on those Christians who are born and baptized in heretical sects, though she claims jurisdiction over all baptized Christians by virtue of their baptism into the Christian Church. But can the Church compel her own children by coercive measures to remain within her fold, or punish them for their infidelity? Erastians, who deny 'the power of the keys,' deny also the right of the Church to suspend, excommunicate, interdict, or otherwise punish for unbelief; they hold that the Scriptures should be open and free to all, that the relation of the pastors of the Church to the people is the same as the relation of a professor to his pupils, and that all punishments being in their nature and effect civil and not spiritual, ought to be inflicted by the civil authority. But the Catholic Church claims 'the power of the keys,' the power of governing the spiritual kingdom, the power of punishing unfaithful and rebellious subjects. And shall we then say that unlike the civil authority she has not the power of binding and loosing? that she cannot, for example, suspend from the office of hearing confessions the priest who publicly proclaims his disbelief in confession? or from the celebration of Mass the priest who denies the real presence? or that she cannot cut off from the communion of the faithful by excommunication the erring member who denies the divinity of her founder and the divine origin of the Christian communion itself? Such a person can exercise his freedom by leaving the Church; but why should tolerance to be allowed to remain in the communion of believing Catholics be demanded by one who persists in denying the very fundamental doctrines of Catholicity?

What, therefore, shall we say? that the Church is tolerant or that she is intolerant, more tolerant or more intolerant than the reformed churches? Both the Catholic

Church and the reformed churches impose a confession of faith : they command that assent be given to the truths of faith in their ecclesiastical sense and not as arbitrarily interpreted by private judgment : they punish for violations of the confession of faith ; the reformed churches, it is true, deliver no new definitions of faith, and openly confess their inability to determine with authority whether the articles of their confession are true or false, or to decide controversies of faith : but the Church of Rome delivers new definitions of faith and imposes the ancient creeds as objective infallible truths valid for all persons, times, and places. Is she then justly charged with intolerance and aggressive dogmatism ? We repeat again that the words 'tolerance' and 'intolerance' and 'aggressive dogmatism' cannot decide the religious controversy ; if the Protestant theory of the Church were true, ecclesiastical definitions of faith would be arbitrary, unjust, and intolerable ; but if, as Catholics maintain, the Church is endowed with the prerogative of infallibility, and has been charged with the duty of teaching and unfolding, as occasion may require, the hidden treasures of the deposit of faith, then she is but fulfilling her divine mission when she imposes the creeds and delivers to her children new definitions of faith, and deserves not the reproach of intolerance and aggressive dogmatism. But has not the Church been unduly intolerant, at least through her ecclesiastical tribunals and penal enactments ? This question occasioned an interesting correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton on the principles of writing history. Lord Acton was reviewing the Bishop's volumes on the Popes of the Italian Renaissance, which he considered too lenient and apologetic for the faults of the Popes of that period.

What is not at all a question of opportunity or degree [he writes to the Bishop¹] is our difference about the Inquisition. . . . The point is not whether you like the Inquisition . . . but whether you can without reproach to historical accuracy speak of the later mediæval Papacy as having been tolerant and

¹ *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, D.D.*, vol. i., pp. 371, 372.

enlightened. . . . Nor are we speaking of the Spanish Inquisition. . . . I mean the Popes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. . . . These men instituted a system of persecution . . . that is the breaking point, the article of their system by which they stand or fall. . . . I do not complain that it does not influence your judgment . . . but what amazes and disables me is that you speak of the Papacy, not as exercising a just severity but as not exercising any severity. . . . Now the Liberals think persecution a crime of a worse order than adultery. . . . I cannot accept your canon that we are to judge Pope and King unlike other men, with a favoured presumption that they did no wrong. . . . The inflexible integrity of the moral code is to me the secret of the authority, the dignity, the utility of history.

‘He differs *toto cælo*,’ the Bishop says,¹ ‘from my conception of the time, apparently on some concealed grounds of polemics esoteric to a Liberal Catholic who fought against Infallibility.’ And the difference between the two historians seems to have arisen from Lord Acton’s considering tolerance a moral virtue in the possessor, whereas in the opinion of the Bishop tolerance nowadays is ‘a recognition of a necessity arising from an equilibrium of parties.’²

Now I agree with Lord Acton that tolerance is a virtue in the possessor; but it depends for its equitable application on various circumstances, and among them on the equilibrium of parties. There is a vast difference, in relation to tolerance, between the governing body and the private members of society. The private citizen has no authority to punish for wrong doing whereas the governing body has power to enact and enforce penal laws against criminals; and as the State is neither regarded a persecutor nor intolerant when it endeavours to prevent crime by the enactment and enforcement of a penal code, so, if we concede to the Church ‘the power of the keys,’ the enactment and application of ecclesiastical penal laws cannot reasonably be described as persecution or intolerance. The Church then can institute such tribunals as the Roman Inquisition and the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition. But though the Church and State have

¹ *Life and Letters of Creighton*, vol. i., p. 369.

² *Ibid.*, p. 374.

legitimate power to coerce, coercion in particular cases can be legitimate or it can be persecution; and how are we to judge of the equity of ecclesiastical and civil coercion? Obviously we should judge it objectively by its own objective equity or iniquity; but if it be found to be indefensible, we should not therefore immediately conclude that the author of the coercion, civil or ecclesiastical, was a human monster, we should take account, when judging the acts of Popes and Kings, of all the circumstances, internal and external, extenuating and aggravating, that we consider when examining the subjective malice of the acts of private members of society.

It is not the purpose of this paper to deal minutely with ecclesiastical punishments, nor to determine in detail what punishments, spiritual and physical, can be inflicted by the Church as a spiritual power. The Catholic Church claims with the 'power of the keys' divine authority to govern the Church, the power of binding and loosing, and the right to punish for a violation of her rule of faith. But as, in popular usage, we do not call the State intolerant for enacting and applying the criminal law against law-breakers, so we should not accuse the Church of persecution and intolerance in its immoral sense, merely because she punishes her unfaithful and rebellious subjects. Theologically, however, we say that the Church is intolerant or non-tolerant of indifferentism. But the Catholic Church is not more intolerant than the churches of the Reformation, and she is intolerant by 'the power of the keys,' whereas they are all intolerant without authority.

V.

The relation of the State to religion is differently conceived by atheists, rationalists, and Christians, and cannot be definitely determined without reference to the fundamental religious doctrines or negations which are held by the different schools of thinkers in the world. We may assume that a really Christian legislature will conform its laws to what it conceives to be the Christian religion.

I shall briefly consider in this section what is the attitude of non-Catholic nations towards religious toleration. Do Protestant nations establish and endow their Church? Do they compel their subjects to profess the State religion? Do they punish for heresy? Do they tolerate dissentient religious bodies and permit them freedom of public worship? Do they subject the members of other religious bodies to civil disabilities? I shall briefly reply to these questions by describing the attitude, past and present, of a great Protestant nation like England towards religious toleration.

The parliament of England has established and endowed an episcopal church in England, and a church of fundamentally different principles, a Presbyterian church, for Scotland.

At the time of the schism the State violently separated the Church of England from the centre of Catholic unity, and forced the nation into the Established Church by the Acts of Uniformity, the Oath of Supremacy, the Tests Acts, and the Commission of Queen Elizabeth.

The State has punished for heresy, sentencing reformers to death in the reign of Henry VIII for denying transubstantiation, and Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth for professing transubstantiation.

The State refused religious toleration and the freedom of public worship to Catholics and dissentient reformers, and subjected Catholics principally to the most trying civil disabilities on account of their religion.

But all these represent the religious statecraft of other days; and at present we have an established Episcopal church in England and an established Presbyterian church in Scotland, but other religions are tolerated and are granted freedom of public worship; while, with a few exceptions, all legal civil disabilities have been removed from Catholics. But though legal disabilities have disappeared, Protestant intolerance deprives us of facilities for higher Catholic education and of a fair chance of success in the public life of the country. We have been emancipated, but the spirit of the pre-Emancipation days remains. A letter written

by Mr. Gladstone, in 1854, to Arthur Stanley relative to the admission of Dissenters to Oxford, 'concludes,' Mr. Morley tells us, 'with a remark of curious bearing upon the temper of that age. "The very words," he says to Stanley, "which you have let fall upon your paper—"Roman Catholics"—used in this connection, were enough to burn it through and through, considering we have a *parliament which, were the measure of 1829 not law at this moment, would I think probably refuse to make it law.*"'¹ And Mr. Morley adds, 'There is no reason to think this an erroneous view. Perhaps it would not be extravagant even to-day.'

If asked what judgment we pass on this system of State relation with religion, we should say that believing Catholicism to be true and Protestantism false we consider the oppression of the Catholic religion to be indefensible, to be, objectively, intolerance and persecution. But if we make the hypothesis that the Anglican form of religion is the true religion of Christ, and consider the subject from the point of view of believing Anglicans, we should still say that it was peculiarly indefensible in a State which advocated the right of private judgment in the matter of religion to force her subjects by fire and sword to adopt a particular form of religion; that it was natural to establish the Anglican Church, but that a parliament should not establish Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism; that if Catholicism were really a superstitious and blasphemous and idolatrous form of religion, the State could not independently of circumstances grant it freedom of public worship; and that while the doctrinal belief of a nation may remain unaltered its ecclesiastical policy changes with circumstances, that while continuing the establishment of the religion it believes to be true circumstances may require that it should give freedom of public worship to believers in a different religion, to persons of a different creed and different church.

¹ *Life of Gladstone*, vol. i., p. 506.

VI.

It is impossible, while dealing with non-Catholic countries, to draw a line of distinction between the action of the Church and the action of the State, because the Church is a State department; but in Catholic countries the authority of the Church is distinct from the authority of the State. What does the Church demand of Catholic countries in the matter of religious toleration?

The law of the Church requires that the Catholic religion be established by the State, that the nation in its corporate representation in Parliament should make profession of the faith which the subjects of the State profess individually; and that the civil power should assist and protect the Church. This is the most essential Catholic requirement, as the Church disapproves of the divorce of the Catholic State from the profession of its religion; but there is no inflexible law about the maintenance of the Church, whether it should be by parliamentary endowment, or by benefices, or by the voluntary offerings of the faithful; nor is there any inflexible law about the mode of communication between the Pope and the Head of the State.

The Church does not allow the State to force Jews, Mahomedans, pagans, infidels or persons born and baptized in a heretical sect to profess the Catholic religion against their convictions. The Church, as a spiritual power, neither inflicts nor asks the State to inflict capital punishment for heresy; but in past times and in different conditions of society from the present it was permissible to inflict capital punishment for heresy as a political offence; and what was allowed by the circumstances of the times to all Sovereigns, Catholic and Protestant, was permissible to the Pope as King in the Papal States.

Does the Church allow Catholic States to tolerate freedom of public worship to heretical sects? The Church does not allow it to be taught that the State can tolerate *every form* of religion, nor that the toleration of false

religions is in itself and independently of circumstances laudable. While, therefore, the doctrinal belief of the Church and State remains unalterable, ecclesiastical policy may vary ; and the circumstances of the time may be such that a Catholic State not only may lawfully permit, but is bound to permit freedom of public worship to the members of the reformed churches.

Ecclesiastical policy is therefore, at present, about the same in Catholic and Protestant countries in respect to toleration of public worship to those who do not conform to the national religion.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

[*To be continued.*]

LOUIS VEUILLOT—III.

THE next great controversy in which the editor of *L'Univers* found himself obliged to take sides was in connection with the use of classics in seminaries and free colleges. The publication of a book by M. Gaume, in which he attributed the decay and corruption of modern society to the superabundant use of the Pagan classics in the schools, provoked the discussion. Cardinal Gousset and Mgr. Parisi supported the thesis of M. Gaume. Personal, political, and religious disagreements tended to embitter the dispute. The editor of *L'Univers* could not remain an idle spectator. He maintained that more attention should be paid to the study of the Christian classics than was usually done, but that at the same time the Pagan classical literature should have its own place. The question, then, did not regard the exclusion of the Pagan works, but only their proper use.

Opponents sprang up on every side. Strange to say the warmest supporters of the classics were not the University professors, as people might well have expected, but distinguished bishops and ecclesiastics of the Catholic Church. All the enemies of Veillot and *L'Univers* pulled themselves together for a final struggle. Needless to say, the Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Dupanloup, was among the first to take the field. He addressed a letter to the professors of his seminary on this question of reform, in which he undertook to refute many things which the supporters of Christian classics had put forward, and besides many things which they had never so much as thought of. The University journals, it is hardly necessary to remark, had copies of this letter long before the men to whom it was nominally addressed. In these circumstances nothing remained for Louis Veillot except to refute this pastoral as he would have done the contribution of any other opponent. His reply was respectful but severe.

Mgr. Dupanloup promptly responded by an official

condemnation of *L'Univers*, based on the fact that its editor had dared to criticize what was purely a pastoral letter. The condemnation was published immediately in *L'Univers*, followed by an editorial, pointing out the difference between Mgr. Dupanloup as a clever controversialist, and Mgr. Dupanloup as Bishop of Orleans; and that it was only in the former capacity that his letter was criticized. Long before this time it was well known that there were two parties among the French hierarchy; one supporting the liberal school, at whose head stood the Bishop of Orleans, the other the so-called Ultramontane party, staunch supporters of the policy of *L'Univers*. This division among the bishops tended to transform what should have been a purely scientific discussion into a bitter dispute involving the whole Church of France.

The Bishop of Orleans hastened to draw up a circular condemnatory of the views and actions of *L'Univers*, and to distribute it for signature among the bishops of France. Such an unwarrantable arrogation of authority roused the indignation of several who had taken no part in the previous controversy. Many of the bishops not alone absolutely refused to sign the circular when requested, but went further, and warmly protested against the usurpation of Papal rights. Some of the bishops did not hesitate to publish these views in the pages of *L'Univers*. Meanwhile Cardinal Gousset took steps to bring the matter before the Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli. Mgr. Dupanloup finding that things were likely to go against him in Rome, notified *L'Univers* that his views had been condemned by the majority of the bishops, and hastily withdrew his circular. On his side, the editor, having asserted his rights of free discussion, resolved to withdraw from the controversy, and thus an unpleasant chapter in French ecclesiastical history was satisfactorily closed.

But it was only for a time. Louis Veuillot had projected a library of Catholic pamphlets and books to be written mostly by laymen, resembling very closely the modern Catholic Truth Societies' publications. His friend Donoso Cortés contributed a little book entitled, *Essai*

sur le Socialisme, le Catholicisme et le Liberalisme. The doctrines enunciated in this pamphlet were by no means startling, but its publication was destined to embitter the dissensions among the different schools of French Catholics. M. Gaduel, one of the Vicars-General of Mgr. Dupanloup and an ex-professor of the Seminary of Orleans, published immediately a bitter criticism of the work, directed mainly against Louis Veuillot and *L'Univers*. In scathing language he denounced the principle of laymen, such as Veuillot and Cortés and their party, interfering in questions that belonged entirely to the field of scientific theology. To this attack the editor of *L'Univers* replied in one of his most caustic articles :—

By means of Witasse [he wrote] the learned critic has proved that M. Cortés is a Tritheist, and by means of Billuart that he has been coquetting with Lutheranism, Calvinism, Baianism, and Jansenism. Besides, M. Cortés is also something of a Fatalist, and not a little Lamnesian. If, in addition, one were to add Ultramontanism, of which the critic has said nothing, but which he probably did not forget, it would complete the goodly pile of errors which our friend must disavow. Through the book of M. Cortés the learned theologian has been able to strike at ourselves, and, perhaps, this was the object which he really intended. Observe his delightful logic : The book of M. Cortés forms part of a collection of works published under the direction of M. Veuillot, hence, M. Veuillot is not less a Tritheist, a Baianist, a Fatalist, etc., than M. Cortés ; and since M. Veuillot is editor-in-chief of *L'Univers* it clearly follows that *L'Univers* is not less Lutheran, Calvinist, Lamnesian than M. Veuillot.

M. Gaduel replied by citing the editor of *L'Univers* before the Court of the Archbishop of Paris, and demanding the condemnation of the article as scandalous and defamatory. He objected especially to the designation ‘Gallican’ applied to him by M. Veuillot. Five or six days after the complaint had been lodged, Mgr. Sibour published a document in which the reading of *L'Univers* was prohibited in all religious houses ; priests were forbidden to contribute articles or assist it in any way whatsoever ; and the editors and staff were threatened with excommunication in case they dared to criticize this sentence in the pages of their paper.

Fortunately before this document was published Louis Veuillot had started on a journey to Rome. His absence made it more easy for *L'Univers* to shape its course in these difficult circumstances. The condemnation of the Archbishop, together with the complaint of M. Gaduel, was published in full in *L'Univers*, followed by a note stating that in the absence of the editor-in-chief nothing definite could be done :—

Having set out from Paris [his brother wrote] without having been warned of this accusation, the editor-in-chief is actually at this moment in Rome. There he will receive at the same time notification of the charges levelled against him, and of the Archbishop's condemnation. There also he will be able to know with certainty what line of action the condemnation imposes upon him, and whatever it may be, we are confident that he will not shirk it. Whilst awaiting the resolution which he shall consider it his duty to take, we shall continue our labours.

Louis Veuillot was well received at Rome. Pius IX was not forgetful of the fact that, with all his faults of temper and language, the Papacy had no more zealous supporter than the editor of *L'Univers*. Shortly after his arrival he was received in private audience by the Holy Father, and though the Pope made it clear that the tone of many of the articles in *L'Univers* did not meet with his approval, yet that in his general policy the editor might count upon his support. The struggle in Rome between the Liberal and Ultramontane parties in France was sharp and decisive. Many of the bishops openly ranged themselves on the side of *L'Univers*. The Papal Secretary, Fioramonti, was instructed by Pius IX to forward a letter of approbation of the work done by Veuillot, in which at the same time it was pointed out that he should be more guarded in his criticisms. The Pope personally intervened and requested Veuillot to write a letter to the Archbishop of Paris asking him for the sake of the peace of the Church to withdraw his condemnation. Meanwhile Pius IX addressed his Encyclical *Inter multiplices* to the French Bishops, in which, while condemning the excesses of the Press he took pains to exhort the bishops to assist and

encourage Catholic journals, which, whatever might be their faults, were surely devoted to the interests of the Church. In obedience to the hint thus so diplomatically conveyed, Mgr. Sibour withdrew his condemnation, and peace was once more established between himself and the staff of *L'Univers*.

Hardly, however, had the editor of *L'Univers* escaped from one discussion till he found himself involved in another. Towards the end of the year 1856 an anonymous pamphlet, entitled '*The Univers Judged from its own Mouth*,' made its appearance in Paris, in which all kinds of charges—revolution, political subserviency, socialism, etc.—were levelled against *L'Univers*. The author or authors had carefully concealed their names, but common opinion pointed to a very distinguished French ecclesiastic as having at least inspired its publication. All the old enemies of *L'Univers*, political, religious, and educational, hastened to express their admiration of this pamphlet. Nor were the friends of Veuillot less slow in assuring him of their support in this trying situation :—

The services rendered to the Church [wrote Mgr. Parisis] by *L'Univers* are those yielded everywhere by Catholic journals, of which nobody to-day denies the utility and even necessity, with this exception—that the services of *L'Univers* are greater than those of any other journal, because it itself is greater, that is to say, more powerful and more widely read than other Catholic papers. It is *L'Univers* which has preceded them all ; it is it, which, in a sense, produced them all. Not alone in France, but in all the countries of Europe, in Italy, in England, in Ireland, everywhere I have seen copies of *L'Univers* in the hands of the prelates as well as of distinguished Catholic laymen. And in France, in Paris, despite all the efforts that have been made against it, is it not the only journal that can take its place side by side with the great papers of all parties ?

Cardinal de Benald and Cardinal Villecourt publicly expressed their agreement with the letter of Mgr. Parisis. From Rome came messages of sympathy and support.

Louis Veuillot resolved to vindicate himself and his journal in the public courts. An action for libel was instituted against the publishers, but the publishers promptly

disclaimed responsibility, and it became necessary for the author to come forward and face the courts. M. l'Abbé Cognat undertook the responsibility, and after many attempts at settlement had failed, the case was called for trial. M. Dufaure, former Minister of Louis Philippe; General Cavaignac, and Louis Napoleon, was the leading advocate in favour of the Abbé defendant. M. Josseau, a rising young Paris lawyer, opened the case for M. Veuillot. General interest was aroused by the trial, but on the opening of the second day word came of the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris; and in these circumstances it was considered by both sides as unbecoming that such a trial should be continued. An agreement was finally made by which Veuillot undertook to withdraw the charge, while the Abbé promised to prevent a second edition of the pamphlet from being published.

The views of Napoleon III on the union of Italy soon began to attract the serious attention of the Catholics. Ever since the Crimean war it became daily more manifest that the policy of Cavour had the warm sympathy of the Emperor. With united Italy as an ally Napoleon III might dictate terms to Europe. The publication of the pamphlet *Napoleon III and Italy*, left no doubts about the objects of French diplomacy. Austria must be driven out of Italy at all costs. Louis Veuillot was no warm admirer of Austrian Government in Italy, but he was too shrewd an observer not to foresee that the revolutionary forces in Italy stood to gain by such a conflict. He protested against a war which would bring side by side in the field of battle the soldiers of France, the protectors of the Holy See, and its natural enemies, the rabble followers of Garibaldi. But come what may, he expressed his confidence that whatever might be their differences France and Austria would rally loyally to the defence of the Papacy. 'On this point,' he wrote, 'France and Austria, otherwise opponents, will remain united, and their soldiers, otherwise enemies, will give to the world the spectacle of an indissoluble brotherhood in the home of their common father.'

The negotiations for settlement were continued. In April, 1859, it was announced in the official organ of the French Government that a congress of the five great Powers would soon assemble to arrange the affairs of Italy, and to introduce the necessary reforms into the Papal States. Veuillot was indignant at such an impudent proposal.

Great God ! [he wrote] Prussia, which oppresses the Catholics of the Rhine Provinces ; Russia, which holds in bondage the Polish nation ; England, which has enslaved the Irish people—these are the powers which are about to teach the government of the Pope lessons of humanity, justice, liberality, clemency, and two great Catholic nations will consent to this for the sake of escaping from a difficult situation. May the divine mercy protect the poor people, for it is not the people who act thus.

But the die was cast. Napoleon III had resolved upon the war, and no concessions of Austria, no opposition from the Catholic party could shake his resolution. Besides, the Emperor counted upon the support of some of the Catholics. ‘All Catholics,’ he is reported to have said, ‘are not with *L’Univers*. The Abbé Maret, the Dean of the Sorbonne, Lacordaire, and many others approve of my plans for Italy.’ The Emperor resolved to cover his expedition with the glamour of religion. Setting out for the army of Italy, he solemnly bade farewell to France at the foot of the altar of Notre Dame. Such a departure was worthy of the head of a Catholic nation had it been a genuine expression of the Emperor’s feelings, had it not rather been a trick to cover the baseness of his treachery towards the Head of the Catholic Church. ‘Let us pray God for France,’ wrote Louis Veuillot, ‘for France and for the Emperor.’

The forces of Napoleon were entirely successful. The Austrian power in Italy was shattered. According to the agreement of 11th July, 1859, made between Francis Joseph and Napoleon III the rights of the Pope as a Temporal Sovereign were duly respected.

Now, at last [wrote Veuillot], we are escaped from the war which we had feared would benefit revolution rather than liberty.

The war has been profitable to the freedom of Italy without any consecration of revolutionary principles. Just as sincerely as we made manifest our fears and our doubts before and during the war, we now rejoice at the result of the struggle that has been terminated.

But though the Catholics thus loudly proclaimed their satisfaction at the result they were not entirely without their fears. The protests and the menaces of the Italian revolutionists resounded on all sides. Piedmont, it was well known, favoured their designs, and the question which Catholics asked themselves, and which they found it difficult to answer, was what part shall France take in the struggle? Is it to be the Pope, or is it to be Garibaldi?

Meanwhile the revolution continued its march in Italy. Men began to see clearly that unless the Emperor soon spoke with no uncertain voice the possessions, and mayhap the person of the Holy Father, would soon be in the hands of Garibaldi and his allies of Turin. The bishops of France began to publish pastoral letters in which the danger was clearly brought home to the French Catholics. Mgr. Parisi was the first to take this step, and his pastoral was published in full in the columns of *L'Univers*. A Cabinet Council was immediately summoned, and a prohibition was issued to *L'Univers* against the publication of any other pastorals dealing with the situation in Italy. A council of war was held in the editor's office. The owner of the paper favoured obedience to the imperial command; Louis Veuillot and the staff declared that *L'Univers* could never die in a better cause, but at last a compromise was agreed upon. A strongly worded protest appeared side by side with the Government prohibition, in the columns of *L'Univers* :—

For two days [wrote the editor] we have ceased to publish the pastorals of the bishops on the situation of the Sovereign Pontiff. It is not because this manifestation of the mind and feelings of the Catholics has been discontinued, but because we have received an injunction from the Government against reproducing these letters, an injunction which is the more serious as we have already received a warning. This injunction we have been assured is only temporary. It has for its object the

protection of the episcopal acts and the episcopal dignity from the violence of the journals. With regard to ourselves, we believe if this prohibition be maintained that the most precious part of our civil and religious liberty has been taken from us ; we shall find ourselves without rule, without light, without guidance, and we foresee that at no far distant date the time when the Catholic Press shall have no longer a place in this vast field of opinions, where we are resolved to discharge our duty honourably to the last.

But the tension in Italy increased. The Revolutionary party had seized portion of the Temporal States, and they loudly demanded that the approaching Congress should recognise *les faits accomplis*. Napoleon was well known to favour such a view ; but he hesitated to publicly express his opinions. Another method was adopted. An anonymous pamphlet, entitled *The Pope and the Congress*, made its appearance on the Paris book-stalls. The main proposition which the author sought to establish was that the Pope should abandon his claims to some portion of the Pontifical States for the sake of the peace of Europe and the union of Italy. It was well known that the pamphlet if not actually inspired by the Emperor, at least represented his views. The editor of *L'Univers* promptly replied to this *brochure*. He pointed out that the claims of right and justice, the obligations solemnly entered into, and many times confirmed, could never be put aside by any revolutionary action. An address to the Holy Father was prepared and published, and steps taken to procure signatures. The address movement was promptly forbidden, and a second warning administered to the proprietor, editor and staff of *L'Univers*.

Meanwhile the unfriendly relations between Pius IX and Napoleon III were daily becoming more evident. At the New Year's Day (1860) receptions in Paris, the Nuncio in offering the good wishes of the Ambassadors was coldly polite ; while at Rome the Pope delivered a stirring allocution, in which he denounced in the strongest language the views put forward in the French *brochure*. He declared in unmistakable terms that, though surrounded by foes and betrayed by those who had pledged

their words to defend him, he would never yield an inch of the territory which he had sworn to guard. The editor of *L'Univers* was threatened with the severest penalties if he dared to publish this startling condemnation, but he declared his readiness to risk all rather than pass over in silence such an important pronouncement from the Head of the Church, and in the end the Government yielded, and withdrew the prohibition. Every day brought forth some new danger, and hence it was not without a feeling of relief that the editor received from the Nuncio, on the 27th March, the Papal Encyclical *Nullis certe*, which contained a solemn condemnation of the actions of Victor Emmanuel, referred in scathing terms to the difference in the language which the Emperor had addressed to the Pope before the war from that contained in *The Pope and the Congress*. And, finally, once more declared his unchangeable resolution never to yield except to force.

The editor was well aware that the publication of this document meant the suppression of his beloved journal. But to shirk such an obvious duty was an impossibility. The Encyclical appeared on the morning of January 29th, 1860. Its publication produced a tremendous sensation throughout Paris and France. Crowds visited the office of *L'Univers* to congratulate the editor on his courage, and to tender him their sympathy in the blow which they knew would soon fall. Nor had they long to wait. A Council of Ministers was hastily summoned to the Tuilleries, where the Emperor himself presided, and the decree for the suppression of *L'Univers* was solemnly drawn up. The newspapers of France—those representing hostile interests, as well as those supposed to be friendly—were unanimous in condemning this act of authority. Bishops and priests, and Catholic laymen, not alone in France but throughout Europe, sent messages of condolence, whilst the leading newspapers commented upon the suppression as one of the most serious incidents that had taken place for some time.

In this moment of trial Louis Veuillot turned to Rome for support and encouragement. He himself and his

colleagues on the staff forwarded a joint declaration of loyalty and obedience to the Holy Father :—

After the blow which has just been struck [they wrote] the first care and the greatest consolation of the staff of *L'Univers* is to throw themselves at the feet of your Holiness. Our work has ceased, but our hearts are more than ever filled with that zeal with which, thank God, they have always been animated. Devoted children of the Holy Roman Church we are proud to have fallen for daring to publish to the world the words of the Pope. It was an Encyclical of Pius IX that called *L'Univers* into life ; it is for an Encyclical of Pius IX that it has been condemned to die. Our journal was always loyal to you, most Holy Father, and our hearts, and our works, and ourselves we devote entirely to your service. Our resolution is to remain united if we can. If it is impossible, if we are obliged to separate, then each of us shall strive to promote our common object ; and in the meantime, if your Holiness wishes to assign to any of us a particular part we are ready to obey.

Despite the remonstrances of the French Ambassador and of his own Ministers, Pius IX generously resolved to publicly express his satisfaction with the work of *L'Univers*, and issued, on the 25th February, 1860, a congratulatory Brief 'to his beloved son, Louis Veuillot, and the co-editors of the religious journal, *L'Univers*.'

When his work in Paris was done, at least for a time Louis Veuillot once more turned his steps towards the Eternal City. The Pope received him in the most friendly way, and expressed his admiration of the policy of *L'Univers* regarding the Italian revolution. His only regret was that with the suppression of *L'Univers* there was no longer any journal through which the Vatican could speak to the world. Hence Veuillot was encouraged to transfer his journal from France to some other country, Belgium, Switzerland, or England, where he might be out of reach of the Imperial prohibitions. The Holy Father offered a moderate subsidy to promote such a work, and other generous friends were not wanting in practical proofs of their sympathy. The whole affair was satisfactorily arranged. *L'Univers* was to be henceforth published in Belgium. Louis Veuillot returned to Paris to arrange for the transfer—but hardly had he arrived in Paris than

he was seized by detectives, and his papers confiscated for Government inspection. Some of these containing, as they did, the Pope's opinions on the policy of Napoleon III, were anything but pleasant reading for the Imperial Ministers. But in the circumstances, it was generally felt that it would be unwise to re-start *L'Univers* in Belgium. The Government threatened to take steps that not a single copy should be introduced into France, whilst on the other hand, the fact of its being subsidized by the Pope having become public a very awkward situation might easily be created. Hence it was resolved to await better days.

On his retirement into private life Louis Veuillot devoted himself to the publication of pamphlets dealing mostly with Rome and the Holy Father. He was resolved to carry on in this way the policy of *L'Univers*. Once, when the Holy Father, fearing that the ex-editor was suffering for his devotion to the Holy See, ordered his Financial Minister to forward him a cheque, Veuillot received the cheque without a word, but promptly handed it over to Peter's Pence. He feared lest his enemies could say that he had sold his pen, even to the Pope. He visited Rome in connection with the canonization of the Japanese Martyrs, and was received with the warmest marks of approbation by most of the assembled prelates. All kinds of rumours were circulated by his opponents. He was supposed to be at the head and foot of all kinds of intrigues and plots, and not a few of the journals undertook to describe accurately the plans for which he sought to obtain the approval of the bishops :—

I read with astonishment [he wrote to *La Patrie* on his return] of the great doings with which I was credited while at Rome. You attributed to me the initiative in the Address which the prelates presented to the Holy Father ; you spoke of a party which I was supposed to have headed, and of a policy which I was supposed to have formulated, and of another party and another policy which I opposed. Permit me to say in two words that your informants have been fooling you. I was not at Rome to offer my advice to the Holy Ghost ; I was there to admire and to worship.

The differences between the French Catholics all these

years was a source of serious weakness. The Liberal school, at whose head stood Montalembert and the Bishop of Orleans, were not less opposed to the party of Louis Veuillot than were the most advanced of the infidel camp. These dissensions were bitterly deplored by earnest Catholics, and various efforts were made to bring about a reconciliation. In 1866 Mgr. Mermillod offered his services to bring together once more in defence of the Church Veuillot and Montalembert. The former was not unwilling, but feared that the differences were too great to be easily put aside. Montalembert, on the other hand, rejected all advances :—

You tell me [he wrote to an intermediary] that nobody wishes to continue the quarrel. Nevertheless, I wish it, and so long as I have a breath of life I shall wish it. I can easily bear the shackles and the gags which circumstances impose upon us, but I can never forgive the traitors and the fools who have led us where we are. Nobody can hinder me from speaking or from writing, and never shall I speak or write a word which shall not be directly or indirectly a protest against the spirit of which M. Veuillot is the sad personification amongst us.

After such a declaration any further efforts to promote re-union would have been a waste of labour.

In 1867 Napoleon, seeing that his hold on France was daily diminishing, resolved to do something to satisfy public opinion. He announced his resolve to give the Chambers greater powers, and to re-establish the liberty of the Press. Henceforth, the permission to establish a journal would be accorded to anyone who requested it. Louis Veuillot thereupon resolved to re-establish *L'Univers*, but the former owner refused the services of such a dangerous editor. Hence, nothing remained but to start it at his own expense, and thus he became both proprietor and editor. The re-appearance of the paper after seven years of enforced silence was hailed with delight on all sides. '*L'Univers*,' wrote the editor, 'will be what it has been, except for the improvements effected by experience. We feel ourselves more Catholic than we were, and more devoted to the Church.' Nor were these declarations mere idle words as was soon shown in the struggles that were to come.

Louis Napoleon prided himself specially on his political wisdom. He is said to have frequently boasted that there were only two statesmen in Europe, himself and Bismarck. But history has since given a different verdict. His plans for the union of Italy paved the way for the union of Germany, and the foundation of a powerful confederation beyond the Rhine. It is worthy of note that three years before the disastrous campaign which wrenched from France the fair provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, the editor of *L'Univers* clearly foresaw the danger :—

France [he wrote] has allowed itself to be deceived. It did not weigh carefully the full meaning of the principles of nationalities ; it did not foresee the frightful consequences for it and for the world which the establishment of great political confederations would produce. Seduced by the dreams of traitors and conspirators, who little reckon sentiment and blood, it has imprudently united Italy, it has imprudently neglected the advance of Prussia, it has imprudently abandoned Poland, sacrificed Hanover, allowed Austria to be broken up, demolished the German Confederation. The mistake of France has put the Protestant and ambitious nation of Prussia in the place of Catholic Austria. Prussia has advanced by leaps and bounds ; it will be in a short time Germany ; a Germany new, ambitious, enterprising, self-seeking, not disposed to rest content with its former boundaries, and the balance of power in Europe will be changed. What may we not expect, what may we not fear from a Germany, Prussian, united, militarised. We cannot allow Prussia to press too closely on the Rhine and on the Alps ; we cannot wait till it becomes the leading power of the world. Prussia undoubtedly aspires to that, and the prolongation of peace can only be a matter of tactics.

We should now deal with what is, in many senses, the most important event in the life of Veuillot, namely, the attitude of himself and *L'Univers* towards the Vatican Council. The friends of Papal Infallibility had no more loyal supporter than Veuillot, and no more useful ally than *L'Univers*. But, considering the extraordinary complications of these days, it would be unfair to approach this question with our present materials. We must await the publication of the fourth and last volume of his life, which will be taken up mainly with an account of his relations to the Vatican Council. Meanwhile we are grateful

to his brother for having given us so many details of Veuillot's life, for whatever may be our opinion of the work done by Louis Veuillot we must recognise that he was one of the foremost Catholic journalists of the century that is closed, and his paper *L'Univers* the most powerful Catholic organ.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

EXEQUIAL OFFICE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly say whether there is any authorization for the following case, or any prohibition of it, or what is to be thought of it :—

On the evening before a solemn Requiem Mass, the coffin containing the corpse is brought into the church, feet towards the altar, but at the feet is erected a shrine with a statue of our Lady on a pedestal, the shrine thus intervening between the coffin and the altar. This shrine is kept there all through the Mass and Absolution on the following day.

SACERDOS.

The custom mentioned by our correspondent, so far from enjoying any sanction or authorization, is, we believe, quite opposed to the spirit of the Rubrics concerning the *Officium Defunctorum*. In the first place the introduction of the statue of our Lady is altogether out of place, and wholly incompatible with the mournful character of the Requiem service, while it is calculated to divert attention from the very object on which all thoughts should be centred during the performance of the exequial rites. Again, everything in the way of ornament or decoration is to be excluded on the solemn occasion of a Dead Office or Mass;¹ for, while the Rubrics prescribe with the greatest minuteness of detail all that should be present in connection with the bier or *castrum doloris*, from the candles of unbleached wax to the *insignia* which are permitted to mark the dignity of a deceased ecclesiastic, they must be held to prohibit by implication, whatever they do not

¹ *Vide* De Herdt, *Prax. Lit.*, v. iii., pp. 327-330; item, *Rit. Rom. De Exeq.*

expressly allow. Finally, there is a decision of the Sacred Congregation of Rites which seems to embrace the case under notice. The following question was asked: 'Num servanda sit antiquissima consuetudo collocandi crucem ad caput feretri, vel tumuli dum cantatur Missa et perdurat Officium Emortuale?' To which the answer was given: 'Serventur Rubricae.' Now, there can be no reason for the statue which does not hold in the case of the Crucifix. Hence, we think that our correspondent, who seems to have a strong suspicion about the correctness of the practice he describes, should do all he can to have it eliminated.

RECITAL OF PRAYERS AFTER MASS IN IRISH

REV. DEAR SIR,—In a certain church situated in an Irish-speaking district, the Sunday sermon is invariably in *Irish*, as are also the May, October, and Lenten devotions. The Papal prayers prescribed to be said after Mass are, however, said in English. 1. May not these also be said in Irish, especially as there is now an authorized translation to be found in the Irish Prayer Book published by the Catholic Truth Society? 2. May a Priest celebrating in a private chapel say these prayers in Irish, provided the server can join with the priest, and give the responses in the same language?—Yours, etc.,

READER.

The prayers ordered by Leo XIII to be recited after Low Masses, being originally published in Latin and being, moreover, connected with the Mass which is the most strictly liturgical of all functions, are said with greater appropriateness in this language than in any other. For a time it was doubted if they could be legitimately said in the vernacular without a special concession. From the nature of the case, however, seeing that the congregation is expected to join in their recital—which is not possible in the vast majority of cases if they are said in Latin—many authorities maintain that the prayers can be lawfully said in the vernacular, even apart from a dispensing indult, especially as the part of the Mass after the last Gospel need

not be regarded as strictly liturgical, since it is not described in any of the Liturgical collections.¹ We have not seen any general Decree, but we believe that private indults were obtained in many places authorizing the recital in the vernacular, and, at the present day, if ever the necessity for special sanction existed, we believe it is obviated by general custom. Now, since *ex hypothesi* Irish is the *vernacular* in the districts spoken of in our correspondent's query, and since a duly authorized translation of the prayers has been published in this ancient and honoured language, there can be no difficulty about the answer to be given to the first point—they may of course be said in Irish. The same reply, with greater reason, is to be given in the second instance.

DISPOSAL OF FRAGMENTS ON CORPORAL AFTER COMMUNION IN CERTAIN CASES

REV. DEAR SIR,—I should be grateful for the trouble taken with the reply to my query. The course recommended, however, gives no guidance in the following sets of circumstances, which, I think, may be said to be practical :—

A Priest says two Masses in the same church on the same day ; and (there being no danger whatever of irreverence) allows the chalice to remain upon the altar during the time between the two Masses—(1) It is an occasion of very great devotion and the pyx at hand is not sufficiently large to contain the number of particles necessary for the communicants ; the Priest (at the first Mass) consecrates in the pyx as many particles as it can contain ; and on the corporal about as many more as will be required. In this case he cannot collect the fragments of the Communion particles off the corporal before the consumption of the Precious Blood, nor until he has given Communion. (2) A pyx is in the tabernacle containing some consecrated particles ; the Priest consecrates upon the corporal as many more particles as will be required. In these circumstances when should the corporal be purified ?—Faithfully yours,

C. D.

¹ Cf. *Ephem. Liturg.*, an. 1892, p. 230.

We did not, in the reply to a former question put us by our correspondent, contemplate the cases he now makes, as we confined ourselves altogether to discussing the desirability of purifying the corporal *before* the consumption of the Precious Blood when it can be conveniently done at this particular instant and not quite so easily afterwards. Here a new issue is raised, as the corporal evidently cannot be thoroughly purified *ante sanguinis consumptionem*, for there are particles upon it which are to be distributed in Communion. In these circumstances we would recommend that as many of the particles as possible should be collected and consumed with the Precious Blood, in order that there may be as few as possible to be disposed of afterwards. When, then, the celebrant returns from the distribution of Communion and puts the remaining particles into the pyx he gathers up the fragments. Let us suppose he has some upon the paten, what is he to do with them? There are only two alternatives—either to put them into the pyx or ciborium, or to consume them by carefully conveying them to the mouth with the forefinger. Both these methods have their disadvantages, but the latter seems to us to have more to recommend it than the former. It is true that as we stated previously¹ De Herdt condemns this method of purifying the ciborium for general adoption; but, nevertheless, it has had the approval of some Rubricists,² and, if ever it is lawful, we think the present extreme case is an instance where it may be adopted, all precautions being taken, of course, to diminish as far as possible the danger either of irreverence to, or loss of, the consecrated fragments. If a Priest, on finishing Mass and before he has unvested, finds fragments which he believes to belong to the sacrifice just concluded he is directed, not to put them into the pyx, but to consume them, presumably by conveying them with

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1905, p. 93.

² Cf. De Herdt, *Prax. Sac. Lit.*, v. i., n. 282.

his finger to the mouth. May not the analogy hold for the fragments we are just considering?

Where the pyx is in the Tabernacle and contains some consecrated particles these should be distributed before those on the corporal. The pyx might then be purified with the fingers before the freshly-consecrated particles are put into it, and the fragments gathered on to the paten until the Communion is distributed, when they may be consumed in the manner indicated.

P. MORRISROE.

CORRESPONDENCE

'THE REPRINTING OF IRISH BOOKS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Those interested in records of the Irish Church have good reason to be grateful to Mgr. O'Laverty for his letter and for the correspondence of Dr. MacCarthy, published in the May number.

It is surely time that some united effort should be made to do something permanent in the field of Irish ecclesiastical history. It is beyond the power of any individuals, however gifted and industrious they may be, to undertake such a work as the *Monumenta Hiberniae Sacra*, unless some society were behind them able and willing to undertake the financial responsibility. Without a society such as the Catholic Historical Society in Germany, or the Catholic Record Societies of America and England, little work of a scholarly and critical character can be undertaken, and we believe that if editing be not done in a scholarly and critical manner it were better left alone.

We have already too much worthless literature on Irish history, and too little that is unquestionably reliable. The Irish Catholic Record Society if established—and we see no reason why it could not be established—ought to make certain that its publications, however few and far between, should be scholarly and not unworthy of the Irish Church.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

THE ITALIAN PRONUNCIATION OF 'MIHI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—The assertion which 'amazed' M. B. was not made by M. R., but by a writer in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. One who has lived in northern Italy confirms the statement of the Transatlantic periodical. Perhaps on that point the *bocca Romana* is capable of improvement. At the worst this slight modification might be tolerated among us, as it would save us from *micky*, and give your correspondent S. L. 'genuine pleasure.' We shall do pretty well if we give the Italian sound to the vowels, distinguish *c* before *e* and *i*

from *s*, and give *gn* the sound of *ny* as in *opinion*, even if we shrink from dropping our *aitches*.

M. R.

REV. DEAR SIR,—As a small ray of light thrown on this interesting subject, may I be allowed to quote an instance of how ‘*mihi*’ was pronounced before the ‘Reformation.’ In a curious old work (written in 1450), *Instructions for Parish Priests*, by John Myrc, an Augustinian Friar of Lilleshall Abbey, Shropshire, this word is always written ‘*michi*’ which, I presume, equals ‘*miki*.’—Yours faithfully,

WILFRID CANON DALLOW

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X ON THE
TEACHING OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE X
LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD SACROS UNIVERSI CATHOLICI ORBIS
ANTISTITES DE CHRISTIANA DOCTRINA TRADENDA VENERA-
BILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPIS-
COPIS EPISCOPIS ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS CUM APOS-
TOLICA SEDE PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM HABENTIBUS

PIUS PP. X.

Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Acerbo nimis ac difficili tempore ad supremi pastoris munus, in universum Christi gregem gerendum, arcanum Dei consilium tenuitatem Nostram exexit. Inimicus namque homo sic gregem ipsum iam du obambulat vaferrimaque insidiatur astutia, ut nunc vel maxime illud factum esse videatur, quod senioribus Ecclesiae Ephesi praeuntiabat Apostolus : *Ego scio quoniam intrabunt . . . lupi rapaces in vos, non parcentes gregi.*¹—Cuius quidem religiosae rei inclinationis, quicumque adhuc divinae gloriae studio feruntur, causas rationesque inquirunt ; quas dum alii alias afferunt, diversas, pro sua quisque sententia, ad Dei regnum in hisce terris tutandum restituendumque sequuntur vias. Nobis Venerabiles Fratres, quamvis cetera non respuamus, iis maxime assentiendum videtur, quorum iudicio et praesens animorum remissio ac veluti imbecillitas, quaeque inde gravissima oriuntur mala, ex divinarum ignoratione rerum praecipue sunt repetenda. Congruit id plane cum eo, quod Deus ipse per Oseam prophetam dixit : . . . *Et non est scientia Dei in terra. Maledictum, et mendacium, et homicidium, et furtum, et adulterium iundaverunt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit. Propter hoc lugebit terra, et infirmabitur omnis, qui habitat in ea.*²

Et re quidem vera, aetate hac nostra esse quamplurimos in

¹ Act. xx 29.

² Os. iv. 1 ss.

christiano populo, qui in summa ignoratione eorum versentur, quae ad salutem aeternam nosse oportet, communes, eaeque proh dolor! non iniustae, sunt quaerimoniae.—Quum vero christianum dicimus populum, non plebem tantum aut sequioris coetus homines significamus, qui saepenumero aliquam ignorantiae excusationem ex eo admittunt, quod immitium dominorum imperio cum pareant, vix sibi suisque temporibus servire queunt: sed illos etiam et maxime, qui etsi ingenio cultuque non carent, profana quidem eruditione affatim pollent, ad religionem tamen quod attinet, temere omnino atque imprudenter vivunt. Difficile dictu est quam crassis hi saepe tenebris obvolvuntur; quodque magis dolendum est, in iis tranquille iacent! De summo rerum omnium auctore ac moderatore Deo, de christianae fidei sapientia nulla fere ipsis cogitatio. Hinc vero nec de Verbi Dei incarnatione, nec de perfecta ab ipso humani generis restauratione quidquam norunt; nihil de Gratia, quae potissimum est adiumentum ad aeternorum adeptionem, nihil de Sacrificio augusto aut de Sacramentis, quibus gratiam ipsam assequimur ac retinemus. Peccato autem quid nequitiae insit quid turpitudinis nullo pacto aestimatur; unde nec eius vitandi nec deponendi sollicitudo ulla sicque ad supremum usque diem venit, ut sacerdos, ne spes absit salutis, extrema agentium animam momenta, quae fovendae maxime caritati in Deum impendi oporteret, edocendo summatim religionem tribuat: si tamen, quod fere usuvenit, usque adeo culpabili ignorantia moriens non laboret ut et sacerdotis operam supervacaneam arbitretur et, minime placato Deo, tremendum aeternitatis viam securo animo ingrediendam putet. Unde merito scripsit Benedictus XIV decessor Noster: *Illud affirmamus, magnam eorum partem, qui aeternis suppliciis damnantur, eam calamitatem perpetuo subire ob ignorantiam mysteriorum fidei, quae scire et credere necessario debent, ut inter electos cooptentur.*¹

Haec quum ita sint, Venerabiles Fratres, quid quaeso mirabimur, si tanta sit modo inque dies augescat, non inter barbaras iniquimus nationes, sed in ipsis gentibus quae christiano nomine feruntur, corruptela morum et consuetudinum depravatio? Paulus quidem apostolus ad Ephesios scribens haec edicebat:

¹ Instit. xxvi. 18.

*Fornicatio autem, et omnis immunditia, aut avaritia, nec nominetur in vobis, sicut decet sanctos; aut turpitude, aut stultiloquium.*¹ At vero sanctimoniae huic ac pudori cupiditatum moderatori divinarum rerum sapientiae fundamentum posuit: *Videte itaque, fratres, quomodo caute ambuletis: non quasi insipientes, sed ut sapientes. . . . Propterea nolite fieri imprudentes, sed intelligentes quae sit voluntas Dei.*²

Et plane id merito. Voluntas namque hominis inditum ab ipso auctore Deo honesti rectique amorem, quo in bonum non adumbratum sed sincerum veluti rapiebatur, vix retinet adhuc. Currup telâ primaevae labis depravata, ac Dei factoris sui quasi oblita, eo affectum omnem convertit ut diligat vanitatem et quaerat mendacium. Erranti igitur pravisque obcaecatae cupiditatibus voluntati duce opus est qui monstret viam, ut male desertas repeat iustitiae semitas. Dux autem, non aliunde quesitus, sed a natura comparatus, mens ipsa est: quae si germana careat luce, divinarum nempe rerum notitia, illud habebitur, quod coecus coeco ducatum praestabit et ambo in foveam cadent. Sanctus rex David, quum Deum de veritatis indidisset: *Signatum est, aiebat, super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine.*³ Quid porro ex hac largitione luminis sequatur addidit, inquiens: *Dedisti laetitiam in corde meo*: laetitiam videlicet, qua dilatatum cor nostrum, viam mandatorum divinorum currat.

Quod revera ita esse facile consideranti patet. Deum namque eiusque infinitas quas perfectiones nominamus, longe exploratius, quam naturae vires scrutentur, christiana nobis sapientia manifestat. Quid porro? Iubet haec simul summum ipsum Deum officio *fidci* nos revereri, quae mentis est; *spei* quae voluntatis; *caritalis* quae cordis: sicque totum hominem supremo illi Auctori ac Moderatori mancipat. Similiter una est Iesu Christi doctrina, quae germanam praestabilemque hominis aperit dignitatem, quippe qui sit filius Patris caelestis qui in caelis est, ad imaginem eius factus cumque eo aeternum beateque victurus. At vero ex hac ipsa dignitate eiusdemque notitiâ infert Christus debere homines se amare invicem ut fratres, vitam heic degere, ut lucis filios decet, *non in commessionibus, et ebrietatibus; non in cubilibus et impudiciis;*

¹ Ephes. v. 3 s.² Ephes. v. 15 ss.³ Ps. iv. 7.

non in contentione, et aemulatione; ¹ iubet pariter omnem sollicitudinem nostram proicere in Deum, quoniam ipsi cura est de nobis; iubet tribuere egenis, benefacere iis qui nos oderunt, aeternas animi utilitates fluxis huius temporis bonis antepondere. Ne autem omnia singulatim attingamus, nonne ex Christi institutione homini superbius audenti demissio animi, quae verae gloriae origo est, suadetur ac praecipitur? *Quicumque . . . humiliaverit se . . . hic est maior in regno caelorum.* ² Ex ea prudentiam spiritus docemur, qua prudentiam carnis caveamus; iustitiam, qua ius tribuamus cuique suum; fortitudinem, qua parati simus omnia perpeti, erectoque animo pro Deo sempiternaque beatitudine patiamur; temperantiam denique, qua vel pauperiem pro regno Dei admemus, quin et in ipsa cruce gloriemur, confusione contempta. Stat igitur, ab christiana sapientia, non modo intellectum nostram mutuari lumen, quo veritatem assequatur sed voluntatem etiam ardorem concipere, quo evehamur in Deum cumque Eo virtutis exercitatione iungamur.

Longe equidem absumus ut ex his asseramus, pravitatem animi corruptionemque morum non posse cum religionis scientia coniungi. Utinam non id plus nimio probarent facta! Contendimus tamen, ubi crassae ignorantiae tenebris sit mens circumfusa, nullatenus posse aut rectam voluntatem esse aut mores bonos. Apertis namque oculis si quis incedat, poterit ille sane de recto tutoque itinere declinare: qui tamen caecitate laborat, huic periculum certe quidem imminet.—Adde porro: corruptionem morum, si fidei lumen penitus non sit extinctum, spem lumen penitus non sit extinctum, spem facere emendationis; quod si utrumque iungitur et morum pravitas et fidei ob ignorantiam defectio, vix erit medicinae locus, patetque ad ruinam via.

Quum igitur ex ignorantia religionis tam multa tamque gravia deriventur damna; alia vero ex parte, quum tanta sit religiosae institutionis necessitas atque utilitas, frustra enim christiani hominis officia impleturus speratur qui illa ignoret: iam ulterius inquirendum venit, cuius demum sit perniciosissimam hanc ignorantiam cavere mentibus, adeoque necessaria scientia animos imbuere.—Quae res, Venerabiles Fratres,

¹ Rom. xiii. 13.

² Matth. xviii. 4.

nullam habet dubitationem gravissimum namque id munus ad omnes pertinet, quotquot sunt animarum pastores. Hi sane, ex Christi praecepto, creditas sibi oves agnoscere tenentur ac pascere; pascere autem hoc primum est, docere; *Dabo vobis, sic nempe Deus per Ieremiam promittebat, pastores juxta cor meum, et pascent vos scientiâ et doctrina.*¹ Unde et Apostolus Paulus aiebat: *Non . . . misit me Christus baptizare, sed evangelizare,*² indicans videlicet primas eorum partes, qui regendae aliquo modo Ecclesiae sunt positi, esse in instituendis ad sacra fidelibus.

Cuius quidem institutionis laudes persequi supervacaneum ducimus, quantique ea sit apud Deum ostendere. Certe miseratio quam pauperibus ad levandas angustias tribuimus, magnam a Deo habet laudem. At longe maiorem quis neget habere studium et laborem, quo, non fluxas corporibus utilitates, sed aeternas animis docendo monendoque conciliamus? Nihil profecto optatius, nihil gratius queat Iesu Christo animarum servatori accidere, qui de se per Isaiam professus est: *Evangelizare pauperibus misit me.*³

Hic tamen praestat, Venerabiles Fratres, hoc unum consecrari atque urgere, nullo sacerdotem quemlibet graviore officio teneri, nullo arctiori nexu obligari. Etenim in sacerdote ad vitae sanctimoniam debere scientiam adiici, quis neget? *Labia . . . sacerdotis custodient scientiam.*⁴ Atque illam reapse severissime Ecclesia requirit in iis qui sint sacerdotio initiandi. Quorsum id vero? Quia scilicet ab eis divinae legis notitiam christiana plebs expectat, illosque ad eam impertiendam destinat Deus: *Et legem requirent ex ore eius: quia angelus Domini exercituum est.*⁵ Quamobrem Episcopus, in sacra initiatione, sacerdotii candidatos alloquens: *Sit, inquit, doctrina vestra spiritualis medicina populo Dei; sint providi cooperatores ordinis nostri; ut in lege sua die ac nocte meditantes, quod legerint credant, quod crediderint doceant.*⁶

Quod si nemo sacerdos, ad quem haec non pertineant, quid porro de illis censebimus, qui, nomine ac potestate curionum aucti, animarum rectoris munere, vi dignitatis et quodam quasi pacto inito, funguntur? Hi quodammodo pastoribus et doc-

¹ Ier. iii. 15.

² I Cor. i. 17.

³ Luc. iv. 18.

⁴ Malach. ii. 7.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ Pontif. Rom.

toribus sunt accensendi, quos dedit Christus ut fideles iam non sint parvuli fluctuantes, et circumferantur omni vento doctrinae in nequitia hominum; veritatem autem facientes in caritate, crescant in illo per omnia, qui est caput Christus.¹

Quapropter sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus, de animarum pastoribus agens, officium eorum hoc primum et maximum esse edicit, christianam plebem docere.² Hinc iubet illos, dominicis saltem diebus festisque sollemnioribus, de religione ad populum dicere, sacri vero Adventus tempore et Quadragesimae quotidie, vel saltem ter in hebdomada. Neque id modo: addit namque teneri parochos, eisdem saltem dominicis festisque diebus, per se vel per alios, in fidei veritatibus erudire pueros, eosque ad obedientiam in Deum ac parentes instituere. Quum vero sacramenta fuerint administranda, praecipit, ut qui sunt suscepturi, de eorumdem vi, facili vulgarique sermone, doceantur.

Quas sacrosanctae Synodi praescriptiones Benedictus XIX decessor Noster, in sua Constitutione *Etsi minime*, sic brevi complexus est ac distinctius definivit: *Duo potissimum onera a Tridentina Synodo curatoribus animarum sunt imposita: alterum, ut festis diebus de rebus divinis sermones ad populum habeant; alterum, ut pueros et rudiores quosque divinae legis fideique rudimentis informant.*—Iure autem sapientissimus Pontifex duplex hoc officium distinguit, sermonis videlicet habendi, quem vulgo Evangelii explicationem vocitant, et christianae doctrinae tradendae. Non enim fortasse desint qui, minuendi laboris cupidi, persuadeant sibi homiliam pro catechesi esse posse. Quod quam putetur perperam, consideranti patet. Qui enim sermo de sacro Evangelio habetur ad eos instituitur, quos fidei elementis imbutos iam esse oportet. Panem diceres, qui adultis frangatur. Catechetica e contra institutio lac illud est, quod Petrus Apostolus concupisci sine dolo a fidelibus volebat, quasi a modo genitis infantibus.—Hoc scilicet catechistae munus est, veritatem aliquam tractandam suscipere vel ad fidem vel ad christianos mores pertinentem, eamque omni ex parte illustrare: quoniam vero emendatio vitae finis docendi esse debet, oportet catechistam comparisonem instituere ea inter quae Deus agenda praecipit quaeque homines reapse agunt; post haec,

¹ Ephes. iv. 14, 15.

² Sess. v., cap. 2 de ref.; Sess. xxii., cap. 8; Sess. xxiv., cap. 4 et 7 de ref.

exemplis opportune usum, quae vel e Scripturis sacris, vel ex Ecclesiastica historia, vel e sanctorum virorum vita sapineter hauserit, suadere auditores eisque, intento veluti digito, com-monstrate quo pacto componant mores ; finem denique hortando facere, ut qui adstant horreant vitia ac declinent, virtutem sectentur.

Scimus equidem eiusmodi tradendae christianae doctrina munus haud paucis invidiosum esse, quod minoris vulgo aesti-metur nec forte ad popularem laudem captandam aptum. Nos tamen hoc esse iudicium eorum censemus, qui levitate magis quam veritate ducuntur. Oratores profecto Sacros, qui, sincero divinae gloriae studio, vel vindicandae tuendaeque fidei, vel Sanctorum laudationibus dent operam, probandos esse non recusamus. Verum illorum labor laborem alium praeivium desiderat, scilicet catechistarum ; qui si deest, fundamenta desunt, atque in vanum laborant qui aedific-ant domum. Nimium saepe orationes ornatissimae, quae confertissimae concionis plausu excipiuntur, hoc unum assequuntur ut pruriant auribus ; animos nullatenus movent. E contra catechetica institutio humilis quamvis et simplex, verbum, illud est, de quo Deus ipse testatur per Isaiam : *Quomodo descendit imber, et nix de caelo, et illuc ultra non revertitur, sed inebriat terram, et infundit eam, et germinare eam facit, et dat semen serenti, et panem comedenti : sic erit verbum meum quod egredietur de ore meo : non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet quaecumque voluit, et prosperabitur in his, ad quae misi illud.*¹—Similiter arbitrandum putamus de sacerdo-tibus iis, qui, ad religionis veritates illustrandas, libros operosos conscribunt ; digni plane qui ideo commendatione multa exor-entur. Quotus tamen quisque est, qui eiusmodi volumina verset, fructumque inde hauriat auctorum labori atque optatis respondentem ? Traditio autem christianae doctrinae, si rite fiat, utilitatem audientibus nunquam non affert.

Etenim (quod ad inflammandum studium ministrorum Dei iterum advertisse iuverit) ingens modo eorum est numerus atque in dies augetur, qui de religione omnino ignorant, vel eam tantum de Deo christianeque fidei notitiam habent, quae illos permittat, in media luce catholicae veritatis, idololatrarum

¹ Is. lv. 10, 11.

more vivere. Quam multi eheu! sunt, non pueros dicimus, sed adulta, quin etiam devexa aetate, qui praecipua fidei mysteria nesciant prorsus; qui Christi nomine audito, respondeant: *Quis est, . . . ut credam in eum?*¹—Hinc odia in alios struere ac nutrire, pactiones conflare iniquissimas, inhonestas negotiorum procuraciones gerere, aliena gravi foenore occupare, aliaque id genus flagitiosa haud sibi vitio ducunt. Hinc Christi legem ignorantes, quae non modo turpia damnat facinora, sed vel ea cogitare scienter atque optare; etsi forte, qualibet demum de causa, obscoenis voluptatibus fere abstinent, inquinatissimas tamen cogitationes, nulla sibi religione iniecta, suscipiunt; iniquitates super capillos capitis multiplicantes.—Haec porro, iterasse iuvat, non in agris solum vel inter miseram plebeculam occurrunt, verum etiam ac forte frequentius inter homines amplioris ordinis, atque adeo apud illos quos inflat scientia, qui vana freti eruditione religionem ridere posse autumant et *quaecumque quidem ignorant, blasphemant.*²

Iam, si frustra seges e terra speratur quae semen non exceperit, quid demum bene moratas progenies expectes, si non tempore fuerint christiana doctrina institutae?—Ex quo colligimus iure, quum fides id aetatis usque eo languerit ut in multis pene sint intermortua, sacrae catechesis tradendae officium vel negligentius persolvi, vel praetermitti omnino. Perperam enim ad habendam excusationem quis dixerit, esse fidem gratuito munere donatam nobis atque in sacro baptismo cuique inditam. Equidem utique quotquot in Christo baptizati sumus fidei habitu augemur; sed divinissimum hoc semen non *ascendit . . . et facit ramos magnos*³ permissum sibi ac veluti virtute insita. Est et in homine, ab exortu, intelligendi vis: ea tamen materno indiget verbo, quo quasi excitata in actum, ut aiunt, exeat. Haud aliter christiano homini accidit, qui, renascens ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, conceptam secum affert fidem; eget tamen Ecclesiae institutione, ut ea ali augerique possit fructumque ferre. Idcirco Apostolus scribebat: *Fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi*;⁴ institutionis autem necessitudinem ut ostenderet, addit: *Quomodo . . . audient sine praedicante?*⁵

¹ Ioan. ix. 36.² Iud. x.³ Marc. iv. 32.⁴ Rom. io, 17.⁵ Ib. 14.

Quod si, ex huc usque explicatis, religiosa populi eruditio quanti momenti maxime esse oportet, ut Doctrinae sasit ostenditur, curae Nobis quam quod crae praeceptio, qua, ut Benedicti XIV decessoris Nostri verbis utamur, ad Dei gloriam et ad animarum salutem nihil utilius est institutum¹ vigeat semper aut, sicubi negligitur, restituatur.—Volentes igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, huic gravissimo supremi apostolatus officio satisfacere, atque unum paremque morem in re tanta ubique esse; suprema Nostra auctoritate, quae sequuntur, in dioecibus uniaersis, observanda et exequenda constituimus districteque mandamus.

I. Parochi universi, ac generatim quotquot animarum curam gerunt, diebus dominicis ac festis per annum, nullo excepto, per integrum horae spatium, pueros et puellas de iis, quae quisque credere agereque debeant ad salutem adipiscendam, ex catechismi libello erudiant.

II. Iidem, statis anni temporibus pueros ac puellas ad Sacramenta Poenitentiae et Confirmationis rite suscipienda praeparent, continenti per dies plures institutione.

III. Item, ac peculiari omnino studio, feriis omnibus Quadragesimae atque aliis, si opus erit, diebus post festa Paschalia, aptis praeceptionibus et hortationibus adoloscuntulos et adoloscuntulas sic instruant, ut sancte primum de altari libent.

IV. In omnibus et singulis parocciis consociatio canonice instituatur, cui vulgo nomen Congregatio Doctrinae christianae. Eâ parochi, praesertim ubi sacerdotum numerus sit exiguus, adiutores in catechesi tradenda laicos habebunt, qui se huic dedent magisterio tum studio gloriae Dei, tum ad sacras lucrandas indulgentias, quas Romani Pontifices largissime tribuerunt.

V. Maioribus in urbibus, inque iis praecipue ubi universitates studiorum, lycea, gymnasia patent, scholae religionis fundentur ad erudiendam fidei veritatibus vitaeque christianae institutis iuventam, quae publicas scholas celebrat, ubi religiosae rei mentio nulla iniicitur.

VI. Quoniam vero, hac praesertim tempestate, grandior aetas non secus ac puerilis religiosa eget institutione; parochi universi ceterique animarum curam gerentes, praeter consuetam homiliam de Evangelio, quae festis diebus omnibus in parochiali

¹ Constit. *Etsi minime*, 13.

Sacro est habenda, eâ horâ quam opportuniorem duxerint ad populi frequentiam, illâ tantum exceptâ qua pueri erudiuntur, catechesim ad fideles instituant, facili quidem sermone et ad captum accommodato. Qua in re Catechisma Tridentino utentur, eo utique ordine ut quadriennii vel quinquennii spatio totam materiam pertractent quae de Symbolo est, de Sacramentis, de Decalogo, de Oratione et de praeceptis Ecclesiae.

Haec Nos quidem, Venerabiles Fratres, auctoritate apostolica constituimus et iubemus. Vestrum modo erit efficere ut, in vestra cuiusque dioecesi, nullâ morâ atque integre executioni mandentur; vigilare porro et pro auctoritate vestra cavere, ne quae praecipimus oblivioni dentur, vel, quod idem est, remisse oscitanterque impleantur. Quod ut reapse vitetur, illud assidue commendetis et urgeatis oportet, ut parochi ne imparati catechesis praeceptiones habeant, sed diligenti prius adhibita praeparatione; ut ne loquantur humanae sapientiae verba, sed, *in simplicitate cordis et sinceritate Dei*,¹ Christi exemplum sectentur, qui quamvis *abscondita* eructaret *a constitutione mundi*,² loquebatur tamen omnia *in parabolis ad turbas et sine parabolis non loquebatur eis*.³ Id ipsum et Apostolos, a Domino institutos, praestitisse novimus; de quibus Gregorius Magnus aiebat: *Curaverunt summopere rudibus populis plana, et capabilia non summa atque ardua praedicare*.⁴ Ad religionem autem quod attinet, homines magnam partem radibus, hac tempestate nostra sunt accensendi.

Nolimus porro, ne ex eiusmodi simplicitatis studio persuadeat quis sibi, in hoc genere tractando, nullo labore nullaque meditatione opus esse: quin immo maiorem plane, quam quodvis genus aliud, requirit. Facilius longe est reperire oratorem, qui copiose dicat ac splendide, quam catechistam qui praeceptionem habeat omni ex parte laudabilem. Quamcumque igitur facilitatem cogitandi et eloquendi quis a natura sit nactus, hoc probe teneat, nunquam se de christiana doctrina ad pueros vel ad populum cum animi fructu esse dicturum, nisi multa commentatione paratum atque expeditum. Falluntur sane qui plebis imperitia ac tarditate fusi, hac in re negligentius agere se posse autumant. E contrario, quo quis rudiores nactus sit auditores, eo maiore studio ad diligentia utatur oportet, ut

¹ II Cor. i. 12.
² Matth. xiii. 35.

³ Matth. xiii. 34.
⁴ Moral. I. xvii., cap. 26.

sublimissimas veritates, adeo a vulgari intelligentia remotas, ad obtusio-rem imperitorum aciem accommodent, quibus aequae sapientibus, ad aeternam beatitatem adipiscendam sunt necessariae.

Iam igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, Mosis verbis, in hac postrema litterarum Nostrarum parte, liceat vos alloqui: *Si quis est Domini, iungatur mihi.*¹ Advertite, rogamus quaesumusque, quanta animarum clades ex una divinarum rerum ignorance veniat. Multa forte utilia planeque laudatione digna, in vestra cuiusque dioecesi, sunt a vobis instituta in commissi gregis commodum: velitis tamen, prae omnibus, quanta potestis contentione, quanto studio, quanta potestis contentione, quanto studio, quanta assiduitate hoc curare atque urgere, ut doctrinae christianae notitia cunctorum pervadat animos penitusque imbuat. *Unusquisque, Petri Apostoli utimur verbis, sicut accepit gratiam, in alterutrum illam administrantes, sicut boni dispensatores multiformis gratiae Dei.*²

Diligentiam industriasque vestras, beatissima Virgine immaculata intercedente, fortunet vobis Apostolica benedictio, quam, testem caritatis Nostrae ac caelestium gratiarum auspicem, vobis et clero ac populo cuique credito amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum die XV Aprilis MDCCCCV, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

Pius PP. X.

¹ Exod. xxxii. 26.

² I. Petr. iv. 10.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

HANDBOOK OF HOMERIC STUDY. By Henry Browne, S.J.
M.A. (Oxon.), F.R.U.I. Crown 8vo. Dublin: Browne
and Nolan, Ltd. 1905. Price 6s. net.

FATHER BROWNE in his little book on Greek Composition, published some years ago, has shown himself, as learners will readily acknowledge, a master of orderly arrangement and clear exposition. The same good qualities, the same thoroughness and conscientiousness are present in a very striking form in the interesting work before us. As its title conveys, it is intended as an introduction to the study of Homer and as a guide to the many problems which are linked with the Homeric poems. It deals with the dialect and text of Homer, with the Homerids, with the long, and, in many points, still undecided controversy on the composition of the poems, with Homeric civilization and all that it imports, and with the significance of the excavations in the Troad and at Mycenæ and Cnossos from Schliemann to the present day, whilst the concluding chapter consists of a brief dissertation on the epic art of Homer.

Father Browne has drawn from a multiplicity of sources, few of which are readily accessible to the student, a great store of information, clearly and concisely presented to the reader, and at the conclusion of the chapters dealing with disputed questions, he gives in a few propositions his own summing-up of the controversy. If one were disposed to comment on the absence of reference to several German writers who have helped towards the elucidation of Homeric problems, one finds a sufficient answer in the author's carefully-worded preface, where he points out the necessity of avoiding the defect of excess in dealing with his subject and of the impossibility of doing justice within the compass of such a work as he has planned to all that has been written about Homer. Whilst the student will find his book invaluable, others who seek entertainment in literature of a more fleeting kind, will realize in its pages that the romance of truth is more fascinating than the romance of fiction. Father Browne, it should be added, has minimised the importance of

his own part of the work. It is less consistent with truth than modesty to suggest that he has merely collected and summarised. Much that is valuable and interesting is entirely his own.

P. C.

VETUS TESTAMENTUM IN NOVO. W. Dittmar. Gottingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903. Price 10s. 6d.

THIS work (362 pages 8vo), will be a boon to professors and students. It contains in order all the quotations from the Old Testament that are to be found in the New. They are given both in the original Hebrew and in the Septuagint version. As is well known, the majority of these quotations are in agreement with this version, and not more than fifty differ appreciably from it. Taking minor divergencies into account, it has been calculated that while the New Testament departs from the Masoretic text in 212 citations, it does so from the Septuagint in 185. Sometimes considerable varieties of meaning are the result. When students have to search and to compare, much of their valuable time is spent, hence they will be glad to know of a handy book where everything may be found at the first glance. And in addition, the allusions, etc. (*e.g.*, to the deuterocanonical books), are given, so that the work is to a large extent a real Concordance. It is beautifully printed; different types being so used that reference becomes a pleasure.

H. B. L.

THE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK. By the Rev. William Canon Fleming. London : Washbourne & Co. 1905.

PERHAPS no character in history has had more to suffer at the hands of his historians than our National Apostle. His birthplace, his dates, his life-work, his education, his religious beliefs, his very existence have been the sources of so many deadly controversies that if the saints in glory can derive any pleasure from the freaks of men, our apostle must be in a state of singular bliss. We do not mean, however, to direct our criticisms at the work of Canon Fleming that lies before us. It is the book of a scholar, the fruit of many years of sympathetic study, and we can recommend it as a history that will

well repay perusal. The reader will find in it nothing very striking or novel, but the old views are put forward in a peculiarly pleasing fashion, and though we have no intention of committing ourselves to many of the opinions of the author, we have great pleasure in recommending this work to the public.

J. MACC.

AN UNWRITTEN CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF IRISH EDUCATION. By Rev. Kingsmill Moore, D.D.
London : Macmillan & Co. 1904.

THIS book purports to be the History of the Society for the Education of the Poor, commonly known as the Kildare-street Society, from the year 1811 till 1831. At the present time when the question of Primary Education in Ireland is engaging attention a glance at this work would not be without profit. Dr. Moore naturally tries to paint the Kildare-street Society in its best light ; but whilst we are disposed to admit that this Society contributed not a little to the advance of education in Ireland, we believe that it contributed largely to the embarking of the nation along lines that were educationally unnatural, nor do we see that he has refuted many of the charges of Proselytism, etc., that have made the name of Kildare-street odious to Irish Catholics.

J. MACC.

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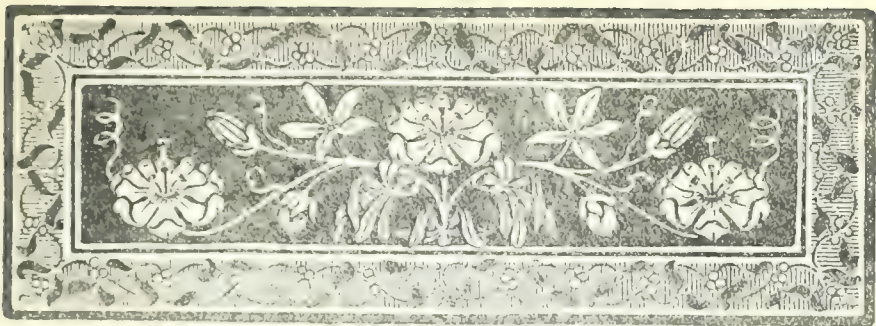
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THE MESSIANIC IDEA

ITS EXISTENCE, NATURE, AND FULFILMENT IN JESUS
CHRIST

WHEN Jesus Christ declared in the synagogue of Capharnaum¹ that the Scriptures bore testimony to Him, He spoke to men who, while they denied His claims, believed firmly that the Scriptures to which He appealed were sacred records, in which, amongst other things, the promises of redemption, made by Jehovah to Abraham and his posterity, were enshrined. Against such men, the Scriptures bear conclusive testimony indeed, but how far do they avail against the unbeliever who is not of the Jewish fold?

This is the question selected for discussion in the present essay. We must remember at the outset, that the Scripture testimony to Christ cannot be as conclusive against a Rationalist as against a Jew. The reverence which the latter entertains for these sacred books, shall lead him to admit a deep significance in many a passage, which the other will pass over as the relic of a mythic age, when men saw 'God in the clouds, and heard Him in the wind.' Still, while admitting this, we hope to show that even against the Rationalist the Scripture testimony is indestructible.

Whatever may be said about the origin and history of

¹ John v. 39.

these sacred records ; or about the age and authorship of the different parts, this at least is certain : that the Old Testament had assumed its present form long before Jesus of Nazareth came among men. If now we find in that book—or collection of books,—a series of promises, supposed to be made by Jehovah, in which He binds Himself to send to His chosen people a redeemer of the seed of Abraham ; if, in addition, we find many and detailed descriptions of the Promised One ; of his character, virtues, power, glory ; of his sufferings ; the time and place of his birth ; the nature of his death ; the character, history, and success of his mission, and so on ; and if, from a study of the New Testament, *considered merely as an historical book*, we find that in the life of Jesus Christ, who claims to be the Messiah, all these supposed promises and descriptions are fully and accurately verified, may we not conclude, nay must it not be admitted, that for the Gentile as well as for the Jew the Scriptures bear witness to Christ, and by their witness prove His claim ?

In studying the Messianic question from this standpoint, we are of course leaving aside the inspiration of the Bible. Our argument is based on the *existence* of the supposed evidence in the Scriptures, not on its *supernatural origin*. Could supposed prophecies, of a similar kind, be found in Homer, and be similarly verified in the life of some Roman, whose authentic history was written say, by Livy, the testimony of Homer to that Roman's claims would be just the same as we now seek for Jesus Christ from the pages of Scripture.

Our duty of course is to show that the supposed striking correspondence exists between the Old and New Testament ; but if it can be shown, then of what value are the devices of Modern Rationalism to evade the conclusions ? Could *mere* national love, however intense, beget a hope so detailed ; or could *mere* fanaticism, however wild, accomplish a fulfilment so complete ? Could flesh and blood look into the distant and uncertain future, and could even God Himself change the past to make it conformable with the present ? Could such a striking and exact correspondence as that

contemplated, exist between what purports to be a foreshadowing, and what claims to be a fulfilment, unless both are what they profess to be? And if they are, must not some Omniscient Being have revealed to His creatures what was to happen in 'the latter days;' and must not he, in whom these revelations are fulfilled, be what the Omniscient said he was—a heaven-sent messenger, whose profession and teaching have the sanction of the Almighty? How can men try honestly to evade such conclusions by wild statements about the impossibility of prophecy? If prophecy be impossible, then the correspondence contemplated cannot exist; but if it does *de facto* exist, and if all human efforts to explain it away or account for it by 'naturalistic theories' are futile, must we not, instead of denying the existence of prophecy on the plea of its supposed impossibility, deny the impossibility, because the existence is a fact?

SEARCHING THE SCRIPTURES

Earlier Prophecies.—Prescending, as we now do, from the inspiration of the Bible, we can obtain but little direct evidence from the oldest Messianic passages. Arguing against a Jew, a great deal might be at once inferred from the Protoevangel,¹ the prophetic blessings invoked on Shem,² and on Juda,³ and the repeated promises made to Abraham by Jehovah.⁴ But the Rationalist may presume, and perhaps not unreasonably, that these narratives are relics of Jewish mythology.

Yet these passages are not without considerable value in the present enquiry. Whatever may be their origin, the doctrines they contained entered deeply into the religious life of the Jewish people, who from the earliest times cherished them as 'from above.' Not only that, but as shall be seen afterwards, these early prophecies are at the root of the Messianic hope, being inseparably connected with the later prophecies, and forming, as it were, the germ

¹ Genesis iii. 15.

² Genesis ix. 26.

³ Genesis xlix. 8-12.

⁴ Genesis xii. 1-3; xiii. 14-17; xv. 12-18; xvii.; xxii. 16-19.

from which they were evolved. For the present we may pass by the Rationalist assumption of their mythic nature, but if the divine origin of the later prophecies be proved afterwards, the proof extends to these also.

Commentators have written a good deal on these early prophecies, but without discussing their different views, we may safely hold, that the Jews at an early date believed the human race would yet conquer the serpent, by whose cunning its misery was caused, and that they themselves were specially chosen by Jehovah, as the seed of Abraham, to accomplish this victory, and to bring blessings on the nations. This at least may be inferred with certainty from the passages cited, and with this we are satisfied for the present.¹

The Psalms.—The evidence gleaned from the early Messianic prophecies may seem meagre and vague, but in the sublime effusions of the Hebrew poet we meet with fuller and more satisfactory testimony. In reading the Psalms we must remember that the authors were poets, richly deserving the poet's privileges, but we must not, under cover of poetic license, accept interpretations which no poetic license can permit. The poet's gifts entitle him to privileges, but these latter are not without limit.

The Psalmists' King.—No one can study the Psalms without being struck with the sublime belief expressed in the coming of some glorious monarch, such as Israel had never known. The first evidence of this strange expectation is in the *Second Psalm*. The Anointed One,²—the Son of God,—against whom the Gentiles raged, and the Princes of the earth met together, but whom Jehovah made King over Sion, and to whom He has given the Gentiles for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession, cannot be any of Israel's earthly kings.³ Solomon,

¹ The present essay is only a very condensed form of a far longer essay, written on this same subject on another occasion. We can here do little more than state the conclusions arrived at in that essay where the different passages were discussed.

² It may be of interest to note that 'Messiah' (anointed one) and 'Son of God'—titles bestowed by the Jews on their expected one—have their origin in this Psalm.

³ Since it is impossible within the prescribed space to quote *in extenso*

whose glory approaches nearest to that of King Messiah, lacks the martial prowess of him who crushed kings in the day of his wrath, and ruled the Gentiles with a rod of iron;¹ and though David's was a warlike career, his conquests were far different from those of which the Psalmist sings.²

The poet's thoughts must be centred in some greater monarch, who was yet to come, and who would extend the limits of Israel's Kingdom, from the rivers to the ends of the earth. Perhaps his hopes sprang from delusion. We do not *here* claim for them the sanction of Jehovah. We only say that the Psalmist entertained such hopes, and confidently expected their fulfilment.

Nor is this the only evidence of a hope so exalted. The *Forty-fourth Psalm* furnishes proof equally strong. The royal bridegroom,³—anointed with the oil of gladness by Jehovah, and beautiful above the sons of men, whose throne is for ever and for ever, and whose ancestors form a long line of kings, while his children are rulers over the whole earth,—he cannot be some earthly Hebrew monarch, whose nuptials with his royal bride the poet wished to honour by his poem. Jewish history tells of no one worthy of such praise, even from an admiring poet's pen.⁴ Parts of the Psalm might indeed apply to Solomon's marriage with Pharaoh's royal daughter, but it is hard to see how the alien bride here spoken of can be the Egyptian Princess, for how can the Psalmist represent God as blessing a marriage, which, according to the writer of the Third Book of Kings,⁵ was hateful in Jehovah's sight, or, how speak of Solomon's ancestors as forming a long line of kings, or of his children as rulers over the whole earth, or even of himself as a chivalrous king, whose sharp arrows pierce the heart of his enemies? No, it must be of a holier marriage than this the

every passage under consideration, we must ask the reader to refer to the Bible for the full text.

¹ See III. Kings v. 45. Solomon's reign was remarkable for its peace.

² David's wars were against rebellious *tribes*, not against *kings*.

³ It is generally, though not unanimously, admitted, that the Psalm has reference to some royal marriage.

⁴ See Maas. *Christ in Type and Prophecy*, vol. ii., pp. 39-41

⁵ III. Kings iii.

Psalmist sings, and of a King more glorious than David's son.

And once again, in the *Seventy-first Psalm*, we find a similar expectation revealed. The King for whom the Psalmist prays, and in whose days justice shall spring up, and abundance of peace; in whom the poor and the oppressed shall find a defender, whose power is from sea to sea, whose name shall continue while shines the sun, and by whom all nations shall bless themselves—he is a King, whose equal Israel never knew. In vain do 'critics' say that the Psalmist only paints the ideal of what *ought to be*.¹ The ideal is painted as *actually realized*, in the King for whom he prays, and if no Israelite king attained such glory—a fact the 'critics' admit—it must not be for one of *them* the Psalmist prays.

The last Psalm in which we find this hope enshrined is the *Hundred and Ninth*. It is exasperating to see the wild unwarrantable theories devised by 'critics' to destroy the Messianic import of this Psalm. It matters little to them that Christ explicitly cited it as Messianic.² The milder of them may try to explain His error (!) by theories about accommodation, while the more outspoken ignore the authority of the impostor (!) We cannot here discuss their theories, but it may be confidently asserted, that Israel was never ruled over by a king, whom the most admiring and extravagant poet could describe as seated at Jehovah's right hand, clothed with Jehovah's power, and enjoying, together with his regal honours, a priestly power according to the order of Melchisedec.

The reader must notice the close connection that exists between the four Psalms considered. Whether they were written by the same or different Psalmists, it is certainly to the same King they all refer. Each Psalm has indeed something peculiarly its own, for in each case the King is contemplated under some special aspect; yet in all, he stands before us as the same victorious conqueror, dear to

¹ See Davidson's *Introduction to Old Testament*, vol. ii., p. 284, for exposition of this view.

² Matthew xxii.

Jehovah and made strong by His Omnipotence. Though in one case he is described as crushing kings in the day of his wrath, and in another as bringing comfort to the needy and justice to the oppressed, still in every case he is the same mighty one, the worshipped of kings, and beloved of the people, with a kingdom from sea to sea, and a throne established for ever, yea for ever and for ever. With reason, indeed, has it been said that the Messianic character of all these Psalms is established by proving the Messianic character of any one of them. We leave the reader to judge whether the privileges due to the genius of him, who can 'give to airy nothing a local habitation and a name,' can justify a description of David, or Solomon, like that given of the Priest-King.

The Sufferer.—But the Psalmists' Messianic thoughts are not always centred in the glories of King Messiah. In the *Twenty-first Psalm* we hear the wail of some outcast, asking the Almighty why He has forsaken him. The description given of his own sufferings, by him who was a worm and no man, are too well known to be dwelt on. As usual critics are prepared to admit that the sufferer was any one except Him who recited at least the first words of the Psalm on the cross. But in vain do they appeal to history for proof of their theories. Could they but look with minds less prejudiced on Him whose hands and feet were dug on Calvary, while the soldiers cast lots for His garments, they might find what they seek for elsewhere, and seek for in vain.¹

The latter part of the Psalm, while giving further proof that the 'Abandoned One' was not David, nor Jeremiah, nor the Jewish people; reveals a new thought, as strange as it is important in our research. Universal blessings are the result of the Abandoned One's sufferings. Jehovah has heard his prayer, and has saved him from the lion's mouth. As a result, his praise shall be with the Lord in a great Church, and the poor shall eat and be filled,

¹See Davidson, *lib. cit.*, ii. 81, who holds that the sufferer is the Psalmist himself, since it is 'psychologically impossible for the poet to identify himself with the conditions and feelings of another.' How convincing!

and the ends of the earth shall remember and shall be converted to the Lord, and all the Gentiles shall adore in his sight, and he shall have dominion over all the nations. These are the same blessings as are to be brought by the Priest-King, and yet they are purchased by the sufferings of him who was the reproach of men, and the outcast of the people. Strange confusion of thought seemingly, but anon for an explanation.

Before taking up the Book of Isaias¹ we must refer to two texts which throw light on the evidence already gleaned. The author of the Book of Wisdom says² that death came into the world by the envy of the devil, while in Ecclesiasticus³ it is said that from the woman came the beginning of sin, and that through her we all die. From these texts it is not unreasonable to infer that the devil had, according to Jewish belief, some mysterious connection with the serpent, and hence that the war between the seed of the woman and of the serpent refers, not so much to any fear entertained by the Orientals for the serpent class, as to the struggle between mankind and the devil; a struggle in which the devil, though injuring mankind somewhat, shall be ultimately defeated and utterly crushed. Let the Rationalist cry 'myth,' if he will, we seek not for the *origin* of the belief, we only direct attention to its *existence*.

The Prophets.—Should the evidence we seek for really exist, here indeed,—in the books of the Prophets,—we may expect to find it in all its fulness. Unfortunately, however, we can give but the merest outline of the hope, so ardently cherished, by these watchmen 'to the house of Israel.'

In that part of Isaias called the *Book of Emmanuel*,⁴ we find much to our purpose. For the present we pass over the famous prophecy concerning the Virgin Mother.⁵

¹ Since the Rationalists generally deny the existence of a mystical or typical sense in Scripture we have confined our attention to those Psalms referring literally to the Messiah.

² Wisdom ii. 24.

³ Ecclesiasticus xxv. 33.

⁴ Isaias vi.-xii.

⁵ Isaias vii. 14-16.

It is admitted that the child spoken of in the ninth chapter,—he upon whose shoulders the government shall rest, and who shall be called Wonderful, God the Mighty, Father of the World to Come, and Prince of Peace—is identical with the root of Jesse, spoken of in the eleventh chapter, upon whom the spirit of the Lord shall rest and under whom universal peace shall prevail, and that those blessings for which Isaias thanks God in the twelfth chapter shall accompany the reign of that child.

It is hard to see how anyone reading these chapters with an honest mind, can say that the Prince of Peace is the Prophet's son, or Ezechias, or any earthly son of David. No allowance for the 'hyperbolical nature of Oriental poetry' will enable us to see, in these sublime passages, a poet's description of some earthly monarch, and nothing more. Some greater person than had yet risen to rule the sons of Jacob must be the object of the Prophet's vision. Nay, more, that one is certainly Messiah—the Psalmists' Priest-King. We shall not delay to prove it. Whoever reads the Psalmists' and the Prophets' descriptions shall easily recognise the identity.

Turning now to the seventh chapter, we may be better able to say who the child was, whose promised birth was the sign of Jehovah's protection to the house of David. He cannot be the son of Isaias, of whom the Prophet speaks immediately afterwards, for if that son were the Promised One, why did not the father call him Emmanuel instead of Maher-Shalal-Cahs-Baz? Besides,—and this, perhaps, is the most convincing proof,—the Prophet's son was not Lord of Judea and Emmanuel was.

But there is more direct evidence concerning the child. It is fairly certain that Emmanuel spoken of in the eighth chapter who is the promised Son of the Virgin, is identical with the Prince of Peace, and so the sign given of God's protection was a promise of Messiah's birth.

Needless to say the objections to such a view are serious, but we can here only state the view that seems to us most satisfactory. But whatever opinion be held on this point, it is well to remember that the identity of the Prince of

Peace with Messiah is independent of the connection between the former and Emmanuel. Even though Emmanuel were Ezechias, or Isaias' son, or the son of some unknown virgin who happened to be near when the Prophet addressed Achaz; even still, it would be certain that the Root of Jesse, the Prince of Peace, was the Priest-King of the Psalmists.

Once again, in the *thirty-fourth chapter*, we hear the Prophet, while his soul is flooded with the dazzling light of the Messianic splendours. Everyone is familiar with his exultant description of the glory in store for redeemed Israel, when God Himself shall come to save them, and the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf be unstopped, and the redeemed of God shall come into Sion, and sorrow and mourning shall pass away.

The Servant of Jehovah.—But in the latter part of the book scenes of a different nature await us. The 'critics' say the author of this part was not Isaias but some 'Great Unknown,'—the Deutero-Isaias they call him,—who lived and wrote in Babylon, but whose name and history is forgotten.¹ Be it so. What interests us is to know who is the Servant of Jehovah so often spoken of in those chapters. It is certain that in some cases at least the servant is *Israel*—the chosen people of Jehovah—but further it is *actual Israel*, the existing nation. Contending that no intimation is given of two distinct servants, some maintain² that everything said of the servant is said of Israel. A fair presumption, perhaps, if everything said can be reasonably so interpreted; but can it be? In the forty-second chapter³ Israel—Jehovah's servant—is described as blind and deaf, while in the same and subsequent chapters a servant of Jehovah is spoken of, who is to liberate the imprisoned, and to restore the blind and deaf, who hath given himself for a covenant of the people, and a light of the Gentiles, and whose duty,⁴ amongst other things, is to raise up the tribe of Jacob, and convert the dregs of Israel.

¹ Davidson, *lib. cit.*

² *Ibid.*

³ xlii. 19.

⁴ xlix. 6.

Furthermore, though sinless himself,¹ the servant is described as actually suffering the most excruciating anguish for the sins of all,—Israel included—which sins God laid upon his shoulders and he willingly receives the burden, even though the atonement means his death. He is innocent himself, it is for the sins of others he suffers, but by his suffering he atones for the sinners' crimes, and brings blessings on the nations. Can it be Israel who does all these things? Yes, we are told, *idealized Israel*—Israel such as it existed in its ideal form in the mind of God, for the sake of which the nation is chosen, and towards which the actual Israel is being fashioned, though the ideal is never realized.

But in this view there are, after all, two servants spoken of: the *actual Israel*, whose eyes were blind and whose ears were shut,—the servant that has forgotten to offer sacrifice to the Lord, and has wearied Him with iniquities;² and the *ideal but never actual Israel*—the sinless one who did not resist when the Lord did open his ear, who suffered for the sins of the rest, and by his wounds healed them.³ And if there be two servants, what about the assumption on which the theory is based?

But a still more important point remains. *Not alone are there two servants but the sinless servant cannot be idealized Israel.* For how can idealized Israel be conceived as making *actual* atonement? Idealized Israel is admittedly only the ideal of what might be, but what never was. How can such a being undergo *actual* suffering? Again, idealized Israel can suffer nothing except what it suffers in its members. Where are the sinless members? Did not the Prophet say they have all sinned, and have all like sheep wandered from the true path? Again, to what sufferings does the Great Unknown refer? It must be to Israel's exile and humiliation under alien monarchs. But was such suffering vicarious, was it not on account

¹ liii. Isaias' beautiful prophecy on the Passion of Christ. These are only a few of the very many references to the servant in these chapters. It is impossible to deal properly with the question in this article. We can only give a brief outline of the argument against the Rationalists.

² xliii. 22-24.

³ liii.

of the personal sin of the sufferer? How can *they* be called sinless sufferers and how prove that they suffered voluntarily? Lastly, if idealized Israel be the servant in what did the vicarious death consist?

We might suggest other difficulties against this view, but there is no need. The question is certainly a difficult one, especially for those whose eyes are shut to the light that comes from Calvary, but the solution just criticised, is devised, we fear, to sustain pet theories about prophecy rather than to explain the text.

Equally unsatisfactory are the theories of those who say it is of himself the Prophet speaks, or of Cyrus, or of the series of Prophets, or of the personification of the pious remnant of the Jewish people—‘the true and effective Israel.’¹

The subsequent chapters² of the Deutero-Isaias, while strengthening the arguments against Rationalistic theories help us in ascertaining who is the Servant of Jehovah. In language the beauty of which is unsurpassed in all literature, the Poet-Prophet describes the New Jerusalem,³ upon whom the glory of Jehovah, her husband and her maker is risen. He must be very unemotional, indeed, who can listen without emotion while the Prophet tells how the nations shall come to the light of the New Jerusalem, and kings to the brightness of her rising; how her gates shall be opened continually, and how those nations that will not serve her shall perish. But as you listen, your thoughts are carried back to the Psalmist, and as you compare the sublime visions of both you realize that the New Jerusalem is none other than King Messiah’s empire. Though one may be presented under a more spiritual light than the other, the essential characteristics of both are the same. Both are established by Jehovah, both extend over the whole earth, and embrace all nations in an everlasting empire. Justice and peace are, in both cases, the lot of the members, holiness the central characteristic of the new kingdom, and spiritual blessings its chief splendour.

¹ See Cheyne on the Servant of Israel.

² See liv. and subsequent chapters.

³ See Isaias lv.

But the strangest thought of all remains to be noticed. The blessings of the New Jerusalem are purchased by Jehovah's sinless servant. To Messiah, indeed, the Lord has given the Gentiles for an inheritance,¹ yet it is through the atonement of the Servant that the Gentiles are privileged to participate in the blessings of the New Jerusalem. The Prince of Peace is the everlasting King of the everlasting Kingdom which is established by the merits of the sinless one. And yet its blessings seem due to Messiah also, for did he not deliver the poor from the mighty, was it not in him all the tribes of the earth were to be blessed, and was he not anointed by Jehovah with the oil of gladness, because he *loved justice and hated iniquity*? Can it be that the 'Leprous One'² is identical with King Messiah, and that the eternal glories which surround his name are purchased by the humiliations which made him to be despised and the most abject of men? Strange, indeed, if it be true. Strange if he who was beautiful above the sons of men was also the stricken one in whom the Prophet could see no comeliness. But let us wait awhile, the answer comes best from the foot of the cross.

From Isaias we pass to *Jeremias*. After foretelling the banishment of Sedecias, and the ignominious end of Joacim, the Prophet hurls his woes against the faithless pastors, who destroy and tear the sheep of the Lord's pasture. But suddenly a light flashes across the darkness,³ the Lord will set up pastors over His sheep who shall feed them carefully, and the day shall come when He shall raise up to David a great branch, and a king shall reign and execute justice, and then Juda shall be blessed.

We need not say who this King Shepherd is who shall bring back the sheep of the Lord from the land to which they were driven by the faithless pastors, nor need we pause to prove that it is to the same King the Prophet refers again when he speaks of the days in which the Lord will perform the 'good work' which He has spoken of and

¹ See Psalms dealing with the Psalmists' King.

² The Babylonian Talmud on the fifty-third chapter of Isaias gives 'The Leprous One' as the name of Messiah.

³ Chap. xxiii.

will make the bud of justice to spring forth from David to do judgment and justice on the earth.¹

It is these same blessings *Ezekiel* contemplates when² he speaks of the days in which the Lord will bring back the remnant out of the countries wherein they were scattered, and will put a new spirit into their bowels, that they may walk in His commandments, and keep His judgments, and do them. And it is certainly of Messiah Jehovah speaks through *Ezekiel*, when He promises³ to appoint over the scattered sheep which He will seek out and feed by the rivers and mountains of Israel—one shepherd, His servant David, who will be a prince in the midst of them.

We cite these passages partly for the information they give, but chiefly to show how abiding in the Jewish mind was the Messianic hope. It was not a vague ephemeral sentiment, originated by some rhapsodizing poet. It was a vivid, permanent, confident expectation, bequeathed from sire to son, and growing more cherished as the years passed by.

Daniel.—‘Critics’ warn us, of course, to correct our notions concerning this book. Tradition has erred as to its origin we are told. It was in reality⁴ written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes by some well-meaning forger, who chose *Daniel* and apocalyptic visions as a harmless but effective drapery in which to set forth ideas fitted to sustain the oppressed people of God in the midst of their afflictions. Anyhow, the book was written before Christ was born and that is sufficient for us.

A great deal has been written, and perhaps fruitlessly, in trying to discover what kingdoms were typified by the statue seen by Nebuchodonosor in his dream.⁵ But whatever may be the correct opinion⁶ on that question, it is

¹ Chap. xxxiii. There are other Messianic passages in *Jeremias*, but the reference to Christ is only typical.

² Chap. xi.

³ Chap. xxxiv.

⁴ Such is the view of Professor Davidson in his *Introduction to the Old Testament*.

⁵ *Daniel* ii. 31-45.

⁶ See Maas, *Christ in Type and Prophecy*.

certain that no kingdom was existing at the time of this 'harmless forgery,' which could be symbolized by the stone which was cut of the mountain without hands, and which having struck and shattered the statue, filled the whole earth and lasted for ever and ever. This part of the prophecy at least cannot be a *vaticinium post eventum*.

Not only this, but it is easy to see that the 'forger' was contemplating the Messianic kingdom. That world-wide indestructible empire, symbolized by the stone, can be none other than that spoken of by the Psalmists and Isaias, though the circumstances in which it is described may suggest that its splendours are of a more worldly kind than those which graced the King's daughter whose beauty was within.¹

Of a similar nature is the vision of Daniel regarding the four great beasts² which came out of the sea. It is generally admitted that the kingdoms symbolized by these beasts are the same as those symbolized by the statue, and that the kingdom founded by the Son of Man and given to Him by the Ancient of Days is identical with that symbolized by the stone. In this view the Son of Man is Messiah, a conclusion fully verified by the description given of Him, for the Ancient of Days, we are told,³ gave Him power and glory and a kingdom, and all the tribes and tongues shall serve Him, and His power is an everlasting power which shall not be taken away, and of His kingdom there shall be no end. Whether or not this well-meaning forger thought that the destruction of the fourth kingdom was contemporaneous with the downfall of Antiochus, he at least believed that the everlasting kingdom was the blessed one for which his fathers sighed.

On the vexed question of the seventy weeks, in the next passage⁴ to be discussed, we can say but little here. At the outset, we ask the reader to distinguish between the *blessings* promised, and the *time* when, according to Gabriel's computation, the seventy weeks were to be accomplished.

Beyond all shadow of doubt, the *blessings* promised are Messianic. The abolition of sin, the introduction of everlasting justice, and the fulfilment of prophecy and vision,

¹ Psalm xliv.

² Daniel vii.

³ vii. 14.

⁴ ix. 24-27.

can mean nothing other than the founding of the eternal Messianic Kingdom. Equally certain is it, that the writer believed those blessings were to be conferred immediately after the completion of the seventy weeks. Were they, though? We can only give the answer here, without stating fully the reasons that to our minds justify it.

After studying the text of the prophecy, as well as the different chronological systems propounded, it seems to us, that the interpretation which makes the sixty-ninth week end at the beginning of the public life of Jesus Christ, not only saves the writer from error, and is in harmony with the traditional Jewish belief, but is also in thorough harmony with the text of the prophecy, and with profane history, as regards the chronology; while those¹ who make the seventieth week contemporaneous with the downfall of Epiphanes, not only convict the writer of serious error, and ignore the Jewish tradition at the time of Christ, but also do violence to the text, and in explanation of the chronology are forced to fall back on symbolism.

Judging the defenders of the Rationalistic theories by their own statements, we can hardly help thinking, that their object is to save pet theories from the difficulties suggested by the text.²

In the Messianic interpretation of the passage, the mysterious relation between Messiah and the servant is again suggested. We have already asked could they be identical. Gabriel seems to answer when he says, 'Messiah shall be slain.' Then, again, the covenant which Jehovah shall make with His people in one week, suggests a connection with the covenant of peace which He shall make with His people in the new Dispensation, while the purchase of that peace by the blood of the 'Sinless One,'³ as well as the sprinkling of the nations by him, suggests a strange significance in the death of Messiah. At present we only ask again could they be identical—the servant and the

¹ See Davidson, *lib. citato*, where the view is fully set forth and defended.

² e.g.—One of Mr. Davidson's reasons for rejecting the Messianic interpretation is that a suffering and atoning Messiah is foreign to Jewish conceptions. He is never so described in the Old Testament —!

³ See chapters on Servant of Jehovah.

King? The difficulty of denying it is becoming greater, but let us await fuller light for a surer answer.

We need not the authority of St. Peter¹ to recognise the Messianic import of *Joel's* well-known prophecy,² concerning the time when Jehovah will pour out His spirit on all flesh, and when there will be strange signs in the heavens,—the sun turned into darkness, and the moon into blood. From the text itself we know that when these things take place, there shall be salvation in Mount Sion and Jerusalem, as the Lord hath said.

Neither is there any difficulty in discerning what *Micheas*³ refers to, when he describes what shall come to pass in the latter days, when many nations shall come into the house of the God of Jacob, who will teach them His ways; and they shall walk in His paths, and universal peace shall follow, and they shall learn war no more.

But *Micheas* contributes a very important item to the evidence we seek for, when he declares that from Bethlehem of Juda is he to come forth who is to be a ruler of Israel, and whose beginning is from eternity.

To minds uninitiated in the mysteries of Rationalistic exegesis, the plain meaning of this passage seems to be that Messiah was to be born in Bethlehem. But this we are told is reading the life of our Master *into* the Old Testament; and another interpretation,⁴ more in harmony, indeed, with the preconceived notions of the inventors, though by no means complimentary to the Prophet's faculty of correctly expressing himself, is presented for our acceptance. And the inventors indignantly repudiate the charge of trying to read the life of Christ *out* of the Scriptures!

The next Messianic prophecy is that of *Zacharias*⁵ bidding the virgin daughter of Sion to rejoice and shout for joy, for her king—the Just and Saviour—comes to her. But he

¹ Acts.

² Joel ii.

³ Micheas iv.

⁴ Professor Davidson, e.g., says, that it is not of the *place* of Messiah's birth, but of the *family* from which he is to spring the Prophet speaks, and the interpretation in St. Matthew's Gospel (ii. 5) is a misrepresentation of the Hebrew, or, at least, an improper translation of its meaning. Again—! it is the only answer to theories of that kind.

⁵ Zacharias ix. 9-11.

comes poor and riding upon an ass, yet he shall speak peace to the Gentiles and his power shall be from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of the earth. Certainly it is of the Messiah's coming he speaks, but strange the triumphal entry of the Glorious One into Jerusalem is not that of a Cæsar or Alexander. He is poor and riding on an ass, and on the colt of an ass. Hard, indeed, for human minds to picture what this mysterious King is like. But, again, let us wait. Perhaps we shall glean the longed-for knowledge from the life of Him who claims to be Messiah.

We now come to *Malachias*—the only other Prophet whose voice we shall hear telling us of the Expected One. Every priest is familiar with the prophecy¹ which Jehovah puts into the Prophet's mouth, concerning the time when there shall be offered up to the Lord a clean oblation, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof. But on reading the prophecy the words of Gabriel² come back to our minds. He foretells the *cessation* of Jewish sacrifices. Malachias speaks of the institution of a new and universal one; a sacrifice in the true sense of the word³—as truly as were the Jewish sacrifices, which it was to replace. The connection between both prophecies is of no uncertain kind.

The last passage which we shall consider is from the third chapter of Malachias. 'Behold [says Jehovah] I will send My angel, and he will prepare the way before My face, and presently the Lord whom you seek, and the angel of the covenant whom you desire, shall come to His temple.'

It is simply exasperating to see the manner in which this text is distorted by 'critics.'⁴ After arbitrarily destroying

¹ Malachias i. 10, 11.

² Daniel ix. 27.

³ The Hebrew word used for the gift which the Lord rejects at the hands of the Jews, and for the oblation which is to be offered up in the Dispensation, is 'mincah.' Used in a liturgical sense, as it is in Malachias, it always means sacrifice, and according to the best opinion *unbloody* sacrifice.

⁴ The following is Professor Davidson's rendering of the prophecy:—

'Behold! I will send my messenger, and he will prepare the way before me,

Even the Messenger of the Covenant, whom ye delight in;
And the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to His temple;
Behold! He shall come saith the Lord of Hosts.'

Even in this rendering of the prophecy, one may ask, is it not still

the meaning of the passage, they give a dogmatic interpretation of their own mutilated version of the prophecy, in which version they discover, amongst other things, that the Magian religion exerted great influence over Malachias, who here identifies Sosiosh the Magian messenger, with Elias the zealous reformer. When one sees the stuff such dreams are made of, he can hardly help exclaiming, in the words of the Psalmist, 'Why do these men rave and why do they devise vain things against the Lord and against His Christ.'

Whatever the Rationalistic version proves, the text as given in the Scripture clearly implies that according to Malachias, Messiah, the Lord whom they sought, was to come while the temple was still in being; and so we here get another revelation of the time-limit within which Messiah was to come.

With this our search of the Scripture is completed. The object of the present article was to collect the testimony enshrined in these sacred pages. In the next we hope to outline the general character of the evidence obtained, and to show how far our interpretation of the prophecies is confirmed by early Jewish traditions. It only remains, then, to place the Old Testament picture of the Messiah beside the New Testament picture of Christ, and ask the reader to judge whether the Jewish hope was delusion, or Christ a heaven-sent messenger.

THOMAS P. F. GALLAGHER.

(To be continued.)

Messianic? Is not Messiah the Lord whom the Jews sought? Yes, Professor Davidson answers, but Messiah is not necessarily the person whom Jehovah sends! Besides, the prophecy, we are told could not be Messianic because the name of the 'Lord' is 'Adon,' a name appropriated to the Supreme God. If applied to Messiah it would prove his Divinity—an idea foreign to the belief of the Jews; and so to remove from the Testament all traces of such proof, methods like the above are resorted to. May the Lord deliver us from the 'new exegesis' if this is an example of its output.

THE EDUCATION OF CHARACTER

AT the first blush, one might hope to find pretty general agreement concerning the meaning of a word like *character*, which is on everyone's lips, yet a moment's reflection will reveal the difficulty of getting at any common element underlying its various, and often conflicting, usages. One will have it that character is what from the ethical standpoint differentiates a man from his fellows—individuality, that which one is as a distinct member of the class man; another describes it as the whole complex of our mental activities and passivities; while to a third the word will be suggestive of the active as opposed to our intellectual faculties, and will connote a peculiar degree of moral excellence, notably strength and determination. For others, again, 'nature,' sentiments, and specially habitual modes of external action all form part of the connotation of the term, while in a narrow sense of the word character is pre-eminently a matter of the will, being the 'stamp' which the individual agent gives *himself* by habitually choosing and holding to certain ends. Not only so, a glance at any good dictionary will afford ample proof that the above catalogue of meanings is by no means exhaustive. One thing, however, is tolerably clear, the reality which corresponds to a term of such manifold signification must be of a sufficiently complex nature.

Turning next to the philosophers, who might be expected to throw some light on the subject, we find (it must be confessed) little likely to be helpful in the formation of a clear definition. There are first the *a priori* theories (as I may call them), of character,—Kant's theory of the intelligible character, which was carried to its logical issue by Schopenhauer; and Spencer's, which has greater affinity than might at first be suspected with Kant's. On the other hand, if we consult the psychologists, who have employed the inductive method of investigation, we meet with a bewildering succession of theories, erected for the most part on a slender basis of fact.

Desiring to classify the different types of character, we ought plainly to begin by defining these. And a scientific definition would exclude the particular, that is, the accidental, and express only what is essential. Yet a close examination of character-types as set forth in recent works on the subject¹ discloses merely a mass of irrelevant details, of casual and fleeting relations. Nowhere are we presented with that complex of constant inner qualities which form, not indeed the whole of any character, but the indispensable groundwork of all the rest. It follows that a science of character, supposing such to be possible, still awaits working out. Indeed the impossibility of transcending the sphere of the particular and accidental is clearly shown in the discussions wherein psychologists are wont to indulge concerning the method of investigation proper to the subject in hand. As is well known, Mill was one of the earliest thinkers to conceive the idea of a science of character. On the question of method, Mill is of opinion that the deductive method, which starts from general laws and verifies their consequences by an appeal to specific experiences, is alone applicable. Experiment is impossible, and even supposing it to be legally possible, as in the case of an Oriental despot, 'a still more essential condition is wanting: the power of performing any of the experiments with scientific accuracy.'²

The instances [Mill goes on] requisite for the prosecution of a distinctly experimental enquiry into the formation of character would be a number of human beings to bring up and educate from infancy to mature age. And to perform any of these experi-

¹ Mill led the van with his chapter on Ethology (*Logic*, Bk. vi., c. 5). Baine's work *On the Study of Character* may still be read with interest. Most of the existing literature is in French. The following are among the best treatises:—Ribot, articles in the *Revue Philosophique* for November, 1892, and October, 1893 (the latter is reprinted in the author's *Psychologie des Sentiments*, Pt. II., cc. xii.-xiii.); Payot, *L'Éducation de la Volonté*; Paulhan, *Les Caractères*; Fouillée, *Tempérament et Caractère*; Malapert, *Les Éléments des Caractères et les Lois de leurs Combinaisons*; Perez, *Les Caractères de l'Enfant à l'Homme*. See also Preyer's well-known work, *Die Seele des Kindes*. MacCunn, *The Making of Character* offers a slight but graceful treatment of the Ethical side of the question. Additional information may be sought in the larger treatises on general Psychology.

² J. S. Mill, *System of Logic*, Bk. vi., c. 5, (vol. ii. p. 445, fifth edition).

ments with scientific propriety, it would be necessary to know and record every sensation or impression received by the young pupil from a period long before it could speak ; including its own notions respecting the sources of all those sensations and impressions. It is not only impossible to do this completely, but even to do so much of it as should constitute a tolerable approximation. One apparently trivial circumstance which eluded our vigilance might let in a train of impressions and associations sufficient to vitiate the experiment as an authentic exhibition of the effects flowing from given causes. No one who has sufficiently reflected on education is ignorant of this truth ; and whoever has not will find it most instructively illustrated in the writings of Rosseau and Helvetius on that great subject.¹

As to observation, which, notwithstanding Mill's damaging criticism, M. Malapert is inclined to rate very highly, I would remark that it is a method whose employment demands the very greatest caution. Nothing is more difficult than to delineate accurately the character of a child. Teachers who have followed closely the development of many child-minds are well aware of the vagueness and inaccuracy of the formulas in which it is sometimes sought to sum up children's characters. Our judgments on these matters, even though purposely expressed in general terms, are extremely liable to error. At best they possess a not very high degree of probability. Again, it has been remarked that Mill, in his chapter on Ethology, from which I have just been quoting, is speaking not precisely of science of character but of a science of the laws of the formation of character. Such a distinction, however, falls to the ground when once the simple fact is remembered, that it is impossible to construct a science of character without a knowledge of the laws which govern the formation of character. You cannot study character *en bloc* without eliminating the influence of the social *milieu*, and of education in the most extended sense of the term. Without such antecedent elimination, the results of the most accurate observation would be entirely vitiated. An observer who neglected it would be in the position of a chemist who should conduct his experiments with salts of

¹ Mill, *op. et loc. cit.*

ascertained chemical impurity. Thus every attempt to proceed by way of pure observation is foredoomed to certain failure by reason of the fact that observation furnishes us merely with the complex resultants of a variety of causes ; and experiment being out of the question, there remains but one practicable method, viz., deduction, checked and verified by constant appeals to observation. Be it noted, moreover, that observation is not the essential feature of this method, but is resorted to solely as a means of controlling the deductive process, upon the correctness of which latter everything depends. Such is, in fact, the method customarily invoked, as may be seen from an examination of the treatises mentioned in the footnote to a previous page. All start from the time-honoured division of the 'faculties' into intelligence, sensibility, and will ; all combine these 'faculties' in varying proportions and deduce therefrom the genera, species, and chief varieties of characters. It may be added that the joining of 'observation' with deduction usually signifies the disappearance of all scientific precision, and the substitution of type-sketches after the manner of Theophrastus and La Bruyère, with this important difference, that their didactic ponderosity opposes an effectual bar to their claims as literature.

Now, all science consists of a knowledge of relations, whether relations of (necessary or merely invariable) sequence, or relations of (necessary or merely invariable) co-existence. It follows that the possibility of any science is bound up with the possibility of isolating the terms whose relations that science would seek to discover. In other words, the pursuit of every science requires us to be certain (1) that we can get the terms whose relations we are studying pure *i.e.*, free from admixture with foreign elements, and (2) that the relations between the terms aforesaid are, if not unconditional, at least invariable. Take, for example, the case of the physicist. His first business is carefully to isolate the phenomena which are engaging his attention. In the simplest cases, such as finding the weight of the column of air in a given vessel, he will take care to allow for the influence of temperature and to correct errors due

to capillarity, etc. Only when he has made such allowances and corrections will he seek to compare his observations one with another or to deduce any law therefrom. On the other hand, in psychology our terms can be isolated only hypothetically or ideally. That is to say, we are here driven back upon deduction from known psychological laws, since in the case of adults no kind of real isolation is possible owing to the manner in which the results of environment, imitation, and education have become fused with the primordial data.

Furthermore, nothing but confusion can result from the adoption of the aforementioned division of psychological phenomena into those of intelligence, sensibility, and will, since every state of consciousness—to use an old-fashioned term—contains elements corresponding to each of these three so-called faculties. For example, much of M. Malapert's otherwise excellent work is marred by a too rigid adherence to this division. When he tells us that different character-types are the outcome of different degrees and modes of combination of the three elements, his statement is not merely unsatisfactory by reason of its too great generality, but even positively erroneous. No hard and fast line can be drawn, as contemporary psychology has amply demonstrated, between intelligence and will. Many so-called intellectual qualities are at bottom will-qualities. Thus genius has been described as an infinite capacity for taking pains;¹ and setting aside wit (=the quick apperception of superficial relations), the force of imagination which discovers the hidden analogies of things in appearance dissimilar, logical acumen and power of reasoning, in a word all solid intellectual qualities are the result of a more than ordinarily vigorous power of attention, that is to say, are due to certain qualities of will. One has only to read, in the light of the foregoing considerations, the sketches of the apathetic man, the sensitive man, the emotional man, etc., with which it is usual to eke out

¹ See the interesting remarks on genius and attention in Maher's *Psychology*, p. 351.

the discussion of the relations between intelligence and sensibility to perceive the confusion therein manifest as a consequence of the impurity (in the chemist's sense) of the elements whose relations it is sought to determine, nor is this all. Not only are the terms themselves imperfectly isolated, but such as they are, not a single, I do not say unconditional, not even one fixed, relation has been discovered to connect them. I have read much on the pretended co-existences among certain elements of character, but have never had the good fortune to come across an instance of such co-existence that admitted of precise and unambiguous statement. All I found was an imposing mass of highly problematic details.

It has been suggested that we might look for correlations among psychological elements analogous to the connections and correlations which obtain in the organic world. The parts of an organism, being reciprocally related as means and ends, the occurrence of certain traits will exclude that of certain others, and necessitate the occurrence of a third set ; so that from a knowledge of a few characteristics it is often possible to derive inferentially a knowledge of the complete being. May not the same be the case with mind ? This suggestion has found much favour with the extreme empirical school. Taine, for example, adopts it and puts his case thus :—

A system reigns among the feelings and ideas of men. Divers inclinations and aptitudes form harmonious groups, balance or modify each other, under the influence of some dominant propension or faculty. If one spring of action predominates, it reinforces or hinders the action of others. Among one people, at any given period, the same psychological constitution is found to underlie the innumerable varieties which conceal it from the superficial observer . . . Every partial or local change entails general change. Once the dominating characteristics have been found, the whole psychological constitution of the individual may be deduced from them.¹

Nevertheless, Taine carefully abstains from citing examples in proof of his thesis that there exist psychological

¹ *De l'Intelligence*, vol. ii., p.

laws analogous to the zoological law according to which (for instance) vertebrates *may* present four or five forms of digestive or circulatory apparatus,¹ but *must* present one or other of these forms; while conversely these forms imply characteristics connected by 'vertebrate.' Nor have his successors anything better to offer. What are we to think of M. Malapert's declaration that the 'sensitive' man, who by definition is 'superficial and fickle,' is *therefore* a busybody; or of this ranking apart, under the class name of 'emotional' persons (*émotifs*), those who are sensitive but not superficial? ¹

But now, these remarks are by no means to be interpreted in a sense derogatory to the distinguished writers who have treated the subject of character. Every one of the books mentioned above will amply repay study. M. Fouillée's *Tempérament et Caractère* in particular being packed with ingenious and suggestive thoughts. Yet a perusal of them will only strengthen the conviction that not even the elements of a science of character have as yet been worked out. And considering the protracted and conscientious labour that has been expended in that direction, without result, the only possible conclusion is, that the writers in question had set themselves an impossible task. Nor are the reasons for this impossibility hard to find. A science of character is impossible (if I may hazard the opinion), because the multifarious influences of environment and education begin, in some sort, with birth itself. From the earliest moment at which it is possible to observe with profit the workings of a child's mind, our observations are inevitably vitiated by reason of the fact that we are dealing with what is, in a sense, an unnatural, or at least a partially artificial, product. This will become clearer if we consider what would happen supposing the influence of environment and education could be altogether eliminated. The result of such elimination would be, that the child-mind would—certain rare exceptions apart—develop in an entirely arbitrary fashion. Every child possesses

¹ Malapert, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-142.

potentially the tendencies or propensities common to all mankind. It might indeed happen that through heredity some one of these tendencies should acquire unusual strength; now, supposing it unrestrained by educational or social influences, it would tend to become predominant, and later on, when it had reached the full term of its development, it would be further strengthened by the support of analogous tendencies and the inhibition of those opposed to it, so that in this way a kind of 'natural' character (that is to say, a more or less permanent unification of psychological elements) would be formed. Nevertheless, a considerable time would be required to bring about this result, and on the whole it would be true to say that instability, conflict of tendencies, with the momentary supremacy of one or other of these, would be the general rule. But now, it is plain that the main business of education, as distinguished from mere instruction, is to secure the predominance of certain tendencies and the suppression of others which are adverse to the former. Whence it follows that by the time the child has reached its seventh or eighth year it is impossible to get at the original element so completely have they become incrustated with the results of education.

M. Ribot rightly insists that character implies two things, unity and stability:—

Unity consists in a manner of acting and reacting which is always consistent with itself. In a true individuality the tendencies are convergent, or at least there is one which subdues the others to itself. If we consider man as a collection of instincts, cravings, and desires, they form here a tightly fastened bundle acting in one direction only. Stability is merely unity continued in time. If it does not last, this collection of desires is of no value for the determination of character. It must be maintained or repeated always the same in identical or analogous circumstances.¹

So far so good, but when M. Ribot goes on to declare, that 'the special mark of a true character is that it shall make its appearance in childhood and last through life . . .

¹ *Psychologie des Sentiments*, Pt. II., c. xii, § i. (Reprinted from *Rev. Phil.*, Oct., 1893.)

[which] is as much as to say that a true character is *innate*,¹ his statement appears to me to be not merely inexact, but the very reverse of truth. Everyone familiar with children will allow that, with certain pathological exceptions, nature fashions no characters. All she provides are tendencies which of themselves form highly unstable compounds. Anything like permanent unification is, I may say universally, the outcome either of external constraint—environment, imitation, education in the broadest sense—or of an effort of will consciously and patiently grouping the heterogeneous forces of our manifold (psychological) nature, and giving them a definite orientation,¹ under the guidance of some dominant purpose. In other words, character does not exist in a primordial state of nature. As implying unity and stability, it is in no sense innate; rather it is a secondary product which makes its appearance at a comparatively late period, and is only acquired as the result of a lengthy process of formation.

Here it will be well to pause a moment to note an important fact. The possibilities of character are not identical in all children. The idea of heredity,² which is now deeply lodged in the mind of that embodiment of wisdom, the man in the street, necessitates this conclusion. It is now universally admitted that—

Born into life,—man grows
Forth from his parents' stem,
And blends their bloods as those
Of theirs are blent in them;

So each new man strikes root into a far fore-time.

Each individual boy or girl comes into the world with a congenital endowment all its own, and which is, if not the sole, certainly an essential ground of the profound differences of character exhibited by human beings. This congenital endowment is what every writer, consciously or

¹ Though averse as a rule to the employment of Americanisms, I confess I can replace this convenient term only by a tedious and inexact circumlocution.

² Cf. MacCunn, *The Making of Character*, c. i., and the references there given.

unconsciously, seeks as the basis of his classification of character-types. To find it, however, we must dig deeper than intelligence, or even than particular tendencies. My own view, to be developed hereinafter, is that we must get down to the activity or vital energy of the individual subject. This statement will probably suggest to the thoughtful reader the theories of Henle and Wundt concerning nervous tone. And M. Alf. Fouillée has, in fact, endeavoured to apply these theories to the matter in hand. Here is his own statement :—

In my opinion, temperament is due to the modes and mutual relations of the anabolic and katabolic changes which accompany the functioning of the organism. Temperament is a kind of inner destiny which imposes a definite trend (*une orientation déterminée*) upon the functions of a living being, and should be stated in terms of the dominant chemical constitution, according as the prevailing tendency of the latter is in the direction of economy or of waste.

Upon this I would remark that any attempt to found a psychological theory upon obscure and highly contentious psychological data (more particularly upon those of the psychology of nutrition, concerning which our ignorance is at present complete), is foredoomed to certain failure. Thus it would seem that, from the psychological side also, no help is to be expected in the construction of a science of character. And so we are once more driven to the conclusion that such a science is impossible.

But if so, it may be asked, what is the object of the present paper? Well, to begin with, I conceive it is a good thing now and then to take stock of our scientific position, with a view to ascertaining how we stand, and what amount, if any, of real knowledge we actually possess or are likely to obtain in any given department. Such a review will sometimes disclose an unsuspected, though insuperable, bar to further progress in the direction we are travelling; in the case of character, for example, rigidly scientific treatment is impossible for lack of a $\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\hat{\omega}$. Still, my whole drift is not merely negative, since I hope to show that the teacher, having always to do with concrete cases,

which present themselves for solution as *practical* problems and with all the complexity which belongs to the particular, is in a more fortunate position than the psychologist. For although the former is unable to generalise his experience in the form of precise scientific laws, it is enough for his limited purpose to group together his observations into formulas which, seeing that his business lies with the individual and concrete, he need only treat as convenient shorthand records.

Accordingly, I will ask the reader to lay aside for the moment his psychological knowledge, and to place himself in imagination at the head of a class of twenty or thirty healthy children. Here is living concrete reality. I hold that its successful manipulation from our present standpoint requires the admission of an important, albeit easily-overlooked distinction. We must, in fact, distinguish two very different things: the *form* in which the vital energy of the child displays itself, and the *nature* of that energy as such. Upon this distinction depends, as we shall soon see, the only practically useful classification of character-types; hence its pedagogical importance. Now, the form is determined in large measure by the surroundings in which the child lives, the education he receives, the opinions and behaviour of his parents, teachers, companions, etc. And it is my firm and unalterable conviction that education in the highest sense can, within certain wide limits, dictate the form which the child's activity is to assume in after life. To be sure, this paramount influence of education upon the orientation of a child's activity may be disputed; but that is because the education which most children receive is sporadic and incoherent. Or better, it is because every child is the victim of a greater or less number of conflicting educational ideals, and is bewildered by the double contrast of incompatible principles *inter se* and of the conduct of his superiors with the principles on which it is professedly based. Just now we hear a good deal of talk concerning education, yet never, to my thinking, has education of even a moderately satisfactory type been more rare.

For consider that education, if it means anything, means the slow and patient imposition of a definite trend upon the ideas and feelings of the child. It is essentially a work of unification, and its principal object is the formation of character. Such work, to be successful, needs to be based upon fixed and well-considered principles. A good teacher must above all things be *ὁ τὸν λόγον ἔχων*.¹ Yet it is a deplorable fact that at the present time a teacher who 'knows what he is about' and has clear ideas as to what his aims ought to be, is extremely hard to find. Moreover, education as currently understood is really a very mixed affair, embracing the respective influences of home surroundings, companions, books, etc. Nor is there any reason to suppose that these various influences will all tend in the same direction. In truth—what comes to much the same thing—our education is not *thorough* enough. At every turn the teacher is baffled by a thousand forces, all tending to undermine his influence. One example² may serve to illustrate these remarks. Every conscientious educator will make it his business to instil into the minds of his pupils the principle of absolute respect for human personality—a principle formulated by Kant in his celebrated maxim, 'Act always so as to treat humanity, whether in thine own person or in another, always as an end, never as a means.' Yet this notion of the absolute worth of personality is everywhere contradicted by existing social relationships, the survivals of feudalism, that is, of a system which logically implies the denial of its validity. What headway can a teacher hope to make against Mr. Worldly Wiseman preaching to his children the gospel of success, and ready to condone any fault in a son who shows promise of 'getting on in the world'? How many fathers put before their sons as the sole object of their ambition—

rem facias, rem,
si possis recte, si non quocumque modo rem ?

¹ Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, vi., 1., 1138b 22.

² Desirous of presenting the case in its most general form, I have chosen by way of example a purely ethical maxim although the contrast between the *religious* principles and the conduct of (say) the average parent is perhaps still more glaring.

And on what basis does your portly, middle-aged *pater familias* estimate the 'worth' of his fellows? Surely it is as true now as when Juvenal wrote that

protinus ad census, de moribus ultima fiet quaestio.

Again, think of the demoralising effect on the child of the lesson he early learns from the example of his parents, the lesson of 'keeping up appearances,' no matter at what cost. Nor must we overlook the terrible truth that the tone of our mental life is in large measure determined by the material conditions in which we exist. But now, if we reckon up the power of these social forces which combine to lessen the influence of the teacher, and add to the resultant the elemental passion for self which lays its roots deep down in the heart of man, and whose manifold workings can be traced throughout every department of human life; if we remember that, though a few really competent teachers,

queis meliore lute finxit praeordia Titan,

are here and there to be met with, our half-hearted system never gives them a fair chance; with these reflections present to our minds, how can we wonder that, from the moral standpoint, education seems a failure? Have we not rather reason to be surprised that, by coming to the aid of the noblest tendencies of our nature, the teacher, handicapped as he is, occasionally succeeds in breaking down the dangerous coalition of forces hostile to moral well-being, which our imperfect civilisation arrays against him?

In this last fact may be found at least some ground for hope. Could we but succeed in isolating the child, and in securing a sufficient number of teachers thoroughly equipped for their profession, and animated by a sense of their enormous responsibilities, there seems to me little doubt but that the reproaches to which education is at present only too obviously liable might in great part be removed. Take one case in which education and surroundings alike conspire to a single result, where conflicting influences are eliminated with scrupulous care. The training received by Jesuit 'scholastics' has been specially devised with a view to the production of a certain type of character; and what-

ever may be thought of the ethical quality of the particular product in question, history and experience conclusively prove the success of the method employed in its manufacture. And I like to think that what has been proved to be possible in the special circumstances referred to might likewise become possible on a grander scale once the machinery necessary for its accomplishment were available. To discuss in detail the nature of such machinery would carry me too far afield ; nevertheless I may record my conviction that only by means of a system whereby the control of every branch of education should be taken out of the hands of parents and transferred *ab initio* could the educational reforms, the crying necessity for which we all recognize, be accomplished. But of this more on another occasion.

Now, the view I am here defending does not go so far as to assert that the form of vital energy is in the literal sense the creature of education. As Mr. MacCunn has justly remarked :—

The old familiar metaphor of the pure white sheet of paper, so often in times past invoked in the interests of educational responsibility, must now be decently and finally laid to rest. Psychology knows nothing of absolute beginnings. Everywhere its analysis strikes on existing preformations, and if the old metaphor is to survive at all, it must be by saying that the page of the youngest life is so far from being blank that it bears upon it characters in comparison with which the faded ink of palæography is as recent history.¹

At the same time I believe—and my belief is confirmed by careful observation—that in the long run children are fundamentally alike as being mere bundles of appetites and tendencies among which it is possible for the teacher to set up relations of co-ordination or subordination. As to the *nature* of the vital energy of each, that is veritably a datum behind which we cannot go. Education and hygiene may in certain cases do something to better it, but no radical transformation is ever possible.

We are here face to face with the deep-lying fact upon which all differences of character among mankind ulti-

¹ *The Making of Character*, chap. i.

mately depend. This fact is in turn the result of the cumulative processes comprehended under the term *Here-dity*—the modern incarnation of *ἀνάγκη*, Fate or Necessity. Its essence is to be sought neither in degrees of intelligence nor in particular tendencies (which are alike its consequences) but, as already intimated, in the amount of vital energy or activity which is the individual's deepest possession. This of course we know only through its effects. Its nature or quality must be inferred from its various manifestations.

¹ As the fruit of much careful scrutiny and reflection, I venture to propose the following scheme of classification :—

NATURE OF ACTIVITY

- i. *Intense and sustained*.¹ (Repair is rapid, but action is followed by long period of depression.)
- ii. *Intense, not sustained*. (Fatigue soon felt, slow repair, long period of depression.)
- iii. *Feeble, but sustained*.
- iv. *Feeble and not sustained*. (This last is almost always a pathological condition.)

This seems to me to be the only classification likely to be of service to the educationalist. For here we have a list of the fundamental modes of mental activity which determine the future life of the child. It is true that one sometimes comes across cases which obstinately refuse to be ranked under any of the above headings. Yet these exceptions are perhaps apt to seem greater than they really are when compared with the common run of cases whence our concept of the average is drawn. Unfortunately, too, the unhealthy surroundings which life in a large town

¹ The use of the word *sustained* must not mislead us. Intermittence is a law of our nature. All vital action consists of a series of 'spurts' of varying degrees of energy, succeeding each other at intervals of varying length. Mosso's investigations into the oscillations of attention are well known to students of psychology. Ferrier has likewise shewn that the effort of attention really consists of a series of efforts broken by respiratory movements. The general reader may be referred on this point to Ribot's *Psychologie de l'Attention*, p. 103.

imposes upon children is tending to increase the number of such exceptions. It is not too much to say that so common nowadays are cases of 'degeneration' or *détraquement* that every teacher ought to be a bit of a mental pathologist in addition to his other qualifications. But, apart from instances of this nature, the fact remains that a knowledge of the character of the child's mental activity is of the very highest importance to the educational psychologist. For once the formula (so to say) of his activity has been discovered, it is possible to foretell the development of the normally constituted child in the measure in which we can foresee the effects of the surroundings in which he is to live.

In proof of this the following considerations may be adduced. Intelligence is, as Sir W. Hamilton was fond of saying, the faculty of relations, and all intellectual activity, from the simplest perception to the most complex train of reasoning, may be reduced in the last analysis to the elaboration of relations between the data of sensation and consciousness. Furthermore, so far as our knowledge extends, the cognitive life of man is a complete unity. It is not easy to conceive a person of powerful imagination who should at the same time be a feeble reasoner. By a powerful imagination (of course I am not speaking of the ideal revival of sensory elements—ideation) I mean one which penetrates beneath the incrustation of fortuitous relations to those that are truly significant albeit hitherto unknown. Of this type Newton and Darwin may be taken as examples. A still higher degree of imagination is the power of discerning ingenious though exact relations between things which to a superficial mind appear wholly unlike. Thus we should admit, for example, that there is a connection between the skylark in the cloud and the images which Shelley associates with each, though these connections are far removed from our ordinary experience. This is creative imagination, the power through which the poet or artist enlarges and transforms our experience—the former requiring us to follow him in all sorts of unfamiliar, remote applications of words and images and to

form new associations between them, just as the latter takes common colours or shapes but puts them in a new setting.

Again, the spirit of discovery in every branch of science is merely this ability to perceive relations that lie hidden beneath the surface ; and likewise it may be said that great reasoning power is essentially akin to vigorous imagination. It follows that all the sterling qualities of intelligence are reducible to one fundamental process. In a word, the principal factor in each is the power of sustained and concentrated attention. Now, given that the mental activity of the child is both intense and sustained, its direction into intellectual channels will result in the creation of a powerful mind. The entire mental machinery will be run at high pressure, and the faculties will exhibit a high degree both of adaptability and of strength. Given, on the other hand, activity which though intense lasts but for a short time, the same impression will be produced at intervals, broken by periods of depression or mediocrity only partially disguised by the results acquired during the periods of energetic action. Next let us suppose the energy to be feeble but sustained, in which case we get the apathetic yet the intelligent type of character, of which Benjamin Franklin may perhaps be taken as an example. In this type the whole fund of disposable energy seems to be exhausted in the region of intelligence, leaving no overflow for affective or emotional life. At the same time one must beware of assigning to a man a definite psychological nature on the mere strength of scant biographical details. In the case I have mentioned, as well as in others which will readily occur to the reader, it is possible that some overmastering passion such as pride or ambition may have drained off, if one may say so, the energy which would otherwise have displayed itself in the form of ordinary emotions. Finally, when the vital energy is weak and unsustained, we get a condition of inert passiveness which offers little of interest to the psychologist, and is the despair of the teacher.

The influence exerted upon sensibility by these various

fundamental modes of activity is more difficult to define if only because the connotation of the term sensibility is by no means a fixed one. As used in psychology, it means (a) the quality of an organ considered as the 'bearer' of sensations, as in the phrase 'absolute sensibility'; (β) sensibility to pain or pleasure; (γ) 'common' sensibility or the pleasure-pain connected with organic sensations; (δ) finally it is used as a general term for the phenomena of sensuous and affective life. The three latter meanings all refer to phenomena of a highly composite nature. Even sensations of pain, for example, contain elements due to imagination. Indeed every psychologist knows that the so-called simple sensation is merely a convenient fiction (analogous to the atoms of chemistry), the fact being that adjoined to every sensation are a number of heterogeneous elements. Still more complex are the phenomena of feeling, as witness Spencer's description of sexual emotion,¹ or James's brilliant analysis of the feeling of effort, whence I conclude that it is in the last degree unscientific to introduce the term sensibility into any classification of character types.

Once more, it is matter of common experience that education, by directing the child's attention to his own higher sentiments, often succeeds in strengthening considerably the latter. This fact also shows us that the important thing from the teacher's standpoint is *the amount of energy at his disposal*. His business is to apply this energy in the right direction and not leave it to be frittered away by every random impulse or tendency. Intense or feeble, as the case may be, the vital energy is always *there* and must follow some course, as surely as from a higher level water must inevitably find a lower. Whether that course be irregular and purposeless, or on the other hand be directed to the realisation of certain chosen and morally

¹ *Principles of Psychology*.

² *The Feeling of Effort* (Anniversary Memoirs of the Boston Society of Natural History, 1880. Last monograph.)

³ Cf. J. Payot, *L'Education de la Volonté*, l. 1, c. 3, and the same author's *De la Croissance*, o. 111.

worthy ends, is determined in large measure, as I must once more insist, by education. I do not of course imply that education could transform a consistent egoist into an 'altruist' (although the converse might be possible), still, if egoism be radically incorrigible, it can at least be converted into 'reasonable' self-love, and in that way cured of much of its 'infinite grossness.'

It should now, I take it, be evident that all attempts to classify characters on the basis of intellectual and sensory elements as quite superficial and futile, and that the only rational ground of division is to be sought in the nature (or if anyone prefer it, the degree) of individual vital activity. The reader can easily verify this statement for himself by taking any child of his acquaintance and trying to 'place' him correctly in accordance with any other proposed scheme of classification. I have tried a similar experiment by trying to 'place' myself, but have never found a pigeon-hole in which I could feel at home. But in any event the bewildering variety of schemes of classification inevitably suggest the reflection that all are based on a false principle. The best that can be said of them is, that they are sometimes not unhelpful as maps of the territory to be investigated.

Before taking leave of the present subject it may not be amiss to say a few words concerning Kant's celebrated theory of the immutability of character,¹ if only because its very clearness and simplicity render it likely to mislead. Students of philosophy will be aware that the theory in question forms the corner-stone of the frailest portion of the great Kantian construction, but as these remarks are addressed equally to the wider public who regard metaphysic as 'a disease of language,' I prefer to treat it in the form in which it is presented, from the educational standpoint, by Schopenhauer.² According to this writer, differences of character are innate and unalterable. The bad man gets his badness from birth, as the serpent its

¹ *Kritik d. r. Vernunft.* (Werke ed. Hartenstein, iii., 374-385.)

² *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, iv., §55.; *Grundlage des Moral*, especially §§10, 20.

fangs and poison bags. On no other supposition can we explain the fixity and unchangeableness of character which experience everywhere reveals, and which forms an insuperable bar to every system of morals based on the idea of a progress towards virtue. As if virtue were not the offspring of nature, rather than of preaching and exhortation !

— If character were not, by reason of its primitiveness and unchangeableness, utterly incapable of betterment as the result of increased knowledge, if on the contrary, the claims of this stupid morality were to be made good, then we might naturally look to the latter for an improvement of human character and by that means a continuous progress towards the good and certainly all the religions with their solemn rituals, all the laudable efforts of moralists could not have proved but so many failures, and we should find at least on an average more virtue among the oldest section of humanity than among the youngest.

And a little further on, Schopenhauer adds :—

You may mislead the will of an egoist but you cannot make it better. For in order to do so you would have to be able to change the kind of motives which alone appeal to it ; to make the sufferings of others no longer mere matters of indifference ; to cause the egoist no longer to take pleasure in being a source of evil to others ; to bring about that everything which contributed in the smallest degree to his well-being should not for that reason merely outweigh with him every every other motive. Unfortunately all this is impossible, more certainly impossible than to change lead into gold.

It will be seen that Schopenhauer assumes *in limine* the immutability of natural character. With him, in a word, character is fate. Let us bring this assumption to the test of fact. In the first place we may ask, where did Schopenhauer ever meet with an absolutely unalterable character ? Where did he ever find a bad man whose every thought, feeling, and act was radically bad ? It is only necessary to put the matter thus bluntly to perceive that an absolutely immutable character is an absolutely baseless fiction. In proof of his theory Schopenhauer brings forward the statement that the oldest races of humanity cannot boast of an appreciably higher degree of

virtue than the youngest. Such an assertion is manifestly impossible to prove, since no one can take account of the thousand and one influences which react upon the development of virtue. Few, indeed, will take so optimistic a view of human progress as did the late Mr. Herbert Spencer, but still fewer, perhaps, will be found to acquiesce in Schopenhauer's sweeping generalisation. And even supposing the latter were verified, the decrease in virtue among the more ancient races might be explained by the action of, say, economic causes, which have nothing to do with character. In further proof of his position Schopenhauer appeals to the startling paradox that the man who has once done an evil deed has forfeited for ever the confidence of his fellow-men, while conversely that once a man has performed generous action we reckon confidently on his good nature, even in face of appearances, ever afterwards. Viewed as a statement of fact, this assertion is notoriously false, and its falsity in principle is equally apparent. Moral virtue (or vice) does not exist in us as a capacity, or in other words, it does not exist as a gift of nature previously to moral action.¹ We acquire the capacity for virtue or vice by doing virtuous or vicious things. Every teacher worthy of the name is aware of the fact that virtue and vice are moral states acquired through action. This fact is, indeed, the source of the moral influence which the good teacher consciously and deliberately wields. But to argue further where the truth is so plain is to flog a dead horse.

Every normal child is, as we have seen, an unorganised mass of ideas, appetites, feelings, and propensions. Now, it may happen that a particular tendency assumes a marked preponderance, not readily explicable as the result of surroundings or education. In such cases the preponderance is most satisfactorily explained as the spontaneous outcome of hereditary endowment. And unless the teacher inter-

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Eth., Nic.* II., I, 1103a 31-b2. τὰς δ' ἀρετὰς λαμβάνομεν ἐνεργήσαντες πρότερον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν. ἃ γὰρ δεῖ μαθόντας ποιεῖν, ταῦτα ποιῶντες μαθάνομεν, οἷον οἰκοδομοῦντες οἰκοδόμοι γίνονται καὶ κιθαρίζοντες κιθαρισταί. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰ μὲν δίκαια πράττοντες δίκαιοι γινώμεθα, τὰ δὲ σώφρονα σώφρονες, τὰ δ' ἀνδρεία ἄνδρες.

venes, the prevailing tendency will soon become a sort of centre of organisation around which similar ones will group themselves and combine to suppress their opposites. In this way, the mental life of the child will get a definite orientation, resulting in the creation of a pseudo-character.¹ It is the duty of the teacher to be always on the look-out for such one-sided developments, and to check them, so far as possible, by calling the contrary tendencies into play. In so far, however, as such instances deflect from the normal, the chances of combatting successfully the results of existing preformations will decrease, while the most that can be done with pronounced neuropaths is to hand them over for treatment by the physician. In the healthy child, as in the savage, organic appetites and the lower order of desires make their appearance in a somewhat explosive fashion. They succeed one another very rapidly, and no one of them attains any noticeable predominance over the rest. Thus it is that 'most *children*, have no character at all,' the word character connoting, as M. Ribot rightly points out, unity and stability. Every child will indeed exhibit a particular condition of (sensorial) sensibility, a definite degree of susceptibility to pleasure-pain, appetites and tendencies, some relatively strong, others relatively feeble, certain intellectual predispositions, etc.; but these constitute only the material out of which a true character has to be fashioned by the reflective will of the teacher and, under his guidance, of the child himself. For this purpose the skilful teacher will call to his aid all the marvellous resources which our complex mental constitution affords. Above all, he will make a careful study of each separate child that is entrusted to his care. Whether at work or in playtime, he will constantly watch for any little indication of the nature and amount of vital energy

¹ Cases of this nature are in reality mere instances of one-sided and pathological development. In general, where the development of psychological elements is not due to a conscious and reflective effort of will, it takes the form of exaggerating some simple appetite or propension. Thus, e.g., gluttony, erotomania, and alcoholism are merely cases of hypertrophied appetites, and pride, vanity, avarice, of hypertrophied propensions.

possessed by each child, ever eager to catch a glimpse of the elementary machinery at work. Knowing that the child's fund of energy is liable to frequent fluctuations, he will often revise his conclusions. He will take account of the child's growth, and in particular will recollect the formation of the relatively large and enormously complex human brain necessitates a very considerable drain upon the central fund of vital energy.¹ An estimate as accurate as circumstances permit of the amount of energy at his disposal will be required in order that the teacher may determine the best method to adopt in each case, and will, to a certain extent, inform him of the kind of effect he may hope to produce. Thus the training given to ungenerous natures will be different from that given to the more richly endowed, and will lay stress mainly on considerations of utility which may be urged in favour of right conduct, and on the feeling of insecurity by which the evildoer is constantly oppressed. Having settled this point, the teacher will next proceed to make a list of the appetites and tendencies displayed by the child, and carefully to note those which deviate from the mean either by way of excess or of defect. He will also take note of the tendencies which make for the end he has in view, with their opposites.² Finally, he will endeavour to ascertain the particular dangers

¹ It is a curious fact that educationalists have, as a rule, altogether neglected to take into consideration physiological needs. Guyau was not far wrong when he said that it is the idle scholars who make the future of the race. St. Thomas Aquinas and Walter Scott—to take two examples at random—were accounted dullards at school. I should like to see a knowledge of elementary Physiology required of all teachers, and would have every school provided with a weighing-machine, and care taken that no excessive intellectual efforts were demanded of rapidly growing children.

In Germany and the United States—the only countries worth considering from an educational standpoint—instruction in Psychology regularly forms part of the training received by intending teachers in the colleges and normal schools. In these countries, people are only just beginning to realise that a knowledge of the fundamental principles of Psychology is indispensable for all who purpose entering on the more extended field of psychological experimentation in the schoolroom. Some acquaintance with Psychology is certainly required from candidates for the diplomas in teaching now granted by our principal Universities, but from a variety of causes these diplomas have unfortunately failed to attract the vast body of teachers.

² Cp. J. Payot, *L'Education de la Volonté*, pp. 61-159.

and particular advantages afforded to each child by his special surroundings.

Such, in brief outline, will be the work of the conscientious teacher. That it is a work of difficulty and responsibility no one will venture to deny. Character implies a definite orientation of ideas and feelings such as can only be the result of skilful and patient toil. It is for the teacher to make use, for this purpose, of the subtle and delicate causal relations which obtain among psychological phenomena. On the one hand, he will attach nothing of importance to the 'fatal' influence of heredity, well knowing that in ordinary cases inherited tendencies which conflict with his aims may be opposed by others also inherited; and on the other, he will disregard the misleading suggestions of the word character, and will discern a real manifold of ideas, appetites and tendencies underlying the apparent unity of congenital 'nature.' In the multiplicity of elements he will recognise possibilities of transformation limited (in non-pathological cases) only by a single condition, viz., the kind and degree of fundamental vital energy, wherein lies the true 'fate' of every man that is born into this world.

W. VESEY HAGUE.

DANTE'S ENTRY INTO THE EARTHLY PARADISE

(' PURGATORIO,' XXVIII. 1-21.)

THE twenty-eighth Canto of the 'Purgatorio' is one of the most beautiful and characteristic in the whole of the *Divina Commedia*. Dante, having reached the Earthly Paradise, finds himself in the presence of a beautiful wood which he goes forward to explore, describing, as he proceeds, what he sees and what he hears. In his well-known work on Modern Painters, Ruskin speaks with enthusiasm of the opening verses of this description: 'The tender lines which tell of the voices of the birds mingling with the wind, and of the leaves all turning one way before it, have been more or less copied by every poet since Dante's time. They are, so far as I know, the sweetest passage of wood description that exists in literature.' The following is the passage to which this glowing eulogy refers.

Vago già di cercar dentro e dintorno
 La divina foresta spessa e viva,
 Ch'agli occhi temperava il nuovo giorno,
 Senza più aspettar lasciai la riva,
 Prendendo la campagna lento lento
 Su per lo suol che d'ogni parte oliva.
 Un' aura dolce, senza mutamento
 Avere in sè, mi feria per la fronte
 Non di più colpo che soave vento;
 Per cui le fronde, tremolando pronte,
 Tutte quante piegavano alla parte
 U' la prim' ombra gitta il santo monte;
 Non però dal lor esser dritto sparte
 Tanto, che gli augelletti per le cime
 Lasciasser d'operare ogni lor arte:
 Ma con piena letizia l'ôre prime,
 Cantando, riceviénो intra le foglie,
 Che tenevan bordone alle sue rime;
 Tal qual di ramo in ramo si raccoglie
 Per la pineta in sul lito di Chiassi,
 Quand'Eolo Scirocco fuor discioglie.

Now eager to explore around, within,
The heavenly forest dense with living green,
Which tempered to the eyes the new-born day,
Without delay I left the mountain ridge,
And slowly bent my steps across the plain,
Treading the fragrant earth that scents the air.
A pleasant breeze, which underwent no change¹
Within itself, upon my forehead struck,
But not with stronger blow than gentle wind ;
By which the light and quivering branches all,
Were turned aside in that direction where
The holy mount its earliest shadow casts ;
Yet were they not from their position bent
So far, as that the birds upon their tops
Left off the practice of their tuneful art ;
But with full joy the breath of early morn
They welcomed with their song amid the leaves,
Which kept on murmuring to their melodies ;
Such murmur as from branch to branch is stirred
Through the pine forest on Chiassi's shore,
When Eolus the south-east wind sets free.

GERALD MOLLOY.

¹ This allusion is explained later on in the Canto (97-108). According to Dante's view, the earth is fixed in the centre of the universe, and the heavens revolve around it. The atmosphere of the earth is carried round with the heavens: in the lower strata, this motion is disturbed by exhalations of the water and the soil, but no such disturbance reaches the higher altitudes. Thus, in the terrestrial Paradise, situated on the summit of the mountain of Purgatory, the air always moves on *without change*, in the same direction and with the same force. Dante supposes the force to be that of a gentle wind.

THE AUTHENTICITY AND GENUINENESS OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL FROM INTERNAL SOURCES

ST. AUGUSTINE, commentating on the excellence of the fourth Gospel, tells us how in his days this Gospel was deemed worthy of being engraved in letters of gold. Whether this was the case or no, at any rate having regard to the brilliance of the writing itself, or considering its enduring and untarnished teaching, as a metaphor it seems far from inappropriate when applied to the Gospel of St. John. Others, again, bearing in mind its clear and flowing style, have likened it to the even flow of crystal waters whose silent depths, to those who peer into them, are easily discernible. If such be the character of the Gospel, if such the sublimity of its doctrine, if such the attractiveness of its writing, why, then, should this Gospel have been made the object of so much attack in regard to its authenticity and genuineness, unless such opposition be indicative of its sterling worth? Certainly, such a circumstance can be easily understood, when we consider that a work of this kind must necessarily be unwelcome in those quarters, where to admit its truth would collide with predilections out of harmony with such a view as this. For it is needless to say how much will depend upon the way we approach the study of the book. If we begin with prejudices which are utterly adverse to the whole tenor of the narrative, if we clog the avenues of our mind or obscure our vision by looking at this Gospel with a jaundiced eye, this can hardly be the attitude likely to bring about a profitable issue. The writer whose symbol is that of the eagle, and who like that bird has soared to heavenly heights, and gazed at the 'Sun of Justice, the true Light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world,' will demand from him who reads a humble mind, since such doctrine as his being infused with heavenly light, postulates that its influence be felt, a receptive medium. If so, let us not be surprised that the fourth

Gospel seems to usher us into a different atmosphere to that of the Synoptics.

The writer himself tells us that he was admitted to a closer intimacy than any of those who accompanied the Person of whom he writes; he had drunk in his Master's spirit from the breast, as the suckling draws sustenance from that of his mother. The narrative, then, will be different from the Synoptists, whose record is that of descriptions—based, indeed, on personal observations of themselves or others, yet are they rather the record of external facts, than of much analysis of the inner life of the Lord, about whom they relate, or as Bishop Westcott puts it :—

The Synoptic Gospels contain the Gospel of the infant church: that of St. John the Gospel of its maturity. The first combine to give the wide experience of the many: the last embraces the deep mysteries treasured up by all. All alike are consciously based on the same great facts, but yet it is possible, in a more limited sense, to describe the first as historical, and the last as ideal.¹

Hence we must begin our investigations from this point of view, we must expect to find it more sublime, more intense in feeling; in a word, more tempered with all the reality of one who wrote what he felt and experienced, with all the deep earnestness of a personal friend. Our subject will naturally fall into two main heads :—

I. Will be to enquire how far the narrative may be considered historical, answering the question: Is it *authentic*?

II. Was the writer St. John, or answering the question: Is it *genuine*?

Under our first heading we shall group a few subdivisions which, when taken together, have a certain cumulative force, *e.g.*—(a) The testimony of the author himself as to the authenticity of his work; (b) the authenticity of the work from the coincidences with the Synoptic Gospels; (c) its authenticity from the consideration of persons and

¹ Westcott's *Study of the Gospels*, chap. v., p. 253; sixth edition.

circumstances of time and place. And first as to the testimony of the author himself.

I

(a) It seems but fair play to take the author on his own words. Now, if there is anything that is insisted on in the fourth Gospel it is the idea of bearing witness to the truth, by the manifestation and declaration of Him who is 'the way, the truth, and the life' (John xiv. 6); to this end the entire narrative is directed as the writer says in the closing words of the Gospel, 'But these things are written, that you may believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and that believing you may have life in His name' (John xx. 31). And, therefore, 'This is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things and we know that his testimony is true' (John xxi. 24). Hence, the writer brings in his pages, every person and event that will bear testimony that Christ is the Son of God to the end that we may believe. This is the silken thread woven through the texture of the whole, to this the clear division of the narrative tends as, for instance, the testimony of private individuals from chapter i. to chapter v., that of public testimony from vi. to xi., that of private testimony of the Master to the disciples xii. to xvii., and to the close, the triumph of belief or unbelief in the events of the Passion and Resurrection to chapter xxi.

If this idea of testimony be the great object of the Gospel, it would be a strange contradiction to suppose the work a mere pious meditation and not the vivid record of an eye-witness. In other words, if the witnesses and the events brought forward by the author are feigned, he would be guilty of conscious fraud, and that of the worst kind; for, while insisting on truth, and even at times going out of his way to show how bitterly he felt the wrong of those who believed not the testimony offered, yet he would all the time be guilty of a far greater offence. Thus our Lord speaks before the Jews in chapter v. 31:—

If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is not true. There is another that beareth witness of Me; and I know that the

witness which he witnesseth of Me is true. You sent to John, and he gave testimony to the truth ; but I receive not testimony from man. . . . But I have a greater testimony than that of John, for the works which the Father hath given Me to perfect, the works themselves which I do give testimony of Me, that the Father hath sent Me, etc.

We may here bring forward the Baptist's testimony, so that the Gospel may speak for itself. In chapter i. we read :—

There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. This man came for a witness, to give testimony of the light, that all men might believe through him. He was not that light, but was (sent) to give testimony of that light.

John beareth witness of Him, and cried out, saying, ' This was He of whom I spake : He that shall come after me, is preferred before me, for He was before me ' (verse 15). And John gave testimony, saying, ' I saw the spirit coming down as a dove from heaven . . . and I saw and gave testimony that this is the Son of God ' (verse 34).

Again, in chapter ii., after the first Pasch, we are told : ' And Jesus did not trust Himself to the Jews because He needed not that any should give testimony of man.' In chapter iii. 11, Our Lord says to Nicodemus, ' Amen, amen, I say to thee that We speak what We know and We testify to that We have seen, and you receive not Our testimony.'

Again, in verse 32, St. John the Baptist appears and says that He had testified ' and no man accepteth His testimony,' etc. In chapter iv. 39, the Samaritans are thus represented : ' Now, in that city many of the Samaritans believed in Him, for the word of the woman giving testimony, He told me all things whatsoever I have done.' In chapter viii., when Our Lord was disputing with the Jews after He forgave the woman taken in adultery : ' The Pharisees, therefore, said unto Him : Thou givest testimony of Thyself, Thy testimony is not true. Jesus answered and said to them : Although I give testimony of Myself, yet My testimony is true.'

Compare, again, the contrast, verse 44 : ' You are of your

father, the devil. . . . He stood not in the truth, because truth is not in him, when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own,' etc. Again the works of Jesus are brought forward as witnesses, which Our Lord referred to above, so here in x. 25: Jesus answered them: I speak to you and you believe not; the works I do in the name of My Father, they give testimony of Me.' And in chapter xii. the author himself confirms the same, showing his aim was the same as the Lord's, of whom he wrote, which we also quoted above, verse 37: 'And whereas He had done so many miracles before them they believed not in Him, that the saying of Isaias might be fulfilled when he said: Lord who hath believed our report,' etc. And then the author adds: 'For they loved the glory of man rather than the glory of God.'

It is needless to multiply these instances, which, whatever may be said as to the doctrine they teach, at all events they show that in the face of such insistence on truth, it would be unwise to deny the honesty of the writer's aim. The whole scope of the Gospel, as we have said, is directed to the one object of bearing special witness to the truth of Christ's work, with the authority of one who himself had witnessed the same. And this, to say nothing of the fact that all the persons, miracles, and events deal with the same idea of belief, and are adduced as evidence of the life and work of Jesus Christ as the Son of God.

The whole of the history seems based upon this single idea of witness, and so much so, that where Christ Himself does not speak of it, His actions and miracles do, and where these do not, then, the persons and events are all directed to this end, and, finally, the author himself joins in his own testimony as if to completely emphasize this idea; as when he says, chapter i.: 'We have seen His glory, the glory of the only-begotten of the Father;' or, as in the incident of the pierced side, chapter xix. 25, where the writer adds, 'And he that saw it hath given testimony, and his testimony is true, and he knoweth that he saith true that you may also believe.' It is strange, too, that although all four evangelists narrate the Passion of Christ, yet one is struck

how greatly the idea of testimony comes out as in the words of Christ to Pilate ; and so the whole Gospel could not be inaptly styled the Gospel of Testimony, 'for these things are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that believing, you may have life in His name' (xx. 31).

(b) But, apart from this personal testimony, the narrative shows itself to be authentic by the many connections with the Synoptic Gospels, and such coincidences being undesigned are therefore all the more valuable. Thus, Our Lord, in chap. vi. speaks of Himself as coming down from heaven, and the Jews in consequence thus question among themselves, 'Is not this Jesus the Son of Joseph whose father and mother we know?' Now there are only two of the Synoptists that tell us of the foster-father of Jesus,—St. Matthew and St. Luke,—and just as we do not think of rejecting St. Mark because of omissions, but rather accept his record on account of agreement with them, so on the same grounds must we be prepared to accept St. John's account. This will, of course, apply to what follows, for in chapter vii. we read: 'Others said: This is the Christ, but some said: Doth Christ come out of Galilee? Do not the Scriptures say that Christ cometh from the seed of David and from Bethlehem, the town where David was?' Again, there are phrases used by Christ Himself which are either identical with the Synoptics, or very similar. Thus, the habitual phrase of Our Lord is continually repeated when prefixed to some solemn asseveration as 'Amen, Amen, I say to thee.' In chapter iv. 44, we read: 'For Jesus Himself gave testimony that a prophet hath no honour in his own country.' Compare St. Matthew xiii. 57: 'And Jesus said to them a prophet is not without honour save in his own country.' The same is read in St. Mark v. 46, St. Luke iv. 24.

Many objections have been raised against the Gospel on account of the different view it presents of Our Lord's discourses to those of the other Gospels, but here, again, we must bear in mind what we said at the beginning, viz., that it is the record of a personal friend of the Master.

Yet such an objection as this is but a superficial one, for the Synoptics give those discourses which were addressed to the Galileans and suitable to rustic surroundings, whereas St. John's are those addressed to a more highly cultivated class, and at Jerusalem. Where St. Matthew does describe disputes with the Pharisees at Jerusalem, towards the close of the Gospel, a careful study will show they are of the same kind as these of St. John. Compare St. Matthew xxii. with St. John viii. But besides this, we have actually a striking instance of phraseology, which some writers have termed a Johannine block, which is found in St. Matthew xi. 25-27:—

I confess to thee, O Father, O Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones. Yea, Father, for so hath it seemed good in Thy sight. All things are delivered to Me by My Father, and no one knoweth who the Son is but the Father, and to whom the Son will reveal Him.

Compare St. John iii. 35: 'The Father loveth the Son and hath given all things into His hand.' St. John vi. 44: 'No man can come to Me except the Father, who hath sent Me, draw him.' St. John x. 15: 'As the Father knoweth Me and I know the Father.' Compare again the similarity, St. John iv. 35, we read:—

Behold, I say, lift up your eyes and see the countries, they are already white to harvest, and he that reapeth receiveth wages and gathereth fruit unto life everlasting. Matt. xxv. 37: Then He saith to His disciples: The harvest is indeed great, but the labourers are few. Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest that He may send labourers into His vineyard.

Compare, also, St. John xiii. 20 with St. Matthew x. 40; and St. John xii. 28 with St. Matthew x. 39, xvi. 25, and many others which it would be tedious to quote.

Again, the scene of the heavens opening and the voice from Heaven was evidently witnessed by the writer of the fourth Gospel, for, curiously enough, there is no explicit mention of this event; but by St. John the Baptist mentioning the dove descending on Our Lord, we thus have the scene as narrated by the Synoptists.

In this Gospel nothing is said of the ordination of the twelve, yet the phrase of 'the twelve' is introduced quite naturally, as in chapter vi.: 'Then Jesus said to the twelve: Will you also go away? Have I not chosen you twelve and one of you is a devil.' Another mark is the way the impetuous character of St. Peter is described, showing that it was the record of an eye-witness by its agreement with the other Gospels in regard to his character. One has only to recollect the scene at the washing of the feet in chapter xiii., the beckoning of St. Peter to St. John at the last supper to know who it was that should betray Our Lord, the drawing of the sword at the apprehension of Jesus, and the casting of himself into the water after the Resurrection when Our Lord stood on the shore. But there is one striking phrase which is strangely confirmatory of this. In chapter vi., when Our Lord asks the twelve, 'Will you also go away?' we read, 'and Simon Peter answered: Lord to whom shall we go, Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we have believed and known that Thou art Christ the Son of God.' Compare the well-known words of St. Matthew xvi. 16: 'Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.' How striking is the coincidence!

Besides these examples, there is the miracle of the 5,000, the details of the sacred Passion, and in connection with this latter there is a circumstance not to be overlooked. We are told that the other disciple procured St. Peter admission into the court of the High Priest, and this being so, we have only two sources for the denial of St. Peter. If St. Peter supplied the Synoptic account, by the very nature and importance of the event, this disciple's account would also be known to the Church. If St. Peter alone was in the court of the High Priest such a statement as this could scarce find its way into the fourth Gospel unchallenged. But to admit this account involves the truth of the whole Gospel, for the author elsewhere calls himself that 'other disciple,' and the 'disciple whom Jesus loved.' And no one, as far as I know, doubts at least the unity of the work.

(c) Under our third sub-division we indicate a number of circumstances of persons, places, etc., which leave to any other opinion as to their authenticity the *onus probandi*; as, for example, in the selection of places mentioned, which must be fitted in with the record of the Synoptists, as, for instance, Bethabara, Bethany, Aenon, Sychar, Cana of Galilee, Nazareth, Capernaum, Ephrem, etc. Then the particular situations, which are so accurate—they are confirmed by modern topographers of Palestine in every respect, such are ‘Solomon’s porch’ where Our Lord held His discourses, and where, we are told, the people crowded together to hear Him, is remarkably accurate and could only have been the description of one who had seen and known the position of the Temple, and had an intimate acquaintance with its porticoes and courts. With this we may compare the mention of the pool of Siloe, with the interpretation of the name, the description of Bethesda, of the length of time taken to build the Temple—forty-six years—the beautiful stones, all is in complete agreement with recent discoveries, and a consultation of Dr. Edersheim is worth while to those interested in such details.

Mark, again, the various classes of people who are noticed—the rulers of the Jews, the different customs of the people, the mention of Nathaniel and of Nicodemus, men evidently of note, Nicodemus being of the number of the Sanhedrim, all these things require explanation if not historically true. Take, for instance, the details of Jacob’s well; how we are told that Our Lord sat weary by the well, that the woman said ‘the well is deep,’ and its situation just nigh the city of Sichem. The whole point of view and the details are found to be extremely accurate. Recent explorers have found the well to have a low parapet, that it is deep, that it is placed just as St. John has described it.¹ When all these things are considered, we may well ask for proofs that the narrative is not the record of an eye-witness of some of the most interesting facts about the life and work of Our Lord.

¹ Tristram’s *Land of Israel*, cap. vii., p. 143.

II

The second head of our paper will not take long to prove, viz., the question as to its genuineness, or was the author really St. John, one of the twelve Apostles. And first of all, we will just notice that the writer was one well acquainted with Palestine, and also was of Jewish birth and education. The knowledge of the Old Testament and the current doctrine of the Rabbins, as well as the customs of the Jews, the intimate knowledge of the Jewish language, together with its Hebrew cast of thought, loudly proclaim the writer was a Jew. But, then, it is evident that the Gospel was not written for the Jews. The words that would cause no difficulty to a Jewish reader are carefully interpreted. Indeed, the Syriac version does not interpret some of these Jewish names, for to a Palestinian it would be the merest tautology so to do. Such instances are Rabbi, Messias, Siloe, Golgotha, Gabbatha.

All these interpretations were evidently meant for a Gentile audience. As regards the style, it is more classical than any other Gospel, and though the clothing of the Gospel is Greek, yet the thought is thoroughly Hebraistic; 'It is indeed, the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau,' and Winer confirms this, namely, that the language of St. John is more Hellenistic, though of course Jewish in thought.¹ This being so, we have a confirmation of the external evidence that it was written at Ephesus. Fortunately, however, we have proof positive from the internal evidence to show us who the author of this Gospel was.

It is clear that the disciple whom Jesus loved is one of the inner band of disciples, that is, one of the twelve, who is the author of this work. Chapter xxi. 24: 'This is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things, and hath written these things, and we know that his testimony

¹ Cf. Winer's *Grammar of the New Testament*, *passim*.

is true.' What disciple, do we ask? And the twentieth verse tells us: 'Peter, turning about, saw that disciple whom Jesus loved, who also *leaned on His breast at supper*, and said: Lord who shall betray thee?' This event referred to is narrated in chapter xiii. 23: 'Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of His disciples, whom Jesus loved. Simon Peter, therefore, beckoned to him, and said to him: Who is it of whom He speaketh?'

Hence (a) from these and other quotations it is clear that the eye-witness was the same person who leaned on the breast of the Lord. (b) He was one of the twelve, for from the Synoptics the twelve alone were present at the supper of the Lord. From these two facts we prove St. John was the author by the following argument of exclusion:—

It was not St. Peter, for he is distinguished from the writer as a third person, and besides, has given St. Mark's account; not SS. Andrew, Philip, Nathaniel (who is probably St. Bartholomew)—Iscariot does not come into the question—for all these are also distinguished as third persons; not St. Matthew, for we have his Gospel; not St. Jude, for we have his epistle; not St. James the Great, for he was put to death by Herod, as recorded in the Acts, and, therefore, did not live long enough; not St. James the Less, for we have his Epistle also; not St. Thaddeus, who does not enter into conversation; therefore, it must be St. John.

This proof may be confirmed with the following arguments: (a) From the companionship of St. John with St. Peter. SS. Peter, James, and John were specially singled out by Our Lord, and were present with Him on three important occasions—the Transfiguration, the raising of Jairus' daughter, and the Agony. But James, as we said above, was not the author on account of his death. It was Peter and John who went up in the Temple to pray, as recorded in the Acts. He was with St. Peter at the denial of Our Lord; he ran with Peter to the sepulchre; and on the lake of Galilee 'they were together, James, Peter, and Thomas who is called Didymus, and Nathaniel who was of Cana of Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee with two of His disciples.

When the Lord appears, the disciples knew not it was Jesus. That disciple, therefore, whom Jesus loved, said to Peter, 'It is the Lord.'

(b) There are four lists of the Apostles in the New Testament—St. Matthew x. 14-16; St. Mark iii. 16-19; St. Luke vi. 14-16; Acts i. 13. These lists always fall into three groups, but the names in these groups are always the same, though not always in the same order. We always find John with Peter in the first group. We may, then, ask if it is not St. John—he who is called 'that disciple,' or the disciple whom 'Jesus loved'—who else can it be that wrote this Gospel?

(c) Although all the other Evangelists, when speaking of St. John the Baptist, always add the title 'Baptist,' to distinguish him from the Apostle John, yet the writer of this Gospel does not use this distinguishing mark, speaking always of the Baptist as 'John' simply. The reason of this is obvious, namely, the writer of this Gospel had not the same difficulty of distinguishing, because he himself was named John; or, in other words, because it was St. John who wrote this Gospel.

We have thus proved—and as we think sufficiently to convince any reasonable critic—the authenticity and genuineness of St. John's Gospel from the internal evidence. No doubt there are many other interesting questions that spring from this subject, as for instance, the source from whence the Logos was derived, the higher plane of teaching in the supper chamber, etc. Such questions, however, do not affect the substance of the argument, and could not be dealt with in a paper of this kind. This, at any rate, is true, namely, the internal evidence of St. John's Gospel coincides in a remarkable manner with the external evidence, as found in the traditions of the Catholic Church, and in this way the argument is still further strengthened. The Gospel will always be full of interest, because it reveals the interior life of Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and in this sense it could not inaptly be called 'The Gospel of the Sacred Heart.'

W. A. WARREN, S.J.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

MARRIAGE OF A CATHOLIC IN A REGISTRY OFFICE OR IN A PROTESTANT CHURCH. ERROR ABOUT MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENT. CASE ABOUT IMPEDIMENT OF AFFINITY. BAPTISM 'SUB CONDITIONE' IN CASE OF THOSE BAPTIZED PRIVATELY BY NURSES. MUST SUBJECT BE IN THE DIOCESE WHEN A BISHOP GRANTS A DISPENSATION IN A MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENT?

REV. DEAR SIR,—I would feel much obliged if you would answer the following questions in the I. E. RECORD :—

1. Does a Catholic who marries a Protestant in a registry office or Protestant church incur a censure ?

2. A Parish Priest finds that one of his parishioners who is about to get married has contracted a probable impediment (*prob. facti*) : he seeks for and gets a dispensation ; but he finds after the marriage that his parishioner through some vain fear told him lies about the impediment. The Parish Priest re-examines the whole question again, but on account of other new reasons he believes the impediment is not certain. Was dispensation valid ?

3. A man committed fornication with his wife before marriage. After her death he wishes to marry her first cousin. Are there two or only one impediment ?

4. Ought all children baptized by nurses—no matter how reliable—be afterwards conditionally baptized by the priest ?

5. A Parish Priest gets a dispensation for a pair in his parish from the Bishop. He finds afterwards that on the very day the dispensation was granted, the pair (or one of them) were away on a visit in another diocese. Was dispensation valid ?

SACERDOS

1. A Catholic who marries a Protestant in a registry office does not incur any censure according to the common law of the Church. A Catholic, however, who marries a Protestant in a Protestant church does incur an excommunication specially reserved to the Holy See. The first censure of the

Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis* is directed against those who favour heresy by taking part in such religious ceremonies of heretics.

2. In this case we presume that the causes for dispensation were correctly stated, that the impediment was accurately described, and that the only error which existed was an error about the reasons which showed that the impediment was doubtful. It was stated that the impediment was doubtful, though the wrong reasons for this doubt were knowingly given. We see no reason that tells against the validity of the dispensation which was obtained in these circumstances. The error was only accidental. It, consequently, did not interfere with the dispensing will of the superior.

3. There was certainly an impediment of affinity in the case. Was there a multiple impediment of affinity owing to the unlawful communication before marriage and the lawful communication which took place after marriage? Was there also an impediment of public propriety because of the valid marriage? (a) It has been decided by the S. Pen. (20 March, 1842; 10 December, 1874) that when there are illicit communication before marriage and licit communication after marriage with the same person, it is necessary to mention only the lawful affinity. This shows that the unlawful affinity merges in the lawful affinity. Hence there is only one impediment of affinity in the case. (b) As to the impediment of public propriety, there is a speculative diversity of opinion amongst theologians. All admit that if the marriage was not consummated the impediment of public propriety remains distinct from any unlawful affinity which exists. Some maintain that it remains as a distinct impediment when the marriage has been consummated. Others maintain that it merges in the lawful affinity. This controversy is, however, purely speculative, because if in the petition for a dispensation lawful affinity is mentioned—and it is necessary to mention that the affinity is lawful—it is understood at once that there is public propriety in so far as it exists. Moreover, if there is question of obtaining the dispensation from a person who has only delegated power to

dispense from lawful affinity, the existence of public propriety does not lead to cumulation of impediments requiring special faculties. Hence whichever opinion is speculatively true, no difficulty arises in practice.

4. The S.C.C. has frequently declared that it is not lawful to indiscriminately baptize *sub conditione* children who have been privately baptized by nurses. There must be a diligent investigation in individual cases. If after investigation it be clearly certain that baptism was already validly conferred, the ceremonies alone are to be supplied. If after investigation it be found that it is not clearly certain that baptism was already conferred validly, then baptism may be conferred again *sub conditione*. There is an obligation of conferring it again *sub conditione* if a probable doubt remain about the validity of the first baptism. Of course if after investigation it be found that the first baptism was certainly invalid, baptism must be conferred absolutely. In general it is no harm to remark that in the case of so necessary a sacrament as baptism it is better to err on the side of leniency than on the side of strictness in re-baptizing *sub conditione*.

5. If the dispensation was granted by the Bishop by virtue of the power which he has from the *Formula Sexta*, one of the subjects must have been in the diocese at the moment when the dispensation was granted. Both need not have been in the diocese, because one transferred his privileges to the other. If the dispensation was granted by the Bishop by virtue of his ordinary or quasi-ordinary power, neither subject need have been in the diocese at the moment when the dispensation was granted. If there was question of a dispensation granted by the Bishop not by virtue of the power which he has from the *Formula Sexta* nor by virtue of his ordinary or quasi-ordinary power, but by virtue of special delegation from the Holy See, then the tenor of the dispensing power must be examined to find out whether or not the subject must have been in the diocese when the dispensation was granted. If no clause restricting the exercise of the power was inserted, the Bishop could use the power even though the subject was outside the diocese.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

ARRANGEMENT OF CANDLES ON ALTAR

REV. DEAR SIR,—If I mistake not I saw, years ago, in the I. E. RECORD, that it was in accordance with the wish of the Church that candles placed on the altar for either Mass or Benediction, should be so placed that no more than six should be in a line. Thus, *v.g.*, for Benediction, if a five-branch candlestick were used, it could be so placed as to point to one and only one other candle on the altar. Is there any such regulation laid down by rubricists or otherwise? I think it is as far back as 1864 or 1865 since it was brought under my notice. If there was such a rule, what has become of it? If revoked, when? For it is nowadays so common to see sacristans in this and other countries (England, France, etc.), place *v.g.*, for Benediction on the altar two 7-light candlesticks contiguous to each other and *on the same line*, thus having fourteen candles at least in a direct line.

The regulation referred to by our correspondent has never come under our notice. We doubt if it at all exists. In the chapter of the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, ‘De Ornatu Ecclesiae et Altaris,’¹ it is stated that there should be six candlesticks on the altar, three on either side of the cross, so arranged that, while those on the right hold the same relative positions as those on the left, the candles on any one side should be graduated in size as they approach the centre of the altar. That is to say, the candlesticks on the inside should be taller than those on the outside. ‘*Ipsa candelabra non sint omnino inter se aequalia, sed paulatim, quasi per gradus ab utroque altaris latere surgentia, ita ut ex eis altiora sint immediate hinc inde a lateribus crucis posita.*’ This disposition of the *Ceremoniale* has been declared by the Congregation of Rites not to be of obligation where a contrary usage has obtained.² Sometimes, if there

¹ *Cer. Epis.*, lib. i. cap. x. ii. qu. 11.

² *Decr. S.R.C.*, n. 8035, vii.

are two gradus, or gradines, on the altar, a set of six candlesticks may be arranged on each in similar fashion. Here, then, in regard to the candles used for Mass, there is no trace of the regulation mentioned by our correspondent. Neither is there any vestige of it where the circumstances require a large number of lights upon the altar, as in the case of Benediction, or Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. In the latter instance—as far as we can ascertain—there are no explicit directions about any definite arrangement of the lights. ‘Quoad dispositionem luminum libertas relinquitur variata candelarum forma, copia et distributione.’¹ Should Mass be celebrated at the altar of Exposition, the altar-table, for obvious motives of convenience, should then be free from candles. When a large number of lights is required in the neighbourhood of the altar there is room for a considerable amount of artistic display in a tasteful arrangement, and when a skilful grouping of the various ornaments is effected a decidedly pleasing and delightful impression is the result. While quite the contrary feeling is produced by an indifferent or ill-judged juxtaposition of the flowers, lights, and other ornaments. The character and style of the church, and especially of the altar, as well as the Rubrical symbolism must always be taken into account. In the triangular arrangement recommended by the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* the idea seems to be to have the lights gradually ascending upwards till they culminate in the crucifix, whereon is represented the ‘Lux vera quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc Mundum.’

IS INSCRIPTION OF NAMES NECESSARY FOR ALL SCAPULARS ?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following questions in some future issue of the I. E. RECORD.

1. To be validly enrolled in the Black, Blue, Red, and Red and White Scapulars and to gain all the Indulgences, is the entry of names a necessary condition ?

¹ Van Der Stappen, *De Sac. Adm.* p. 143.

2. What is the difference between a Gospel and an *Agnus Dei*? Are there Indulgences for the wearing of them? Which is preferable?

SACERDOS.

I. The inscription of the names in the register of a canonically erected confraternity, or the forwarding of them to some one of the houses of the Orders respectively associated with these Scapulars, is a necessary condition for gaining the Indulgences attached to wearing the Brown Scapular of Mount Carmel, the White Scapular of the Trinity and the Black Scapular of the Seven Dolours. This has been authentically declared by the Congregation of Indulgences¹ over and over again. The reason is because the Indulgences in the case of these three Scapulars cannot be obtained except through membership in the Confraternity; and one of the conditions requisite for valid enrollment in these associations is entry of the names on the members' list. We are not aware that the privilege has been granted to anyone to impart to any of these Scapulars the Indulgences without complying with this requirement. It is, indeed, possible that such a privilege might be granted to individuals, but the existence of a special Indult would require ample proof. With regard to the remaining two Scapulars—the Blue of the Immaculate Conception and the Red of the Passion—no inscription of names is necessary, because the Indulgences are imparted irrespective of any Confraternity. It is useful to point out that, on representations being made to the Congregation of Indulgences some years ago about the non-fulfilment of this condition in connection with the Brown Scapular, a decree of revalidation was issued in June, 1894, which had the effect of *healing* receptions into the Confraternity invalid by reason of the omission to register the names or from any other cause. Since this date no *Decretum sanationis* of a general kind has been issued as far as we know. But private decrees of this kind may have been

¹ Act Sanctae Sedis, V. xxiv. p. 126.

issued in individual cases ; and if a priest had reason to fear that many persons, owing to his carelessness, had been deprived of the Indulgences attached to any of the Scapulars, he would at least be well advised in having recourse to the Congregation of Indulgences.

II. The *Agnus Dei* has been already described in these pages.¹ It is a waxen tablet or medallion, nearly circular in shape, and about two inches in diameter, engraved with a figure of the Lamb, made of the paschal candles used in the churches of Rome, and blessed by the Holy Father on the *first*, and on every succeeding *seventh* year of his pontificate. It must be very ancient,² for Amalarius, a writer of the ninth century, speaks of tablets made of wax and oil by the Arch-deacon of Rome, blessed by the Pope, and distributed to the people. What is just described is known as the *Agnus Dei* proper, since it has the representation of the Lamb from which its name is derived. This, however, may be divided, as is usually the custom in this country, into smaller pieces, and it seems quite certain that the divided portions have the same efficiency as the entire tablet. There are no Indulgences, properly speaking, attached to the *Agnus Dei*, but it is regarded as possessed of a certain spiritual efficacy in shielding the wearer against dangers of various kinds, in safeguarding him from influences of evil spirits, and in general it is held to be a pledge of a special Divine protection. St. Liguori³ numbers it among the sacramentals, and on account of the elaborate ceremonial employed in its preparation and blessing it must be held to be one of the most important in this category. Like the 'Agnus Dei,' the 'Gospel' has no Indulgences attached, and its spiritual efficacy is somewhat similar. We have not seen it stated authoritatively that it is a sacramental, but we believe common estimation assigns it to this class. Of the two,

¹ I. E. RECORD, December, 1901, p. 560.

² It is stated by Benedict XIV that, when in the year 1544 A.D., the tomb of the wife of the Emperor Honorius (who died in the middle of the fourth century) a waxen *Agnus Dei* was found in it among other gems.

³ *Theol. Mor.*, L. vi., n. 94.

then, we should say that the former has the greater spiritual efficacy.¹

ALTAR BREADS

A distinguished American Prelate who has read with interest the notes on altar breads, which appeared in previous issues of the I. E. RECORD, has sent us the following analysis which we have great pleasure in bringing before the notice of our readers. The breads submitted to the analyst's process—so fully described—were about three months old. We leave the interesting account of the assay to the distinguished medical man who performed the test, and we are quite confident that the valuable suggestions he makes as to the proper method of keeping breads will be heartily appreciated.

As the ordinary forms of bacteria are not likely to grow on a culture-medium consisting very largely of starch, the micro-organisms most probably to be found in the present case are the *saccharomyces fungi*, or yeast plant; and it was for this latter I searched particularly, whilst not neglecting to look for bacteria as well. The first step was a microscopic examination. I prepared a number of slides and all of them were negative except one, which showed the presence of a few *saccharomyces*. This slide was prepared from the large bread. The small bread was absolutely negative. Starch cells were of course present, although not in as great numbers as might be imagined, as the process of baking causes them to swell up and disintegrate. To ascertain if undeveloped fungi were present, the cultural method was adopted as follows:—Two hermetically sealed glass jars were taken and prepared in the following manner, they were first thoroughly cleansed, then in each was placed a pledget of absorbent cotton soaked in water. Both jars were sealed and placed in the sterilizer, where they were exposed to the action of live steam for one hour. After allowing them to cool, the small bread was placed in one and a portion of the large bread in the

¹ Other valuable details about the *Agnus Dei* may be learned from a very useful and interesting work entitled *The Sacramentals of the Roman Catholic Church*, by Father Lambing. There is no mention of the *Gospel* among the Sacramentals here enumerated.

other. They were then placed in a favourable temperature (37 C.) and allowed to incubate ; the one for twenty-four, and the other for forty-eight hours. The breads were now in the most favourable environment for the development of fungi if present—heat, moisture, and the absence of direct sunlight. The sterilization of the jars was of course for the purpose of eliminating the possibility of infection of the breads, with extraneous micro-organisms, while the wet cotton served to furnish the necessary moisture for the development of any fungi which might already have infected the breads. At the expiration of twenty-four hours the small bread was subjected to both a macroscope and microscope examination. The gross appearance did not reveal the presence of any colours of fungi. The microscopic findings were likewise negative. On opening the jar which had been standing for forty-eight hours there was, even without using the microscope, quite marked evidence of bacterical growth, a decided odour of Lactic Acid could be detected, showing that fermentation had taken place. The microscope revealed the presence of fungi of the *saccharomyces* family. The conclusions I have arrived at are as follows :—

1st. The breads, if kept absolutely dry, are, under ordinary circumstances, practically free of fungi.

2nd. As many of these fungi, as well as numerous saprophytic bacteria, are *air-borne*, the receptacle containing the breads should be hermetically sealed.

3rd. That the micro-organisms which accidentally become deposited on the breads are likely to develop under favourable environment for their growth—heat and moisture.

4th. That the receptacle in which the breads are stored should be made of glass or metal, and thoroughly sterilized by heat before having the breads deposited therein.

5th. That in absence of keeping the breads in sealed jars, the place of storage should be absolutely dry and exposed to light.

To preserve large quantities of breads for an indefinite period I beg to offer the following suggestions :—

Store the breads in sterilized air-tight glass jars. This may be done in either one of two ways. Store the breads while hot immediately after being baked in the jar before there is any possibility of infection taking place, or the breads may be placed in the jars and sealed hermetically and then sterilized for half an hour. The latter method is the surest. The heat will destroy

any fungi or mould present, and will absolutely prevent any possibility of their development. I would suggest that jars used be small, as the opening of a jar would not expose a large number of breads to a chance of infection. If this method should be inconvenient, I should simply advise storing the breads in plain glass jars in a dry place. A sterilizer suitable for the purpose could be made here for a few dollars.

I would not have bored your Grace with all this detail, but for the fact that I thought on account of your well-known interest in scientific work, you would be interested in the process.—Very sincerely,

Signed,

W. P. SCULLY.

We return our best thanks to the Prelate above referred to for furnishing us with these interesting details.

P. MORRISROE.

DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH BISHOPS

AT the Meeting of the Irish Bishops held at Maynooth on Wednesday, 14th June, his Eminence Cardinal Logue presiding, the following statement and resolution were adopted in reference to the New Rules of the National Board of Education, and ordered to be published :—

‘ That the Secretaries write to the Managers’ Committee :—

‘ (1) To express our sympathy with them in the grave crisis that has arisen in reference to the National system of Education.

‘ (2) To inform them that we consider it deplorable that the Commissioners of National Education should make changes, so far-reaching and closely touching the moral well-being of the schools, without having taken any reasonable steps to elicit the opinion of the country upon them. Rules such as these recently issued should follow—not precede—public discussion and inquiry and we can well understand the indignation with which the Managers—whose devotion to the interests of their schools is beyond all praise—regard the shameful manner in which in this instance they have been ignored.

‘ And, thirdly, to add that we accept and endorse the view conveyed already by the Standing Committee of our body to the Commissioners of National Education through the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, that the policy of amalgamation of boys’ and girls’ schools is always undesirable, and to the extent to which the Commissioners now purpose to carry it, is most objectionable.

‘ Furthermore, as we intimated in that communication, we regard Rules 127 (b), 186, and 194, as the means by which in detail the Commissioners intend to give effect to their policy ; consequently we regard these rules with the same objection as the policy which they are intended to forward.

‘ We trust, however, that even now, the Commissioners will take into their consideration not only our representations, but the weighty and practically unanimous expressions of opinion which have come from Managers and Teachers of National Schools, and make such amendments of their rules as will remove any grounds for further prosecution of the agitation against them.

' (3) We consider, too, that the Teachers whose chances of promotion and whose salaries will be injuriously affected by the operation of these rules deserve our sympathy and support.

' Resolved—That we are distinctly of opinion that the amalgamation of boys' and girls' schools beyond that which has hitherto been provided by the rules of the National Board should be resisted, and we desire that Managers should determine amongst themselves the best means, in detail, for carrying out a scheme of legitimate action in support of this view.'

Signed,

✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, *Chairman.*

✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS,	} <i>Secretaries to the Meeting.</i>
<i>Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,</i>	
✠ JOHN,	
<i>Bishop of Elphin,</i>	

UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS FOR CATHOLIC STUDENTS

AT a meeting of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, held in Maynooth College on Wednesday, June 14th, it was resolved to establish a Scholarship Fund for Catholic Students entering the Royal University of Ireland.

The Scholarships are to be tenable at University College, Dublin ; or, in the case of girls, at the Dominican College, Eccles Street, or Loreto College, St. Stephen's Green.

They will be awarded early in the month of October of each year, on the basis of the published results of the examinations held by the Intermediate Education Board. For the purpose of making the award, a Committee will be appointed, of which the Archbishop of Dublin will, for the present, act as Chairman, and the President of University College as Secretary.

The Bishops have undertaken to provide, at the outset, a sum of £1,000 a year for two years, as a nucleus of the Fund ; and it is hoped that this amount will be largely increased by the generosity of private benefactors. It will be open to benefactors either to contribute directly to the Scholarship Fund, or to found Scholarships in their own name, subject to such conditions in favour of particular localities or of particular schools, or otherwise limited, as they may think fit.

Persons wishing to assist the movement, in either way, are

requested to communicate with the Archbishop of Dunlin or with the Secretary of the Committee, Very Rev. Father Delany.

The first award of these Scholarships will be made in the month of October next, when eight Scholarships of £50 a year each for three years, and four Scholarships of £25 a year each for three years, will be allotted amongst the students who shall have matriculated in the Royal University during the present year. The award will be made according to merit ; and no candidate will be entitled to receive a Scholarship unless, in the opinion of the Committee, he shall have attained a sufficiently high standard of proficiency.

Candidates are invited to send in their applications, together with a statement of their success at the Intermediate examinations, on or before the 1st of October, to the Secretary of the Committee, University College, Dublin.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CATHOLIC CLERICAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

The Annual Meeting of the Catholic Clerical Managers' Association was held on Wednesday, June 7, Rt. Rev. Dean Byrne, V.G., P.P., Dungannon, and afterwards Very Rev. T. Canon O'Donnell, V.G., P.P., Booterstown, in the chair.

Also present—Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, V.G., P.P., Maryborough ; Very Rev. P. Phelan, V.F., P.P., Slieverue, Waterford ; the Venerable Archdeacon Kinane, V.G., P.P., Cashel ; Right Rev. Monsignor Kelly, V.G., P.P., Athlone ; Right Rev. Monsignor Barrett, V.G., P.P., Headford ; the Venerable Archdeacon Hutch, D.D., V.G., P.P., Middleton ; and Very Rev. John Curry, V.F., P.P., St. Mary's, Drogheda. The Very Rev. P. W. Canon McGeeney, P.P., Crossmaglen, and Very Rev. J. Duan, P.P., V.F., Murroe, were also present, by special invitation.

The following Resolutions were adopted—

1. That, in the name of the Catholic Clerical Managers in charge of 5,773 out of the 8,720 schools in the country, we enter our most emphatic protest against all Rules and Regulations in the New Code that tend to any further amalgamation of schools than is sanctioned by the Old Code. We deplore the short-sighted policy that has dictated a drastic innovation in this

matter and that persists in it, without consideration for the views of our Bishops, the school Managers, or the parents of the pupils, or the future interests of the teachers.

2. That we consider the modification of Rule 127 (b), recently sanctioned by the Commissioners and published by their Secretaries on 4th May, 1905, as altogether unsatisfactory, and we refuse to accept this rule, even as modified, on the grounds that it still works injustice to the teachers, both principal and assistant, it is retrograde from an education standpoint, it ignores the natural rights of parents, and has been insidiously introduced to pave the way for the utterly inadmissible system of indiscriminate amalgamation.

3. We adopt in their entirety the momentous words of Cardinal Logue as applicable since the modifications as before, and we call upon all Catholic School Managers in Ireland to act upon them.

After referring to financial injustices in our education system, his Eminence writes :—‘ And to fit in with all this we must drive out little girls into boys’ schools, depriving them of an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of those little things which are suitable to their sex, exposing them to the danger of losing that nicety of feeling and reserve for which, thank God, even our poorest Irish girls are remarkable.’

‘ There is but one way,’ says his Eminence, ‘ of meeting all this, and that is by determined opposition. I shall certainly advise any manager who consults me not to sacrifice his boys’ school by sending children under 8 to a female school ; and not to amalgamate schools when he can have two schools with the [hitherto] requisite average. The National Board can take its remedy. It may bring the education of the country to a deadlock for a time, but better that, than have it proceed for generations on false principles.’

4. That we promise all the support in our power to any Catholic Clerical Manager who resists amalgamation in the spirit of the foregoing resolution.

5. That we direct our Hon. Secretary to forward to the Board of National Education for its immediate consideration our protest and our earnest request for the withdrawal of the objectionable rules.

6. That our Secretary be directed to ask the Bishops, at their

approaching meeting, for advice and guidance in the event of our request to the Commissioners not being complied with.

7. That we demand the immediate reform of the Irish Board of National Education, on the grounds that, as at present constituted, it is unrepresentative, irresponsible, unprogressive, and to a large extent, antagonistic to the National and religious feelings of the majority of the Irish people.

8. That we have observed with regret that since the advent to office of the present Resident Commissioner, the proceedings of the Board of National Education have been, for the most part, an unbroken record of mischievous changes and innovations. New revolutionary educational schemes have been, from time to time, hastily adopted, and as hastily cast aside; and rules have been framed, modified, and abolished with bewildering frequency, until the entire system of Primary Education has been reduced to a state of deplorable confusion. Teachers have been brought under a new system of classification, involving in many cases professional degradation and pecuniary loss, while the natural rights of parents and the views of managers regarding the education of the children have been contemptuously ignored. We believe, therefore, that the first step towards the reform of the Educational Board ought to be the removal of the present Resident Commissioner from an office which he has not filled for the benefit of Irish Primary Education, and in which he has forfeited the confidence of the majority of Irish managers.

9. That we encourage in every way in our power the teaching of Irish in our schools, and that a suitable Irish Historical Reader be introduced into them. We request the withdrawal of the rules which allow result fees in Irish only for two attendances in any week, and only in Fourth Standard and upwards.

10. That managers and teachers should be afforded, when they demand it, a second examination or inspection of their schools.

11. That we urge on all Clerical Managers to endeavour to co-ordinate the education in their several schools with the course of education in the technical and intermediate schools, and that we call upon the various Boards of education in the country to adopt such programmes, school books, and methods of teaching as will conduce to a uniform system of education.

12. That the initial salaries of teachers under the present system are entirely too low, promotion is far too slow, and high-

grading too difficult. That well-grounded dissatisfaction in consequence exists amongst many of the teachers, and that some are driven from the service and others repelled from entering into it. That the maintenance of the profession amongst a desirable class of the community therefore requires that it be made more attractive in point of remuneration, even though increased work be prescribed for the teachers.

13. That we welcome every practical suggestion for the inculcation of the principles of hygiene and temperance, and that Readers treating on these matters be given prominence amongst our school books. That lessons on cleanliness, pure air, pure food, etc., be portion of the necessary programme in Primary Schools and Training Colleges, and that managers be exhorted to see that the rules of health, ventilation, cleanliness, etc., be strictly observed in all our schools.

14. That we hereby cordially endorse the following resolution passed at a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party on Tuesday, May 22, 1905 :—‘ That we view with alarm the growing practice of endeavouring to throw upon the Irish Development Grant Fund charges for various Irish purposes which should properly fall upon the Treasury ; that although this fund consists entirely of money due to Ireland as an equivalent grant for educational purposes, only an exceedingly small portion of it has been devoted to this purpose, and there is grave danger of all that remains of it being diverted from its legitimate object ; and we, therefore, protest against any portion of it in future being voted to any objects other than educational until the urgent educational needs of the country are provided for.’

15. As very many of the Irish people depend on the produce of Agriculture as their main subsistence, and the proceeds of it as their chief source of wealth, we consider that the education of their children should largely be devoted to a proper training in the knowledge of land, its suitability for certain crops, the most remunerative method of sowing, saving and marketing them, and to such other matters connected with farming as will make them skilled as well as hard-working tillers of the soil. That our Training Colleges be required to take this matter up, and that no male teachers be appointed after a certain date to any rural National School who are not certified as competent to teach Agriculture.

16. Inasmuch as the establishment of VII. and VIII. Standards, as foreshadowed by the Board of National Education in its last report, would not be generally beneficial and would swallow much of educational money that could be otherwise more generally useful for the schools; and, inasmuch as the mode of working them would probably introduce dual managership and undermine the present system, we protest against it, and will give it our determined opposition. When Catholics have a fair opportunity of becoming qualified teachers of these Standards by University education such as they can avail of with safety to their conscience, and when primary schools in general are provided with what is necessary for their up-keep out of educational funds, we shall welcome such a scheme as will advance the higher education of National School pupils.

17. That we regret the diminution in the appointment of monitors in recent years, and the still greater discouragement given to them by the requirements of the new code. A school with an average of forty should continue to be qualified for a monitor, and the numerical qualifications of the old code for two or more monitors should be retained. The extra teaching proposed to be given monitors should not interfere with the amount of teaching they formerly gave, but should be given on Saturdays or in extra time on other days. Remuneration should be given the teachers for their extra teaching of the monitors, and we regret that some teachers get no remuneration at all for teaching monitors, as in the cases of teachers whose schools had not monitors in the three years before the change in the system of payments.

18. That we have observed with satisfaction the sentiments of the Catholic National School Teachers of almost all Ireland, manifested since our last meeting by resolutions of Associations of Teachers, expressing contentment with their managerial system, and determination to resist all changes that would impair our power or authority.

19. We earnestly request that a change in the average number of pupils requisite for two or more assistants be made, so that a school be qualified for an extra assistant for every increased average of 35 as formerly.

20. We recognise the financial difficulties of carrying out our recommendations, but we respectfully submit that savings for these purposes could be effected;

(a) In the thorough equalisation of Model Schools with the ordinary National Schools of the country ;

(b) In the application to primary education of Ireland's portion of the Development Grant, and

(c) In Ireland's getting equal treatment with England and Scotland in the disbursement of the money for primary education in the kingdom.

21. That the Bishops be requested to sanction the enlargement of the Central Council of our Association on the basis that each Provincial Council shall have the right to nominate as many representatives on the Central Council as there are dioceses in the province.

22. We would welcome the introduction of the *Story of Ireland* series amongst our National School books, and we request the Board of Education to sanction it for use.

23. That the present system of making alterations in the rules, regulations, programmes, etc., of the National Board without timely intimation to the managers, or consideration for their views, is the cause of much friction and dissatisfaction.

The following correspondence has passed in consequence of the foregoing Resolutions :—

ST. MARY'S, DROGHEDA,

June 8th, 1905.

SIRS,—I am directed by the Central Council of the Catholic Clerical National School Managers' Association of Ireland to forward you our most emphatic protest against all Rules and Regulations in the New Code of Rules that tend to any further amalgamation of schools than is sanctioned by the Old Code.

I am also directed to ask the immediate consideration of the Board of National Education to our protest and request for the withdrawal of the objectionable Rules.

I also submit for the Board's consideration the accompanying Resolutions adopted by our Council on yesterday.—I am, Sirs, respectfully yours,

JOHN CURRY, P.P.

Hon. Sec.

The Secretaries,

Board of National Education, Dublin.

OFFICE OF NATIONAL EDUCATION, DUBLIN,

9th June, 1905.

REV. SIR,—We are to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 8th inst., which shall receive attention.—We are, Rev. Sir, your obedient Servants,

P. E. LEMASS,

W. J. DILWORTH,

Secretaries.

Very Rev. J. Curry, P.P., V.F.,
St. Mary's, Drogheda.

ST. MARY'S, DROGHEDA,

8th June, 1905.

MY LORDS,—I am directed by the Central Council of the Catholic Clerical Managers' Association to ask for advice and guidance from the Bishops at their approaching Meeting as to the course of action to be taken in the event of the Board of National Education refusing to withdraw, as we request, its new objectionable Rules.

I am also directed to ask permission from the Bishops that we may so alter our constitution that each Provincial Council will be able to appoint to the Central Council as many representatives as there are dioceses in the province.

I enclose a copy of the Resolutions adopted by the Central Council on the 7th inst.—I remain, my Lords, yours most respectfully,

JOHN CURRY,

Hon. Sec.

Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan,

Most Rev. Dr. Clancy,

Secretaries to Episcopal Council.

[The reply of the Bishops is contained in the Resolutions of their Lordships given on page 68, and in the following letter.]

BISHOP'S HOUSE,

JOHN'S HILL, WATERFORD,

15th June, 1905.

MY DEAR FATHER CURRY,—You will have read, no doubt, in to-day's papers the answer to the first part of your letter. It was deemed necessary to have immediate publication, and an

arrangement to that effect was made by Cardinal Logue with Mgr. Byrne.

The Bishops have no objection that each Provincial Council of the Catholic Clerical Managers' Association should appoint to the Central Council as many representatives as there are dioceses in the province.—Fathfully yours,

✠ R. A. SHEEHAN.

NEW INVOCATION AFTER MASS

OUR Holy Father the Pope, on the 17th June, 1904, granted an Indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines, applicable to the souls in Purgatory, to a priest saying a Low Mass and to the congregation assisting at it, who will recite three times the invocation: *Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on us*, after the prayers already ordered to be said after Mass. The following is the Decree:—

DECRETUM

URBIS ET ORBIS

Quo ferventius Christifideles, hac praesertim temporum acerbitate, ad Sacratissimum Cor Iesu confugiant Eique laudis et placationis obsequia indesinenter depromere, divinamque miserationem implorare contendant, SSmo. Dno. N. Pio PP. X supplicia vota haud semel sunt delata, ut precibus, quae iussu s. m. Leonis XIII post privatam missae celebrationem persolverent, ter addi possit sequens invocatio 'Cor Iesu sacratissimum, miserere nobis,' aliqua tributa Indulgentia Sacerdoti ceterisque una cum eo illam devote recitantibus.

Porro Sanctitas Sua, cui, ob exultam vel a primis annis pietatem, singularem, nihil potius est atque optatius, quam ut gentium religio magis magisque, in dies augeatur erga sanctissimum Cor Iesu, in quo omnium gratiarum thesauri sunt reconditi, postulationibus perlibenter annuere duxit, ac proinde universis e christiano populo, qui una cum ipso Sacerdote, post privatam Missae celebrationem precibus iam indictis praefatam invocationem addiderint, Indulgentiam septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum, defunctis quoque applicabilem,

benigne elargiri dignata est. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 17 Iunii 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

D. PANICI, Arch. Laod., *Secr.*

The Sacred Congregation of Rites and Indulgences being asked if the Indulgences could be gained by the priest saying : *Most Sacred Heart of Jesus !* and the people responding : *Have mercy on us ;* and if it was obligatory to add this invocation to the prayers already prescribed. The Sacred Congregation replied as follows to both questions :—

Ab hac S. Congr. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, quo ad Decretum Urbis et Orbis diei 17 Iunii 1904, quo concedebantur Indulgentiae pro invocatione 'Cor Iesu Sacratissimum, miserere nobis' quaesitum est :

I. An ad lucrandas Indulgentias sufficiat, ut Sacerdos dicat tantum 'Cor Iesu Sacratissimum' et populus respondeat 'Miserere nobis ?'

II. An eiusdem invocationis recitatio addenda precibus jam indictis post Missae celebrationem, sit obligatoria ?

Et S. Congregatio respondendum censuit.

Ad I. Affirmative.

Ad II. Quamvis obligatio proprii nominis a Summo Pontifice imposita non sit vult tamen Beatissimus Pater, ut uniformitati consulatur, ac proinde singuli Sacerdotes ad eam invocationem recitandam adhortentur.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. C. die 16 Augusti 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Proc.*

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laod.*

THE RIGHTS OF CERTAIN PRELATES

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

DE PROTONOTARIIS APOSTOLICIS, PRAELATIS URBANIS ET ALIIS QUI
 NONNULLIS PRIVILEGIIS PRAELATORUM PROPRIIS FRUUNTUR
Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Divina Providentia Papae X.

MOTU PROPRIO

De Protonotariis Apostolicis, Praelatis Urbanis et aliis qui nonnullis privilegiis Praelatorum proprii fruuntur.

Inter multiplices curas, quibus ob officium Nostrum apostolicum premimur, illa etiam imponitur, ut venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum, qui episcopali caractere praefulgent, pontificales praerogativas, uti par est, tueamur. Ipsi enim Apostolorum sunt Successores; de iis loquitur Cyprianus (*ep.* 69, *n.* 8) dicens, *Episcopum in Ecclesia esse et Ecclesiam in Episcopo*; nec ulla adunatur Ecclesia sine Episcopo suo, imo vero Spiritus ipse Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei (*Act.* XX, 38). Quapropter, *Presbyteris superiores esse Episcopos*, iure definivit Tridentinum Concilium (*Sess.* XXIII, *c.* 7). Et licet Nos, non tantum honoris, sed etiam iurisdictionis principatum supra caeteros Episcopos, ex Christi dispositione, tamquam Petri Successores, geramus, nihilominus Fratres Nostri sunt Episcopi, et sacra Ordinatione pares. Nostrum ergo est, illorum excelsae dignitati sedulo prospicere, eamque pro viribus coram christiano populo extollere.

Ex quo praesertim Pontificalium usus per Decessores Nostros Romanos Pontifices aliquibus Praelatis, episcopali caractere non insignitis, concessus est, id saepe accidit, ut vel malo hominum ingenio, vel prava aut lata nimis interpretatione, ecclesiastica disciplina haud leve detrimentum ceperit, et episcopalis dignitas non parum iniuriae.

Quum vero de huiusmodi abusibus ad hanc Apostolicam Sedem Episcoporum querelae delatae sunt, non abnuerunt Praedecessores Nostri iustis eorum postulationibus satisfacere, sive Apost. Litteris, sive S. Rit. Congr. Decretis pluries ad rem editis. In id maxime intenderunt Benedictus XIV, per epist. S. R. Congr. d. d. XXXI Martii MDCCXLIV '*SSmus. Dominus Noster*,' iterumque idem Benedictus, d. XVII Februarii MDCCCLII '*In throno iustitiae*;' Pius VII, d. XIII Decembriis

MDCCCXVIII '*Cum innumeri*,' et rursus idem Pius, d. IV Iulii MDCCCXXIII '*Decet Romanos Pontifices*,' et Pius IX d. XXIX Augusti MDCCCLXXII '*Apostolicae Sedis Officium*.' E Sacr. Rit. Congregatione memoranda in primis Decreta quae sequuntur: de Praelatis Episcopo inferioribus, datum die XXVII mensis Septembris MDCLIX et ab Alexandro VII confirmatum; dein Decreta diei XXII Aprilis MDCLXXXIV de Canonicis Panormitanis; diei XXIX Ianuarii MDCCLII de Canonicis Urbinatibus; diei XXVII Aprilis MDCCCXVIII de Protonotariis Titularibus, a Pio PP. VII approbatum; ac diei XXVII Augusti MDCCCXXII de Canonicis Barensibus.

Hisce tamen vel neglectis, vel ambitioso conatu, facili aufugio, amplificatis, hac nostra aetate saepe videre est Praelatos, immoderato insignium et praerogativarum usu, praesertim circa Pontificalia, viliores reddere dignitatem et honorem eorum, qui sunt revera Pontifices.

Quamobrem, ne antiquiora posthabeantur sapienter a Praedecessoribus Nostris edita documenta, quin imo, ut iis novum robur et efficacia adiiciatur, atque insuper praesentis aevi indolimos iuste geratur, sublatis omnibus consuetudinibus in contrarium, nec non amplioribus privilegiis, praerogativis, exemptionibus, indultis, concessionibus, a quibusvis personis, etiam speciali vel specialissima mentione dignis, nominatim, collective, quovis titulo et iure, acquisitis, assertis, aut praetensis, etiam Praedecessorum Nostrorum et Apostolicae Sedis Constitutionibus, Decretis, aut Rescriptis, confirmatis, ac de quibus, ad hoc, ut infirmentur, necesse sit peculiariter mentionem fieri, exquisito voto aliquot virorum in canonico iure et liturgica scientia peritorum, reque mature perpensa, motu proprio, certa scientia, ac de Apostolicae potestatis plenitudine, declaramus, constituimus, praecipimus, ut in posterum, Praelati Episcopis inferiores alique, de quibus infra, qua tales, non alia insignia, privilegia, praerogativas audeant sibi vindicare, nisi quae hoc in Nostro documento, Motu Proprio dato, continentur, eademque ratione ac forma, qua hic subiiciuntur.

(a) DE PROTONOTARIIS APOSTOLICIS.

I. Quatuor horum habeantur ordines: I°. Protonotarii Apostolici de Numero Participantium, septem, qui Collegium privative constituunt; II°. Protonotarii Apostolici Supra-

numerarii; III^o. Protonotarii Apostolici ad instar Participantium; IV^o. Protonotarii Apostolici Titulares, seu honorarii (extra Urbem).

1.—*Protonotarii Apostolici de numero Participantium.*

2. Privilegia, iura, praerogativas et exemptiones quibus, ex Summorum Pontificum indulgentia iamdudum gaudet Collegium Protonotariorum Apostolicorum de numero Participantium, in propriis Statutis nuperrime ab ipsomet Collegio iure reformatis inserta, libenter confirmamus, prout determinata inveniuntur in Apostolicis Documentis inibi citatis, ac praesertim in Constitutione '*Quamvis peculiaris*' Pii Pp. IX, diei IX mensis Februarii MDCCCLIII, paucis exceptis, quae, uti infra, moderanda statuimus:

3. Protonotarii Apostolici de numero Participantium habitu praelatio rite utuntur, et alio, quem vocant *pianum* atque insignibus prout infra numeris, 16, 17, 18 describuntur.

4. Habitu quotidiano incedentes, caligas, collare et pileum ut ibidem n. 17 gestare poterunt, ac insuper Annulum gemmatum, quo semper iure utuntur, etiam in privatis Missis aliisque sacris functionibus.

5. Quod vero circa usum Pontificalium insignium, Xystus V in sua Constitutione '*Laudabilis Sedis Apostolicae sollicitudo*,' diei VI mensis Februarii MDCLXXXVI, Protonotariis Participantibus concessit: '*Mitra et quibuscumque aliis Pontificalibus insignibus, etiam in Cathedralibus Ecclesiis, de illorum tamen Praesulum, si praesentes sint, si vero absentes, absque illorum consensu, etiam illis irrequisitis, extra curiam uti,*' in obsequium praestantissimae Episcoporum dignitatis, temperandum censuimus, ut pro Pontificalibus, extra Urbem tantum agendis, iuxta S. R. C. declarationem quoad Episcopos extraneos vel Titulares, diei IV mensis Decembris MCMIII, ab Ordinario loci veniam semper exquirere teneantur, ac insuper consensum Praelati Ecclesiae exemptae, si in ea sit celebrandum.

6. In Pontificalibus peragendis, semper eis inhibetur usus throni, pastoralis baculi et cappae; item septimi candelabri super altari, et plurium Diaconorum assistentia; Faldistorio tantum utentur, apud quod sacras vestas assumere valeant. Pro concessis enim in citata Xysti V Constitutione: '*quibus-*

cumque aliis Pontificalibus insignibus ' non esse sane intelligenda declaramus ea, quae ipsis Episcopis extra Dioecesim sunt interdicta. Loco *Dominus vobiscum* nunquam dicent *Pax vobis*, trinam benedictionem impertientur nunquam, nec versus illi praemittent *Sit nomen Domini* et *Auditorium*, sed in Missis tantum Pontificalibus, Mitra cooperti, cantabunt formulam *Benedicat vos*, de more populo benedicentes: a qua benedictione abstinebunt, assistente Episcopo loci Ordinario, aut alio Praesule, qui ipso Episcopo sit maior, ad quem pertinent eam impertiri.

7. Ad Ecclesiam accedentes, Pontificalia celebraturi, ab eaque recedentes, habitu praelatitio induti, supra Mantelletum Crucem gestare possunt pectoralem, a qua alias abstinebunt; et nisi privatim per aliam portam ingrediantur, ad fores Ecclesiae non excipientur ut Ordinarius loci, sed a Caeremoniario ac duobus clericis, non tamen Canonicis seu Dignitatibus; seipsos tantum aqua lustrali singabunt, tacto aspersorio illis porrecto, et per Ecclesiam procedentes populo nunquam benedicent.

8. Crux pectoralis, a Protonotariis Participantibus in Pontificalibus functionibus adhibenda, aurea erit, cum unica gemma, pendens a funiculo serico *rubini* coloris commixto cum auro, et simili flocculo retro ornato.

9. Mitra in ipsorum Pontificalibus erit ex tela aurea (numquam tamen pretiosa) quae cum simplici alternari possit, iuxta Caerem. Episcop. (I, XVII, nn. 2 et 3); nec alia Mitra simplici diebus poenitentialibus et in exsequiis eis uti licebit. Pileolo nigri coloris sub Mitra dumtaxat uti poterunt.

10. Romae et extra, si ad Missam lectam cum aliqua solemnitate celebrandam accedant, habitu praelatitio induti, praeparationem et gratiarum actionem persolvere poterunt ante altare, in genuflexorio, pulvinaribus tantum instructo, vestes sacras ab altari assumere, aliquem clericum *in Sacris* assistentem habere, ac duos interiores ministros. Fas erit praeterea Canonem et Palmatoriam, Urceum et Pelvim cum Manutergio in lance adhibere. In aliis Missis lectis, a simplici Sacerdote ne differant, nisi in usu Palmatoriae. In Missis autem cantu, sed non Pontificalibus, uti poterunt etiam Canone et Urceo cum Pelvi et lance ad Manutergium.

11. Testimonium autem exhibere cupientes propensae voluntatis Nostrae in perinsignem hunc coetum, cui inter caetera

praelatorum Collegia primus dicitur et est in romana Curia, Protonotariis Participantibus, qui a locorum Ordinariis sunt exempti, et ipsis Abbatibus praecedunt, facultatem facimus declarandi omnibus qui Missae ipsorum intererunt, ubivis celebrandae, sive in oratoriis privatis, sive in altari portatili, per eiusdem Missae auditionem diei festi praecepto rite planeque satisfieri.

12. Protonotarius Apostolicus de numero Participantium, qui ante decimum annum ab adepto Protonotariatu Collegium deseruerit, aut qui a decimo saltem discesserit, et per quinque alios, iuxta Xysti V Constitutionem, iisdem privilegiis gravisus fuerit, inter Protonotarios *ad instar* eo ipso erit adscriptus.

II.—*Protonotarii Apostolici Supranumerarii.*

13. Ad hunc Protonotariorum ordinem nemo tamquam privatus aggregabitur, sed iis tantum aditus fiet, qui Canonicatu potiuntur in tribus Capitulis Urbis Patriarchalium, id est Lateranensis Ecclesiae, Vaticanae ac Liberianae; itemque iis qui Dignitate aut Canonicatu potiuntur in Capitulis aliarum quarundam extra Urbem ecclesiarum, quibus privilegia Protonotariorum *de numero* Apostolica Sedes concesserit, ubique fruenda. Qui enim aut in propria tantum Ecclesia vel diocesi titulo Protonotarii aucti sunt, aut nonnullis tantum Protonotariorum privilegiis fuerunt honestati, neque Protonotariis aliisve Praelatis Urbanis accensebuntur, neque secus habebuntur ac illi de quibus hoc in Nostro documento nn. 80 et 81 erit sermo.

14. Canonici omnes, etiam Honorarii, tum Patriarchalium Urbis, tum aliarum ecclesiarum de quibus supra, tamquam singuli, insignibus et iuribus Protonotariorum ne fruantur, nec gaudeant nomine et honore Praelatorum, nisi prius a Summo Pontifice inter Praelatos Domesticos per Breve adscripti sint, et alia servaverint quae infra num. 34 dicuntur. Protonotarius autem *ad instar*, qui Canonicis eiusmodi accenseatur, eo ipso privilegia Protonotarii Supranumerarii acquirat.

15. Protonotarii Apostolici Supranumerarii subiecti remanent proprio Ordinario, ad formam Concilii Tridentini (*Sess.* 24, c. 11), ac eorum beneficia extra Romanam Curiam vacantia Apostolicae Sedi minime reservantur.

16. Habitum praelatitium gestare valent coloris violacei, in

sacris functionibus, idest caligas, collare, talarem vestem cum cauda, nunquam tamen explicanda, neque in ipsis Pontificalibus celebrandis : sericam zonam cum duobus flocculis pariter sericis a laeva pendentibus, et Palliolum, seu Mantelletum supra Rocchetum : insuper nigrum biretum flocculo ornatum coloris *rubini* : pileum item nigrum cum vitta serica, opere reticulato exornata, eiusdem *rubini* coloris, cuius coloris et serici erunt etiam ocelli, globuli. exiguus torulus collum et anteriores extremitates vestis ac Mantelleti exornans, eorum substuum, itemque reflexus (*paramani*) in manicis (etiam Roccheti).

17. Alio autem habitu uti poterunt, Praelatorum proprio, vulgo *piano*, in Congregationibus, conventibus, solemnibus audientiis, ecclesiasticis et civilibus, idest caligis et collari violacei coloris, veste talari nigra cum ocellis, globulis, torulo ac subsuto, ut supra, *rubini* coloris serica zona violacea cum laciniis pariter sericis et violaceis, peramplo pallio talari item serico violaceo, non undulato, absque subsuto aut ornamentis quibusvis alterius coloris, ac pileo nigro cum chordulis et sericis flocculis *rubini* coloris. Communi habitu incedentes, caligas et collare violacei coloris ac pileum gestare poterunt, ut supra dicitur.

18. Propriis insignibus seu stemmatibus imponere poterunt pileum cum lenniscis ac flocculis duodecim, sex hinc, sex inde pendentibus, eiusdem *rubini* coloris, sine Cruce vel Mitra.

19. Habitu et insignia in choro Dignitates et Canonici Protonotarii gerent, prout Capitulo ab Apostolica Sede concessa sunt ; poterunt nihilominus veste tantum uti violacea praelatitia cum zona sub choralibus insignibus, nisi tamen alia vestis tamquam insigne chorale sit adhibenda. Pro usu Roccheti et Mantelleti in choro attendatur, utrum haec sint speciali indulto permissa ; alias enim Protonotarius, praelatitio habitu assistens, neque locum inter Canonicos tenebit, neque distributiones lucrabitur, quae sodalibus accrescent.

20. Cappam laneam violaceam, pellibus ermellini hiberno tempore, aestivo autem *rubini* coloris serico ornatam, induent in Cappellis Pontificiis, in quibus locum habebunt post Protonotarios Participantes. Ii vero Canonici Protonotarii qui Praelati non sunt, seu nomine tantum Protonotariorum, non vero omnibus iuribus gaudent, ut nn. 13 et 14 dictum est, in Cappellis locum non habebunt, neque ultra limites pontificiae

concessionis habitu praelatio et *piano*, de quibus nn. 16 et 17, uti unquam poterunt.

21. Habitu praelatio induti, clericis quibusvis, Presbyteris, Canonicis, Dignitatibus, etiam collegialiter unitis, atque Praelatis Ordinum Regularium, quibus Pontificalium privilegium non competat, antecedunt, minime vero Vicariis Generalibus vel Capitularibus, Abbatibus, et Canonicis Cathedralium collegialiter sumptis. Ad Crucem et ad Episcopum non genuflectent, sed tantum sese incinabunt; duplici ductu thurificabuntur: item si sacris vestibus induti functionibus in choro adsistant.

22. Gaudent indulto Oratorii privati domi rurique, ab Ordinario loci visitandi atque approbandi, in quo, etiam solemnioribus diebus (exceptis Paschatis, Pentecostes, Assumptionis B. M. V., SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, necnon loci Patroni principalis festis) celebrare ipsi Missam poterunt, vel alius Sacerdos, in propriam, consanguineorum, affinium, familiarium et cohabitantium commoditatem, etiam ad praeceptum implendum. Privilegio autem altaris portatilis omnino carere se sciant.

23. Licet iisdem acta conficere de causis Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servorum Dei, quo tamen privilegio uti non poterunt, si eo loci alter sit e Collegio Protonotariorum Participantium.

24. Rite eliguntur in Conservatores Ordinum Regularium aliorumque piorum Institutorum, in Iudices Synodales, in Commissarios et Iudices Apostolicos etiam pro causis beneficialibus et ecclesiasticis. Item apud ipsos professionem Fide recte emittunt, qui ex officio ad eam adiguntur. Ut autem iuribus et praerogativis, hic et num. 23 expressis, frui possint Canonici Protonotarii in S. Theologia aut in Iure Canonico doctora i laurea insigniti sint oportet.

25. Extra Urbem, et impetrata venia Ordinarii loci, cui erit arbitrium eam tribuendi quoties et pro quibus Solemnitatibus voluerit, atque obtento etiam consensu Praelati ecclesiae exemptae, in qua forte celebrandum sit, pontificali ritu Missas et Vesperas aliasque sacras functiones peragere poterunt. Quod functiones attinet collegialiter, seu Capitulo praesente, celebrandas, a propriis Constitutionibus, de Ordinarii consensu, provideatur, iuxta Apostolica Documenta.

26. Ad ecclesiam accedentes, Pontificalia celebraturi, ab

eaque recedentes, habitu praelatio induti, supra Mantelletum Crucem gestare possunt pectoralem (a qua alias abstinebunt et nisi privatim per aliam portam ingrediantur, ad fores ecclesiae non excipienter ut Ordinarius loci, sed a Caeremoniario et duobus clericis, non tamen a Canonicis seu Dignitatibus : seipsos tantum aqua lustrali signabunt, tacto aspersione sibi porrecto, et per ecclesiam procedentes populo nunquam benedicent.

27. Pontificalia gent ad Faldistorium, sed vestes sacras in sacrario assument et deponent, quae in Missis erunt : (a) Caligae et sandalia serica cum orae textu ex auro ; (b) Tunicella et Dalmatica ; (c) Crux pectoralis sine gemmis, e chordula serica *rubini* ex integro coloris pendens, auro non intertexta, simili flocculo retro ornata ; (d) Chirothecae sericae, sine ullo opere phrygio, sed tantum orae textu auro distinctae ; (e) Annulus cum unica gemma ; (f) Mitra ex serico albo, sine ullo opere phrygio, sed tantum cum orae textu ex auro, et cum laciniis similiter aureis, quae cum simplici ex lino alternari poterit, iuxta Caerem. Episcoporum. (I. XVII, nn. 2 et 3) ; haec vero simplex, diebus poenitentialibus et in exsequiis una adhibetur ; (g) Canon et Palmatoria, a qua abstinendum coram Ordinario seu maiori ; (h) Urceus et Pelvis cum Mantili in lance ; (i) Gremiale.

28. In Vesperis solemnibus post quas benedictionem non impertientur) aliisque sacris functionibus pontificaliter celebrandis, Mitra, Cruce pectorali, Annulo utentur, ut suprat. Pileolus nigri dumtaxat coloris, nonnisi sub Mitra ab eis poterit adhiberi.

29. In pontificalibus functionibus eisdem semper interdicatur usus throni, pastoralis baculi et cappae ; in Missis autem pontificalibus, septimo candelabro super altari non utentur, nec plurium Diaconorum assistentia ; Presbyterum assistentem pluviali indutum habere poterunt, non tamen coram Episcopo Ordinario aut alio Praesule, qui ipso Episcopo sit maior ; intra Missam manus lababunt ad Ps. *Lavabo* tantum. Loco *Dominus vobiscum*, nunquam dicent *Pax vobis* ; trinam benedictionem impertientur nunquam, nec versus illi praemittent *Sit nomen Domini* et *Adiutorium*, sed in Missis tantum pontificalibus, Mitra cooperti, cantabunt formulam *Benedicat vos*, de more populo benedicentes : a qua benedictione abstinebunt assistente Episcopo loci Ordinario aut alio Praesule, qui ipso Episcopo

sit maior, cuius erit eam impertiri Coram isdem, in pontificalibus celebrantes, Mitra simplici solummodo utantur, et dum illi sacra sumunt paramenta, aut solium peunt vel ab eo recedunt, stent sine Mitra.

30. De speciali commissione Ordinarii, Missam quoque pro defunctis pontificali ritu celebrare poterunt Protonotarii Supranumerarii, cum Absolutione in fine, Mitra linea utentes; nunquam tamen eandem Absolutionem impertiri illis fas erit, post Missam ab alio celebratam; quod ius uni reservatur Episcopo loci Ordinario.

31. Romae et extra, si ad Missam lectam cum aliqua solemnitate celebrandam accedant, habitu praelatio induti, praeparationem et gratiarum actionem persolvere poterunt ante altare in genuflexorio pulvinaribus tantum instructo, vestes sacras ab altari assumere (non tamen Crucem pectoralem et Annulum) aliquem clericum *in Sacris* assistentem habere, ac duos inferiores ministros; Canonem et Palmatoriam, Urceum et Pelvim cum Manutergio in lance adhibere; sed ante *v. Communio* manus ne lavent. In aliis Missis lectis a simplici Sacerdote ne differant, nisi in usu Palmatoria: in Missis autem cum cantu, sed non pontificalibus, uti poterunt etiam Canone, Urceo cum Pelvi, ac lance ad Manutergium, nisi ex statutis vel consuetudine in propria ecclesia haec prohibeantur.

32. Canonico Protonotario Apostolico Supranumerario Pontificalia peragere cum ornamentis ac ritu superius enunciatis fas non erit, nisi infra terminos propriae dioecesis; extra autem, nonnisi ornato et rit prout Protonotariis *ad instar*, ut infra dicetur, concessum est.

33. Cum tamen Canonicus trium Patriarchalium Urbis, ob earundem praestantiam, aequum sit excellere privilegiis, eo vel magis quod in Urbe, ob Summi Pontificis praesentiam, Pontificalium privilegium exercere nequeunt, illis permittitur, ut in ecclesiis totius terrarum orbis, impetrata Ordinariorum venia, ac Praesulum ecclesiarum exemptarum consensu, Pontificalia agant cum ritu atque ornamentis nn. 27, 28, 29 recensitis. Insuper, licet aliquis ex ipsis inter Praelatos nondum fuerit adscriptus, Palmatoria semper, etiam in privatis Missis uti poterit.

34. Recensita hactenus privilegia illa sunt quibus dumtaxat Protonotarii Apostolici Supranumerarii fruuntur. Verum, cum

eadem collective coetui Canoniorum conferantur, Canonici ipsi tamquam singuli, iis uti nequibunt, nisi Praelati Urbani fuerint nominati et antea suae ad Canonicatum vel Dignitatem promotionis et auspicae iam possessionis, atque inter Praelatos aggregationis, ut num. 14 dicitur, testimonium Collegio Protonotiorum Participantium exhibuerint; coram ipsius Collegii Decano, vel per se vel pel legitimum procuratorem, Fidei professionem et fidelitatis iusiurandum de more praestiterint, ac de his postea, exhibito documento, proprium Ordinarium certiore fecerint. Quibus expletis, eorum nomen in sylloge Protonotiorum Apostolicorum recensebitur.

35. Canonici ecclesiarum extra Urbem, qui ante Nostri huius documenti Motu Proprio editi publicationem, privilegia Protonotiorum, una cum Canonicatu, sunt assequuti, ab expeditione Brevis, de quo supra, num. 14, dispensantur; iusiurandum tamen fidelitatis coram Ordinario suo praestabunt infra duos menses.

36. Collegialiter tamquam Canonici pontificalibus functionibus, iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum, sacris vestibus induti adsistentes non alia Mitra utantur, quam simplici, nec unquam hoc et caeteris fruuntur Protonotiorum insignibus et privilegiis extra propriam ecclesiam, nisi in diplomate concessionis aliter habeatur. Canonicus tamen, qui forte ad ordinem saltem Subdiaconatus non sit promotus, neque in choro cum aliis Mitra unquam utatur. In functionibus autem praedictis inservientem de Mitra non habebunt, prout in Pontificalibus uni Celebranti competit. Qui in Missa solemni Diaconi, Subdiaconi aut Presbyteri assistentis munus agunt, dum Dignitas, vel Canonicus, aut alter Privilegiarius pontificaliter celebrant, Mitra non utentur quam tamen adhibere poterunt Episcopo solemniter celebrante, ut dictum est de collegialiter adsistentibus, quo in casu, cum ministrant, aut cum Episcopo operantur, maneat detecto capite.

37. Protonotarius Supranumerarius defunctus efferri aut tumulari cum Mitra non poterit, neque haec eius feretro imponi.

38. Ne autem Protonotiorum numerus plus aequo augeatur, prohibemus, ne in posterum in ecclesiis, de quibus supra, Canonici Honorarii, sive infra, sive extra Dioecesim degant, binas partes excedant eorum, Qui Capitulum iure constituunt.

39. Qui secus facere, aliisve, praeter memorata, privilegiis ac iuribus uti praesumpserint, si ab Ordinario semel et bis admoniti non paruerint, eo ipso, Protonotariatus titulo, honore, iuribus et privilegiis, tamquam singuli, privatos se noverint.

40. Sciant praeterea, se, licet forte plures una simul, non tamquam unius ecclesiae Canonici, sed tamquam Protonotarii conveniant, non idcirco Collegium praelatitium constituere; verum quando una cum Protonotariis de numero Participantium concurrunt, v.gr. in Pontificia Cappella, tunc quasi unum corpus cum ipsis effecti censentur, sine ullo tamen amplissimi Collegii praeiudicio, ac servatis eiusdem Cappellae et Familiae Pontificiae consuetudinibus.

41. Si quis (exceptis Canonicis trium Patriarchalium Urbis) quavis ex causa Dignitatem aut Canonicatum dimittat, cui titulus, honor et praerogativae Protonotarii Apostolici Supranumerarii adnexa sint, ab eiusmodi titulo, honore et praerogativis statim decidet. Qui vero Pontificium Breve inter Praelatos aggregationis obtinuerit, horum tantum privilegiis deinceps perfruetur.

(Concluded next Month.)

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CATHOLICITY AND PROGRESS IN IRELAND. By Rev. M. O'Riordan, D.Ph., D.D., D.C.L. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Price 6s. net.

THIS work, as the author mentions in his Preface, has been arranged from a series of articles on questions raised by Sir Horace Plunkett in his book, *Ireland in the New Century*. Readers of the *Leader*, in which the articles first appeared, will not require either a description of their contents or an appreciation of their quality; others had better get the book and form an estimate for themselves; that is, if they desire, as so many have professed to desire, a refutation of the charges that have, during the past few years, been made against the Irish Catholic clergy. Sir Horace Plunkett has done us a service, unwittingly, by formulating some of those charges, and so giving Dr. O'Riordan occasion to vindicate the action of the Church and its clergy in Ireland.

The vindication is exhaustive and complete: which does not mean that the character of the Irish people is entirely free from the defects indicated by their friendly and unfriendly critics; nor that responsibility for these failings is not to be shared in the least part by the Catholic clergy; but only that the defects are not so glaring as they have been painted, whilst their true and main cause is one which for centuries has impeded the action of the Catholic Church. All this is proved and illustrated by Dr. O'Riordan with a wealth of historical detail which is truly surprising, especially when one bears in mind the busy life he has been leading as a missionary priest in a populous city parish. His work is a mine of information; the references especially will be of the greatest advantage for anyone who in future may wish to examine in detail any of the numerous questions with which he deals.

It is but fair to state that there are some typographical errors and defects of style which show that the book was written and the sheets revised hastily; as, indeed, the author acknowledges in the Preface. These, however, are trivial defects which

every lover of truth will overlook for the sake of the vast amount of historical information which the volume contains. They were to be expected in the literary work of one whose time was so much occupied by other duties, and who had to do most of his writing hurriedly, during hours taken from sleep. They can be easily remedied in future editions; the important thing—the history and the references—will always remain.

Priests have been complaining for some years that they have had nothing to recommend the faithful and fair-minded Protestants as an antidote to the poisonous works that have been so much in circulation. Dr. O'Riordan's book is the very thing they have been looking for; let us hope they will so recommend it as to secure the speedy appearance of a second edition.

W. McD.

THE WILD IRISHMAN. By T. W. H. Crosland. London: T. Werner Laurie, Clifford's Inn. 1905. Price 6s.

It is impossible to be angry with Mr. Crosland, although he is sometimes very provoking, but he is really not by any means as bad as we have seen him painted. His chapter on 'Priestcraft' is far more sane than the lofty dogmatism on the same subject of philosopher who have a great reputation for seriousness and sententiousness and none whatever for humour. It is the humorous philosopher that has the deeper insight into the subject and that says what he has to say with the greater directness and sincerity. Here is a sample of his style:—

'Are there too many priests in Dublin? Yes. Is Dublin black with them? Yes. Do they appear to be as frequent on the country side as crows? Yes. Are they extorting from the Irish people money which is sorely needed for secular purposes. Yes.' Here you have four pertinent questions which invariably crop up whenever Ireland is discussed, together with the average answers to them. 'It is the priests,' cry both well and ill-informed.

Mr. Crosland then proceeds to administer a good drubbing to all these critics. He pours the phials of his scorn on the 'Daily Mail Man' (Filson Young), and on Mr. M'Carthy, the author of *Five Years in Ireland*.

The fact is [he says], that the Irish Church and the Irish

Priesthood have been cruelly and brutally maligned by pretty well every sand-blind writer and carpet-bagging politician who has visited the country. We have blamed upon the Church poverty and distress and ignorance and squalor which are the direct outcome of bad government, and not of priestly cupidity. We have said in effect to our Irish brethren, 'You are too indigent to have a religion, or churches, or spiritual guidance. Every penny you pay for these things is sheer waste of money, particularly as it keeps our rents down; and inasmuch as you are of one church and one mind—which is a thing remarkable in this free and enlightened England—you are slaves and soulless.' But the Church of Ireland goes on its way, and in the words of Archbishop Croke, which by the way Mr. M'Carthy, Irish Catholic, quotes with a sneer, 'the Irish priesthood holds possession of the people's hearts in a degree unknown to any other priesthood in the world.'

Next in interest to his chapter on the Priesthood is that on 'W. B. Yeats.' Mr. Crosland analyses Mr. Yeats. He dissects him. He takes him asunder. No wonder, he thinks, that Ireland fails to dance to the pipings of Mr. Yeats, for his minstrelsy is utterly alien to her. It is just William Blake spun out and over-conscious. Mr. Yeats took Blake and imitated him as frankly, and it may be as unconsciously, as many less sophisticated versifiers have imitated Tennyson, or Mr. Swinburne, or Rossetti.

It is creditable to him that he should have had discernment enough to perceive in Blake an exceptional and individual content; but why having got hold of that content, having saturated himself with it, as it were, and having found the exploitation of it easy and provocative of praise, Mr. Yeats should turn round and call it Keltic, is something of a puzzle.

And again,

There is not an Irishman *qua* Irishman who wants Mr. Yeats, any more than there is an Irishman *qua* Irishman who wants Mr. Yeats' 'Irish Literary Theatre.' They belong to the Euston Road and not to Tara. They are cultivated, wary, wistful, minor English, and not Irish at all.

On the whole we have found Mr. Crosland's book on Ireland refreshing. There is good and bad in it and very indifferent; but the good things are quite good enough to make it worth reading.

IRELAND. Painted by Francis Walker, R.H.A. Described by Frank Mathew. Published by Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London, W. Price 20s.

BETWEEN Mr. Francis Walker and Mr. Frank Mathew it is difficult to award the palm of merit; but as a result of their united efforts, they have produced one of the most beautiful books on Ireland that has appeared in our time. The coloured prints, reproduced from the sketches of Mr. Walker, are in themselves a treasure, and are well worth the twenty shillings which the volume costs. The letterpress portion of the work is equally deserving of praise. Mr. Mathew has a deep and extensive knowledge of Irish history and a kindly and sympathetic insight into Irish character. He has done his work not so much according to the methods of a historian, but rather as a philosophic observer, who generalises from well-established facts. He carries us with him by the lightness and grace of his touch, as well as by the transparent honesty and simplicity of his narrative. Convents and colleges which are in search of ornamental volumes for prizes could not do better than invest in this beautiful book. As a presentation gift on almost any occasion it would, we are sure, be welcome anywhere, but especially in Ireland.

J. F. H.

ROME. Painted by Alberto Pisa. Text by M. A. R. Toker and Hope Malleson. Published by Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London, W. Price 20s.

IN this volume neither the coloured illustrations nor the text please us so well as those of the volume on 'Ireland.' Many, however, of the prints are very artistic and beautiful, and on the whole they reflect credit on the painter. It is with the text that we have the chief complaint. It is so disfigured with anti-Catholic bigotry that we could not recommend it to anyone.

THE SCHOOL-CHILDREN'S CHURCH HYMN BOOK. Tonic Sol-fa Notation; and Benediction Service in Staff Notation. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd. Price 1d.

THIS little booklet should be welcome to priests and teachers. At last a beginning has been made to interest the people in the

Liturgy by giving them an active part in the various services ; by allowing, even ordering, them to sing a share at least of the music hitherto reserved to the selected choir. The great desideratum in the circumstances is a handy and cheap manual which will be helpful to beginners, and such is the collection before us. There are eleven English hymns in it, suitable for all portions of the year. Some of them have been sung successfully here in Dublin by children on their Confirmation day ; some others suit such widely different occasions as a Holy Family meeting, Christmas Day, Feasts of the Sacred Heart and Blessed Sacrament, and several, including the Latin ' Ave Maris Stella,' are given for the many recurring festivals of the Blessed Virgin. Finally there are a few Benediction Services, given for convenience in both notations.

This is all excellent value for one penny, and to add to it, the booklet is well brought out in matter of type, etc. It should have a wide circulation.

P. S.

PLAIN CHANT AND SOLESMES. By Dom Paul Cagin, O.S.B., and Dom André Mocquereau, O.S.B. London : Burns and Oates. 21 × 14 cm., viii. + 70 pp.

THIS little booklet is a reprint, with some additions, of a series of articles by Dom Cagin and Dom Mocquereau, which first appeared in the *Rassegna Gregoriana*, and afterwards were republished, in English translation, in the *Tablet*. Dom Cagin gives a historical survey of the work done by the Solesmes Benedictines for the restoration of Plain Chant. Dom Mocquereau explains the critical method he and his school have adopted in their work of recovering the true version of the manuscripts, illustrates it by the example of a single neum, and adds some philosophical reflections on ' Evolution in Taste and Tradition.' For those who, in a short space, wish to get a clear idea of what ' Solesmes Chant ' means, the book will prove an excellent guide. It is adorned with several portraits, and also with a facsimile of a photograph of the kind the Benedictines are using in their investigations. It is a page from a beautifully-written Troper of the tenth century. Amongst other things we find in it the Gradual Verse and the Alleluja Verse of Easter Sunday. Anyone with an elementary knowledge of the meaning of the neums can institute an instructive comparison between this version and the

one given in the Solesmes books. The value of the facsimile would, however, be enhanced, if we were told where the MS. was written, and where it is kept now.

H. B.

GLIMPSES INTO PARADISE. By the Rev. Septimus Herbert, M.A., late Vicar of Iver, Bucks. London: James Finch & Co., Ltd., 1903.

THIS book contains, in the form of a dream, the author's speculations on the so-called 'Intermediate State' between death and the second advent. Evidently the writer is not acquainted with Catholic theology, else he would not have submitted his work to this review. Under the circumstances we do not wish to bring to bear on it the trip-hammer force of theological criticism, and we put it aside by remarking that we do not believe in such a state. A treatment of this kind may find justification in poetry, but not in a work that claims 'to go further and deeper into the subject than others have done.' It is sad that a truth so definite, and one concerning us so closely, should be treated in a nebulously speculative, Vision-of-Mirzah, manner.

P. B.

THE SOUL'S ORBIT; OR, MAN'S JOURNEY TO GOD. Compiled, with additions, by M. D. Petre. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. Price 4s. 6d. net.

THE author—or rather compiler—says: 'The following pages may, on the whole, be designated as a compilation or "redaction," although some of them are, both in form and substance, from the compiler's own pen, some others in form, though not in substance, others again in neither.' Now, we do not consider that a sufficiently definite acknowledgment of the sources whence he has drawn his material, and we strongly suspect that, had he enclosed within quotation marks all that has been borrowed, very little in either form or substance would remain. For instance, he tells us that the 'substance' of one of the discourses—on the 'Need of Guidance'—is taken from the *American Ecclesiastical Review*; but we find that not only the *substance* but also nine-tenths of the entire article is word for word from it, with only a few minor changes where

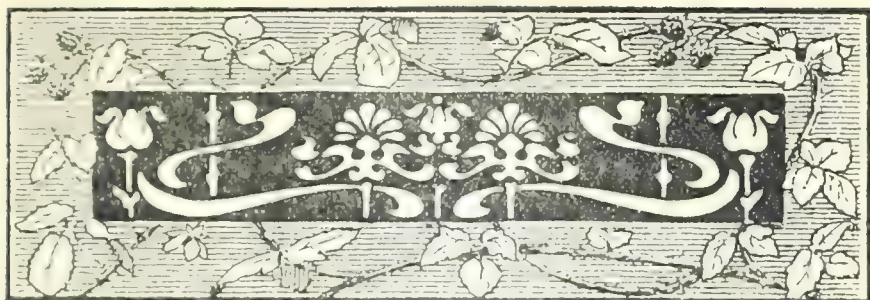
the context did not suit the compiler's purpose. Also this same discourse is most misleading—unintentionally so, of course—in its present setting. The article by 'Confessarius' in the June number of the *Review* for 1901 might be interpreted in either a Catholic or Protestant sense, and conclusions as far removed as earth from heaven be deduced therefrom. The original writer recognised this, and cautioned his readers that his words were not to be understood in any Protestant sense, which words of caution are omitted in the present article. Throughout the volume there are several good things, but likewise many things from which we differ, but, as we cannot determine whether or not they are the author's own, we think it unnecessary to criticize them. In a word, we do not believe in the making of books in this way: if a man has a message of his own to convey, let him give it to us; if not, let him tell us definitely who it is that is speaking.

P. B.

THE EARLY HAUNTS OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH. By J. J. Kelly, D.D., M.R.I.A., Athlone. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, Middle Abbey Street; M. H. Gill and Son, O'Connell Street. 1905. Price 2s. 6d.

ALL Irishmen including school-boys who read the *Deserted Village*, *The Traveller*, *The Vicar of Wakefield* and *She Stoops to Conquer*, will be grateful to Mgr. Kelly for this interesting little volume, so well brought out and so handsomely illustrated. Mgr. Kelly discusses the claims of Pallas and Elphin to Goldsmith's birthplace, and decides for Elphin. He then follows the poet to Lissoy, Athlone, Edgeworthstown, Ballymahon, and Trinity College, Dublin. There is a very interesting chapter on the relations of Goldsmith with the Gunnings of Castlecoote. The last chapter is devoted to the 'Deserted Village,' which Mgr. Kelly unhesitatingly identifies as Lissoy. The book is easily and quickly read. It is written in a pleasant and attractive style which helps the reader to acquire information under the most favourable circumstances.

J. F. H.



NOTES ON THE DECLINE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND SINCE THE REFORMATION

WHAT is the religious condition of England to-day? Outside the Catholic Church, and that portion of the Establishment known as the 'High Church,' English Christianity is a Chinese puzzle. To the casual visitor to this country, everything, from a religious point of view, appears fair to the eye. There are the grand old cathedrals, with bishops, chapters, immense revenues and various organizations for the furtherance of church work. In the towns and in the villages, up and down through the country, may be seen churches, chapels, and conventicles of every and no design. The visitor in his hurried run through the country will be astonished at the number of parsons he sees everywhere. In the train, on the railway platform, in the public thoroughfare and back lane, he will recognise clergymen of all denominations, whose dress and general appearance indicate the school of thought to which they belong. The visitor cannot help noticing the liberty enjoyed by English clergymen in matters sartorial and tonsorial. The 'iron uniformity' of Rome is not copied; indeed, the 'Nonconformist Conscience' is as lax with regard to the shape and colour of the ministerial dress as it is rigidly opposed to certain clauses of the Education Act. The traveller need not be very long in the country to discover the generosity of the people. The English are truly generous, and whenever an appeal is made for a

religious or philanthropic object, subscriptions literally pour in from expected and unexpected quarters.

Judged by some of these external phenomena, the English would be considered a very religious people. Yet, the outward show of religion is no index of a corresponding reality within. The traveller sees only the shell which covers equally the sound and rotten kernel. Beyond that he has not time, or does not choose to probe, and his conclusions are at best only conjectures. A prejudiced visitor (and there have been a great many) to Ireland leaves the country with mingled feelings of admiration and regret. He pays a tribute to the many fine traits in the character of the people, and then follows an 'Exeter Hall' homily on the dangers of superstition. To his discerning mind, the Irish are a superstitious people, and were it not for the tyranny of the priests, something might be done for them. He conveniently forgets that his verdict against the religion of the Irish is based, not on the observations of a fortnight's tour in the country, but on nursery tales, the tradition of the public school, and the prejudiced and hostile impressions of a Protestant atmosphere. How different the impressions of one who visits the country with an open mind ! He will certainly find the people more or less given to superstition, but where is the country in Europe against which the same charge might not be brought ? And the excess of belief in the supernatural, with which the Irish people are credited, is preferable any day to the materialistic spirit, which ignores the existence of God, and a world not less real because unseen. The impartial traveller will find out in a short space of time the depth and intensity of Irish faith. Let him see the people at Mass on Sundays, or on week-days, in the churches of the cities, or the chapels by the mountain side. There is a nameless reverence in every movement of the worshippers during that great and solemn act of worship, which commands the attention even of the most irreverent. And yet, in Ireland there is at first sight no striking indication of the deep religious faith of the people. We must, therefore, look to facts rather than phenomena, and be careful to avoid in our investigations the *a priori* prejudices of which others stand convicted.

It is admitted on all hands, that, at the present day, religion in England is not very flourishing. The tendency of the age is to ignore, or call in question everything supernatural. The Scriptures are regarded as a fair subject for dissection and ridicule ; the possibility of miracles is impugned ; and for better or worse the people as a whole have ceased to take an intelligent interest in the Word of God. They do not read the Bible as they did ten or twenty years ago, and if this indifference continue, the English 'family Bible' will inevitably find its way into the British Museum. Materialism and irreligion are gaining ground every day, for they have cloaked themselves under the specious names of Progress, Religious Liberty and Patriotism. The people worship themselves and idealize the British Empire, and whatever contributes to the material comfort of the one and the glory of the other is diligently sought after. All their talents and unresting energy are directed to these objects of their devotion, and Almighty God and His commandments are quietly ignored. And the strange thing is, the Englishman thinks himself the best Christian in the world. He justifies himself by faith, not by works ; his salvation is that he is an Englishman. To understand the present deplorable condition of religion in England one must go back and examine carefully the causes that have contributed to reduce, in the space of a few hundred years, a great Catholic nation to almost the level of civilized paganism. The seeds were sown in many soils. It will be instructive, perhaps also interesting, to note the principal variations of religious thought that have taken place since the great social and religious revolution of the sixteenth century.

Most writers, in their haste to blacken the Catholicity of England during the Reformation period, take very little account of the circumstances that made the change of religion possible. It is seldom remembered that the 'Black Death' which devastated Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century, swept away one half of the entire population, and at least two-thirds of the clergy both secular and regular.

To the Church [writes Dr. Gasquet¹], the scourge of 1349 must have been little less than disastrous. Apart from the poverty and distress occasioned by the unoccupied lands, and the consequent diminution of tithes, the sudden removal of the great majority of the clergy must have broken the continuity of the best traditions of ecclesiastical usage and tradition. Moreover, the necessity which obliged the Bishops to institute young and inexperienced, if not positively uneducated, clerics to the vacant livings, must have had its effects upon many succeeding generations. The monastic houses also sadly suffered, not only in the destruction of their chief source of income by the depreciated value of their lands and the want of cultivation consequent upon the impossibility of finding labourers in place of the tenants swept off by the pestilence, but more than all by reason of the great diminution of their numbers which rendered the proper performance of their religious duties, and the diligent discharge of their obligations, as regards monastic discipline, difficult, and often almost impossible. In numbers, and there can be little doubt also in tone, the various religious bodies had not recovered the ground lost during the year of the Black Death by the time of their ultimate dissolution.

The long and bitter wars of the 'Roses' must likewise be regarded as an element in the chain of events which rendered possible the social and political changes of Henry's reign. The long and protracted civil war completed the work begun by the pestilences of the fourteenth century, broke the power of the people, the monasteries, and the nobility; and when Henry VIII mounted the throne the King of England was practically despotic. Such, briefly, are a few of the circumstances that combined to pave the way for the destruction of the time-honoured old abbeys of England, and the religion which had been England's glory for nigh a thousand years. Whatever may be said of the lives of the monks of this period, it must be confessed that the common and ordinary routine of the monastery raised them immeasurably above the level of life around them. No one, who has studied the subject, will maintain that in or out of the cloister religion was in a flourishing condition. At the same time every candid student of history must admit that the reports of Henry's chosen commissioners were wildly exaggerated, and that religion played a larger

¹ Gasquet's *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, vol. i., p. 6.

part in the lives of the common people of those days than it did in the days of the Georges, or in our own time.

By the spring of the year 1536 Henry had taken active measures for the suppression of the smaller monasteries. A servile and cowardly Parliament, moved by the royal will and pleasure, had prepared the way; and royal commissioners were despatched on their work of destruction. How the people received the visitors, and viewed the spoliation of the monasteries, may be gathered from many incidents in the history of the time. On the part of the secular clergy, the voice of Bishop Fisher, pre-eminent amongst them all for a love of sound learning and piety, was raised as spokesman in their defence. The nobility, too, pleaded for their preservation; and the popular disapproval was expressed in the frequent risings, and petitions to the king. Lincolnshire led the way. The remarkable outburst of zeal in Yorkshire, known as the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' when thousands of men assembled to protest against Henry's action in tampering with the faith of the people, witnessed the veneration and affection of the people for the monasteries. They protested against the suppression of the smaller monasteries, and the wholesale robbery of ornaments and jewels from the altars. The king's commissioners were busy; the Church seemed in danger, and rumours, busily circulated, served to inflame the popular mind. Other parts of the country were not behind the sturdy Yorkshire men in showing their resentment at the high-handed action of the king. From the sacking of the smaller religious houses to the great monasteries was an easy step. Wordsworth feelingly describes the general vandalism:—

But all availed not; by a mandate given
Through lawless will, the brotherhood was driven
Forth from their cells; their ancient house laid low,
In Reformation's sweeping overthrow.¹

And elsewhere he pays this tribute to the nuns who suffered a like fate:—

¹ Chandos' edition of *Wordsworth's Poems*, p. 550.

The lovely nun, submissive, but more meek
 Through saintly habit than from effort due,
 To unrelenting mandates that pursue
 With equal wrath the steps of strong and weak
 Goes forth, unveiling timidly a cheek
 Suffused with blushes of celestial hue,
 While through the Convent's gate to open view
 Softly she glides, another home to seek.¹

The Northern disturbances, in the autumn of 1536 and the spring of the following year, acted as a check upon the suppression schemes of the king. And though Henry acted with great caution for a time, urged on by the unscrupulous Cromwell and the prospect of enriching himself by a general pillage, he made up his mind to make a clean sweep of all the monasteries in the land. The rigours of martial law and the many terrible executions of monks and laymen alike did not restrain the ardour of the Catholics of the North. The 'Reformation,' on the whole, moved on with too precipitate a step for the majority of the people.

The new doctrines [says Hallam²], prevailed in London, in many large towns, and in the Eastern counties, but in the North and West of England the body of the people were strictly Catholic. The clergy, though not very scrupulous about conforming to the innovations, were generally averse to most of them. And in spite of the Church lands I imagine that most of the nobility, if not the gentry, inclined to the same persuasion. In the Western insurrection, which partly originated in the alleged grievance of inclosures, many of the demands of the rebels go to the entire re-establishment of popery. Those of the Norfolk insurgents, whose political complaints were the same, do not, as far as I perceive, show any such tendency. But an historian, whose bias was not unfavourable to Protestantism, confesses that all endeavours were too weak to overcome the aversion of the people towards the Reformation, and even intimates that German troops were sent over from Calais *on account of the bigotry with which the bulk of the nation adhered to the old superstition.*

From the borders of Scotland to the banks of the Lune and the Humber, the agitation for a time remained unchecked. In parts of the East, and later on in the Western

¹ Chandos' edition of *Wordsworth's Poems*, p. 218.

² Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i., p. 92.

counties, the people made a determined stand for the rights of the Church, and their ancient faith. The protest of the untutored peasantry is pathetically significant. It speaks of One Church throughout the land. It tells of one font of Authority, to which allegiance was due and given. From the days of Augustine to Cranmer there was not a Christian in England who did not believe that the Pope sat in the chair of Peter and inherited his authority over England as well as the rest of Christendom. But the day came, and the authority venerated for centuries was no more. A vital change came over the land. England was wrenched from the communion of the Catholic Church by the unrelenting mandate of a licentious king, and by the selfish rapacity of a band of sycophants, who were no better than their master. Many people still clung to the hope that after the dispute between Henry and the Pope was arranged, the old religion still lingering in the mountain fastnesses would be restored. Mary Tudor's reign was almost as brief as that of the boy king; and Elizabeth followed to complete the work of her ignoble father. Two hundred martyred priests, nearly five thousand martyred laymen and several million pounds,¹ forfeited in fines, bear witness to the last fight for the ancient faith, and the thoroughness of Elizabeth's work. It was an age of fierce delights and tumultuous excitement. Change followed change; altar, cross and old religious house, pile after pile, come tumbling down; Acts of Parliament authorized and abrogated changes in the new religion, and by the Orange Revolution of 1688 the last props of the old faith were removed.

Strange, that no great prophet arose in those evil days to warn the people of the visitation that must follow the pillage and terrible persecution of God's Church. Laud, it is true, tried hard to win back to the Church the authority she had lost, but he was eight or nine decades too late, and his restless zeal and antagonism to the Puritans wrought his ruin. Laud's execution was but the prelude to

¹ In one year, during Elizabeth's reign, the sum of money forfeited by Catholics, for refusing to attend Protestant places of worship, amounted to four million pounds!

that of the king, and with the death of Charles Stuart closed one of the saddest chapters in the history of England. But little more than a century had elapsed since the Yorkshire peasants had clamoured for the retention of the seven Sacraments, and taken up arms to defend the Monasteries ; now men were crying out for the abolition of all Sacraments. The air was thick with religious doubt ; and instead of one undivided Church, there were six striving and plotting against each other, and preparing the way for the chaos of the eighteenth century.

The events of the subsequent hundred years were but the necessary outcome of the religious upheavals I have touched upon. Since the Revolution of 1688, men, seeing there was no prospect of a return of authority to the ' Reformed ' Church, began to look about for a substitute. There was no longer a Pope to whom appeal might be made in matters of controversy. The ' sufficiency ' of the Scriptures had been tried by Luther and Calvin without effect. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers had recourse to the same authority to establish contradictory deductions, and the result was confusion, and not rarely intense fanaticism. The authority of the sovereign, inaugurated by Henry VIII, as an alternative to the Pope's, proved the absurdity of such a course. Down to the reign of James II there was no serious attempt on the part of the sovereign to assume personal authority over the Church, and the post-revolution kings did not pretend that their authority in matters of religion was in any sense a substitute for that which held sway till the Reformation. What then was to be done ? The Anglican Church had failed ; the official authority of the sovereign was but a title of distinction ; the Sacred Scriptures, interpreted by private judgment, turned out to be as unstable a guide as a Will-o'-the-wisp ; and such utter confusion prevailed that men wondered whether there might be any revealed religion at all. Dismay stared the Anglican Church in the face, its pulpits began to ring with apologies for the faith, the seats of learning were in a state of intellectual torpor, and a deadly paganism seemed to cover the face of the land as with a pall. Such was the state of things

towards the middle of the eighteenth century. But the end was not yet. Men had not yet reached the logical conclusion which must inevitably come to those who had broken away from the moorings of the Church of God.

Having set aside all authority it was an easy step to question the truth of the Sacred Scriptures, and from speculation and incessant doubt, the denial of revealed religion was an easy step. Now came the opportunity for the Deists. Ever since the time of Herbert, their first founder, Deist opinions had been making headway. Men and women, who were well disposed, looked out for spiritual guidance, and there was no one to point the way. Every available authority had been tried and found wanting: Rome was muzzled. The age seemed 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.' Deist writers had been hard at work, and the ground was being got ready for their campaign. Pamphleteers were busy up and down through the country, and at length the Oracle of Human Reason was set up as a last resource. Locke's theory, plausible and novel, seemed to supply the key of the situation:—

Reason is natural revelation whereby the Eternal Father communicates to mankind that portion of truth which He has laid within the reach of his natural faculties: Revelation is natural reason enlarged by a new set of discoveries communicated by God immediately, which reason vouches the truth of, by the testimony and proofs it gives that they come from God. So that he who takes away reason to make way for revelation puts out the light of both, and does much what the same as if he would persuade a man to put out his eyes, the better to receive the remote light of an invisible star by a telescope.¹

This was substantially the thesis which the Deists put forward for the acceptance of the people. And many Englishmen embraced the new teaching, because it was novel and it flattered men's vanity by appealing to their reason. The times of Trajan over again: 'Ubi sentire quae velis, et quae sentias dicere licet.' The bishops were up in arms. By pastoral letters, books, pamphlets, and from the pulpit, the Deist stronghold was assaulted; and in their

¹ Pattison's *Essays*, vol. ii., p. 57.

turn the apologists of Human Reason attacked the not impregnable position of the Anglican Church. Wolstan, a famous Deist, wrote: 'If Jesus' miracles literally taken will not abide the test of reason, they must be rejected and Jesus' authority with them.'¹ For years the melancholy discussion went on, and though victory lay with the opponents of Deism, the task of bringing them back to the Church was given up as hopeless. In time the controversy burnt itself out. And when the atmosphere was cleared, it was a question whether good or harm had come of it. Meanwhile the little religion left to the people suffered considerably. The Sacraments were neglected; the bishops and clergy were more intent on seeking preferment, than the salvation of souls, and the morals of the people were frightful. Religion, in and out of the Church, was like the valley described by Ezechiel, 'full of dry bones,' and the bones were very dry.

A further cleavage occurred in the Church when John Wesley resigned his charge. The people gathered round him everywhere, and in the remote towns and villages he was hailed with enthusiasm. A writer has said of Wesley that 'he was like the shadow of Francis Xavier,' and the comparison is not inappropriate. The new evangelist communicated his rousing energy to his followers, and they believed that the mantle of the prophet had fallen on their idol. The Church of England viewed with apprehension the new movement, and roused itself a little; but the great mass of the nation was too apathetic to pay much heed to John Wesley or the Church whose authority had become effete, except to enforce the payment of tithes. The two stormy centuries succeeding the Reformation brought the nation to the days of the Georges, and then truly the Church fell upon evil days, and was a spectacle for the rest of Europe.

It is only here possible to indicate in a very slight way the trend of religious thought during the nineteenth century. The century just closed is chiefly remarkable for the resurrection of Catholicism, the spread and growth of Ritualism within

¹ Leland's *View of Deistical Writers*, 1837, p. 83.

the Established Church, and the further sub-division and multiplication of the sects. Many divergent causes contributed to the revival of religious thought during the first half of the century. In Germany the Catholic Church was making steady progress. France was bracing itself up after the horrors of the Revolution had passed away. The expulsion of the clergy and religious, at the close of the Revolution, seems to have been timed most providentially for England. They began to arrive in the year 1792, the year after the passing of the Relief Act of 1791. This Act had legalized the Catholic religion in England, and there had been no reaction from the liberal spirit in which the measure had been conceived. Later on the passing of Emancipation and the incurison of many thousands of Irish Catholics owing to the famine brought fresh life and vigour to the crippled Church. In the early days of the century signs are not wanting of the religious unrest that made such a stir in the Establishment some thirty years afterwards. Here and there through the country, there were good and earnest souls who, disgusted with the fare of the Establishment, were groping their way towards higher things. Thus, we find in one of Charles Lamb's letters a few beautiful and touching lines indicative of the religious yearning that, later on, took possession of the Tractarians. They were written by his sister on seeing a picture of the *Virgin and Child* by Da Vinci :—

Maternal lady with thy virgin face,
Heaven-born thy Jesus seemeth sure,
And thou a virgin pure.
Lady most perfect, when thy angel face
Men look upon, they wish to be
A Catholic, Madonna fair, to worship thee.¹

Towards the middle of the third decade of the century the Tractarian movement came in sight. It was the outcome of the continued stagnation and imbecility of the Established Church—the valley of dried bones in the prophet's vision. It was from out of Oxford the wind came, and though 'the exceeding great multitude' did not come

¹ Lamb's *Works*, 1852, p. 74.

together, still the effect was very beneficial. The Catholic Revival, associated with the names of Oxford and John Henry Newman, turned the minds of Englishmen to the study of ecclesiastical history. In the Universities, in episcopal palaces, and in quiet country parsonages, the new movement created a far greater stir than the Deist controversy of the eighteenth century. For a time it seemed as if a crisis were upon the national Church. Doubts and incessant questionings troubled thousands of Anglicans—clergymen and laymen alike. The enquiry was earnest and sincere and highly favourable to the Catholic Church ; but in the background there was a mountain of prejudice, slander and misrepresentation, the growth of nearly three hundred years. Still the movement went on. The *Tracts for the Times* exercised a considerable influence ; many Anglicans were shocked by the ‘Gorham Judgment,’ and the line of demarkation between ‘High and Low’ became more clearly defined. One section was marching Romewards ; the other gravitated towards episcopal Methodism. Catholics did not look with favour upon the new movement. They kept aloof for a time, and seemed as if embarrassed at the prospect of sharing the ineffable gift of Faith with strangers and outsiders. But, the submission of the great leaders and the abuse which was heaped upon them soon aroused sympathy and disarmed the suspicion of the great majority of the Catholic body. One by one they found their way into the true Fold. The bishops of the Anglican Church grasped the dangers of the situation, and gradually let loose the ecclesiastical rein to avert further damage to the Establishment. By degrees many churches and congregations adopted Catholic doctrine and ritual, and thousands of wavering souls were persuaded that within the comprehensive folds of the Established Church all tastes—even the most ultramontane—could abide in peace. From its inception to the present day the Tractarian movement has unwittingly led thousands of souls into the bosom of the Catholic Church, and millions might have been the result, were not the Anglican mind so hopelessly Erastianized.

The evolution and multiplication of religious sects is another notable feature of the nineteenth century. The genius of constructing and inventing new religions is no longer a German monopoly. English-speaking countries have long been in the field and have outstripped the land that gave us the prince of reformers. The demand, too, for novelties in religion, is greater in England and America, and, as a consequence, the scope for industrious swindlers and religious fanatics is more wide. At the beginning of the century there was only one kind of Methodism ; to-day there are more than twenty. And the various other 'isms' have not been less inactive or inventive. A few years ago in London we had an exhibition from a new Order called the 'Theocratic Unity,' and the disclosures of this Satanic agency were so disgusting that many respectable London papers refused them insertion. Day by day there is something new or startling in the religious world. When the 'Welsh Revival' subsides and leaves behind it a trail of immorality, we shall have a second 'Torrey-Alexander' mission, or in default of that, some other religious genius will spring suddenly into fame. When is the demand going to stop? The honest logical Protestant must eventually wind up with either Infidelity or Catholicity.

The Anglican Church, with all its prestige from the steps of the throne to the door of the soup-kitchen, is being slowly undermined, and the Evangelical Free Churches are taking its place in the affections of the lower orders of the people. It is interesting to compare the statistics of the Evangelical Churches with those of the Establishment, and to note the growing popularity of the former. The latest official returns are as follows :—

	SITTINGS.	COMMUNICANTS.
Established	7,000,375	1,974,629
Free	8,139,219	1,945,932

The number of the Established Church is only an estimate and is an evident exaggeration. Statistics, it is said, may prove anything, but, at any rate, no careful observer will deny the decline and waning influence of the State

Church. Only a few days ago we saw the statement of a very zealous vicar, who boasted that in a congregation of 10,000 souls he had 500 communicants ! In Sunday School and social work, Protestant Nonconformity is steadily gaining ground. And while the number of Anglican clergymen engaged in parochial work is not more than 21,000, the Free Churches muster a roll of 59,692, including local preachers. It is a matter for serious consideration that the total loss to all the churches in Sunday-school scholars is upwards of 30,000 ; and a still more serious matter for the Establishment is the lack of candidates for the ministry. The truth is there is an air of gentility and caste about the Church of England which repels rather than attracts the proletariat. It is the church of the squire and the upper classes generally, when they condescend to go to a place of worship. On the other hand the Nonconformist churches cater for the lower orders of the people. Their religion is very pliable ; the ritual is simple and colourless ; and the crowning note of popularity is the opportunity given to thousands of illiterate laymen to preach and ' make ' a prayer.

But behind all these figures, and the formidable array of parsons and local preachers, there is a dark cloud of unbelief and agnosticism. Where there is no authoritative religion there can be no finality of interpretation, and consequently no fixed principles to guide the people in faith and morals. In other words, the people believe as much, or as little as they like, and their moral conduct is guided, not by the stringent code of the New Testament, but by natural inclination and the consideration of the punishment attaching to the violation of the laws of the realm. This attitude of mind is very common throughout England, and is not confined to any particular denomination. The result is that the moral ties which ought to make life sacred are lightly considered, and lax living is shamefully common. Every other day the newspapers record crimes that are practically unknown, or at least very rare, in Ireland—double murders, suicides, divorces, shameful violation of children, cunning frauds and swindles, in which all classes and conditions of

men figure. It is not surprising that Tennyson in his *In Memoriam* calls out for the Christ that is to be! And Bishop Philpots, who ruled Exeter fifty years ago, and whose knowledge and experience of English religious life were unrivalled, declared that 'England was not a Christian nation but a nation of pagans.' Things have changed since the famous Henry of Exeter thundered against the infidelity of his day, but not for the better. And yet there is no country in Europe half as pharasaical as England. Week by week, at political and religious meetings, we are reminded of the glories of England, its religious liberty, and the decadence of Latin and priest-ridden nations. Spain and Ireland are contrasted with England, and to these gentlemen who are happily endowed with several extra layers of superciliousness, the comparison is entirely unfavourable to Ireland and to Spain. The average Briton somehow believes that his country has a destined mission to convert and civilize the world; that the last Judgment shall take place somewhere in the British Dominions—probably Westminster Abbey—and that the Millenium shall be inaugurated by the extension of British rule to the entire universe. The Catholic, priest or layman, cannot help smiling at this self-assumed rightcousness and spiritual blindness of the Anglo-Saxon. The masses are irreligious and they know it not; the classes are infidels and they persuade themselves that they are models for the rest of Christendom. Not very long ago an enterprising London journal undertook the expense of taking a religious census of London. The per-centage varied in different parts of the vast metropolis, but the church and chapel-goers were in a hopeless minority. Not one in seven of London's teeming population ever visits a place of religious worship. Writing of the inhabitants of the London slums Sir Walter Besant gives us a vivid picture of the poor, not in London alone, but in all the big cities in England.

At one end [says the famous novelist] is Houndsditch, crowded with men who come to buy and sell; and while the bells of St. Botolph call upon the faithful with a clanging and clashing which ring like a cry of despair, the footpath is filled with busy loungers

who have long since ceased to regard the invitation as having anything at all to do with them.¹

‘They are advancing slowly towards civilization,’² is the pen-picture which the same writer gives of some more East-enders. It must be confessed that their progress towards civilization is very slow. And yet the world is continually telling us of the march of intellect, the enlightenment and advancement of all kinds, which have distinguished these later times. To few ages more than to our own can we so exactly apply the words of the Apostle, in which he foretold that the time would come, when men would no longer endure sound doctrine, but with hearts a prey to unruly lusts and ears itching for the novelties of teachers, who should humour instead of chiding their vices, they would turn their backs upon truth to embrace fable. To thoughtful minds, this would seem a literal description of the times in which we live. At the present day there is no teaching from Gnosticism to Darwinism so monstrous or absurd, which does not find plenty of disciples; and there is no leader of thought, from Voltaire to Zola, so blasphemous as not to obtain a following, provided the teacher and his teaching will suffer you to believe and do what you please.

It is sad to think of it all—sadder still to think of the rising generation of young men, and their attitude of indifference towards the word of God, at the beginning of the twentieth century. Their habits and surroundings have made them anxious to find an excuse for throwing away the idea of God, and when the blasphemer turns aside to ridicule the religious impressions of their earlier years and the Bible stories they once regarded with the simple faith of innocence, they gladly accept the opportunity of freeing themselves from the uncomfortable thought of sin, and its retribution beyond the grave. What a mighty change a few centuries have brought to a people who were once so attached to the See of Peter? In those better days a simple and confiding faith prevailed; now, faith has veiled her face, and instead,

¹ *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

there is controversy eternal. Like the doomed souls in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the people go on disputing, 'and know no end in wandering mazes lost.' Every Catholic, and many thousands besides, echo the regret of Wordsworth—

. how can we escape
Sadness and keen regret—we who revere
And would preserve as kings above all force
The old domestic morals of the land,
Her simple manners and the stable worth,
That dignified and cheered a low estate ?
O ! where is now the character of peace,
Sobriety, and order, and chaste love,
And honest dealing, and untainted speech,
And pure good will, and hospitable cheer,
That made the very thought of country life
A thought of refuge.¹

E. O'DEA.

¹ Wordsworth's *Excursion*.

TWO KINDRED ASSOCIATIONS

'Association of the Propagation of the Faith' . . . a special work of Providence . . . recommended to the faithful by all his predecessors . . . would not fail to do as they had done, for it is a work that assists materially in extending the reign of Jesus Christ on earth.
—PIUS X, the year of his election.

'I would wish every Catholic child to be a member of this admirable Association,' referring to the Holy Childhood.

—LEO XIII, September, 1882.

NEWSPAPERS are concerned mainly with temporal interests. With such things their readers' minds are daily filled and replenished, sensation being the order of the day. And so spiritual interests must either bide their time or seek for other vehicles of communication. It seems to me that such items, particularly about the fortunes of the Church in far distant lands, will not be treated so by the I. E. RECORD. Indeed I feel certain they would be welcomed in its pages if only they could be decently presented. I will, then, make bold to draw out a little the extracts given above from two Sovereign Pontiffs, one bearing on the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, the other on that of the Holy Childhood.

But it must not be a sermon. What, then? Mostly a statement of facts, addressed principally to the junior clergy, with many of whom I have stood for years in close spiritual relations, and for all of whom I retain a lively interest and warm affection.

A priest without zeal for souls is but a machine, an encumbrance. Now here is a work of zeal of the very highest importance—to extend the Kingdom of Christ, enlightening those who are in darkness and the shadow of death. Work for which our country was distinguished from her infancy in the Faith. Scarcely had her saintly priests received the Faith, and after it, Ordination, when they burned with an ardent longing to impart the priceless gift to other nations. Their own country, though they loved it much, could not content them; it was too narrow for their zeal. Scotland and England, France, Germany,

and Italy, still Pagan in great part, can tell of the wondrous work of our Columbas and Columbanuses, of our Virgils and our Galls, and a host of other saintly missionaries.

But after about two centuries of spiritual prosperity heavy trials fell upon our country, first from the Northmen, and then from her English invaders, and last and greatest and longest of all from her Protestant rulers. I shall not trouble the reader with so trite and so sad a story, but only remark that, with priests and people, it was a struggle for life, when they could ill afford help for the conversion of the heathen or the heretic.

The storm of persecution having abated, the first of our Associations, the Propagation of the Faith, commenced at Lyons not yet a century ago, soon found a home amongst us. Yes, it came to stay, and may it ever stay. How hospitably it was received is well in the writer's memory. The light blue cover of the *Annals* was everywhere to be seen, in the houses of rich and poor, but principally of the latter. The organization was admirable, and the results abundant.

But, sad to say, there has been a falling off, not suddenly but gradually. Three dioceses are missing from the list of last year's contributors to the Propagation; five or six are accredited with only a nominal sum; and, if we remember that, of the £3,770 contributed by the whole country, the Archdiocese of Dublin has the credit of more than one half, the shortcomings of some other dioceses will be manifest. How is it? Is it that the faith of our people has become less lively or their piety less fervent? We cannot think it. Or is it that material help is less needed now than half a century ago? It is all the contrary; and this is not difficult to show. *Regiones albae sunt ad messum*; a wide door, many doors, are open to missionary enterprise. Countries, which in the past were closed to Europeans, have been, principally within the last twenty or thirty years, thrown open. The explorer and the conqueror led the way, and the missionary, under the protection of treaties, followed in their wake. Among the four hundred millions of China

a wonderful change is taking place since the suppression in 1900 of the Boxer rising. For many years a good harvest has been reaped by infant baptisms; but now there is a decided movement towards conversion among the adult population. Mgr. Favier,¹ Vicar-Apostolic at Peking, writing in the Annals of his own Congregation in September of last year, says of his own Vicariate:—

My hopes have been more than realised. It is not as I predicted nine or ten thousand Baptisms that we have registered, but even twelve thousand, which brings the total number of Christians in this Vicariate up to sixty thousand; and we have remaining twenty-five thousand earnest catechumens for next year—surely we are indebted to our martyrs of 1900 for these marvellous results. . . . These consoling results obtained during the great calm, and without the slightest annoyance, are the best refutation of the erroneous opinion, which, perhaps, still causes Peking to be considered a most perilous mission, an opinion that has probably been strengthened by the massacres of the Boxers. A like persecution may never occur again; it may take another form; but are such evils so much to be deplored? Assuredly not: witness their fruits.

The opinion here expressed is strengthened by the intelligence which reached us a few weeks since, of the very friendly relations, even to the exchanging of presents, between the Vatican and the court of Peking. Dangers and persecutions there will be still in portions of a large and ill-governed country remote from the capital, holding out to the zealous missionary the hope of a martyr's crown; but *the country is opened*.

If we turn our eyes to the 'Dark Continent' we see other instances of the 'open door.' In the very centre, upon the equator, we have the British Protectorate of Uganda, with a bishop of our own kith and kin, Mgr. Hanlon, yielding its thousands at the preaching of the Gospel. And in the far West of the same dark continent, and under the same protectorate, we see the successful labours of the Society of African Missions. It is that territory till lately called 'the grave of the white man,' where ordinarily the missionary

¹ He was a French Lazarist, who has since gone to receive the reward of his great services to the mission.

could work for about three years only. He returns then to Europe to recruit his shattered health, goes back to the scene of his labours to work a few years longer, and then to die. Civilization is doing battle with the insalubrity of the climate, so that in the future such great sacrifices of missionary life will not be demanded.

We should not omit to mark that among these valiant labourers our country is represented fairly well ; and that in the vicinity of Cork there are two establishments, a college and a convent, working for years silently and steadily in preparation for these African missions. What credit we can take to ourselves for a work so noble and heroic the writer is not prepared to say ; the idea and the working out of it would seem, mainly at least, to belong to Switzerland. Far more extensive in this and other heathen countries are the missions carried on for half a century by the Fathers of the Society of the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Heart of Mary. Of these we need not speak ; they are too well and favourably known by their houses and colleges in Ireland to need it at our hands.

It is scarce necessary, for it is a thing of yesterday, to point out other fields for missionary enterprise in the opening of Thibet, and the granting of toleration throughout the wide Russian empire. And, among the numerous islands of the Pacific Ocean, *protected* by the great powers of Europe, the thunders of the warship are making way for the gospel of peace ; and cannibalism, and those revolting superstitions which demand hecatombs of human victims for their worship, promise soon to be things of the past. If the savage is not being civilized, he is at least learning how to labour, a condition of things highly favourable to the propagation of the faith.

But nearer to home we are brought face to face with a great peril to the prosperity of our Associations that demands immediate forethought. For many years, including even the last, France has been the principal contributor to the funds of the ' Propagation.' She has been giving more than the rest of the world. But now her infidel rulers are busied in elaborating laws for the uprooting of religion. Many of

her clergy are to be left a miserable pittance on which they could not live, and this but for a few years ; and even the highest, the Bishops, about sixty pounds a year. She will need her clergy still, for she is Catholic, which might well be inferred from the leading part she is taking still in the ' Propagation ' by the many priests she is yearly sending abroad, as well as by the munificence of her contributions. Suppose this legislation complete, which amounts almost to a certainty, she will have to *directly* maintain her clergy. How then will the funds for foreign missions be affected ? It is a question that calls for immediate consideration. Surely it is not a time for relaxing our endeavours in favour of our two Associations.

Such fine opportunities as we have seen of extending the kingdom of the Church are not given us to be neglected. ' Other sheep I have that are not of this fold ; them also I must bring ; and they shall hear My voice, and there shall be made one fold and one shepherd.' The Good Shepherd wishes the salvation of the heathen as of ourselves, and wishes it to be effected through us. How shall they hear His voice without a preacher ? And how can they preach unless they be sent ? And are we not distinctly told to pray the Lord of the harvest to send labourers into His harvest ? With such testimonies before him what Catholic can remain indifferent to the claims of the Associations whose cause we are endeavouring to advocate. ' The harvest is great ' ; never, perhaps was it greater since the preaching of the Apostles themselves. Herein it is easy to discern a special Providence multiplying fervent converts at a time when indifference and unbelief are spreading in countries old in the faith and for centuries fervent in its practice.

But if the prospect is encouraging for the conversion of the adult populations of heathendom, still more so is that for the baptism of infants. This is the work of the junior Association, that of the ' Holy Childhood,' founded at Paris, 1843, eulogized by Leo XIII before his elevation to the Sovereign Pontificate, and blessed and privileged by him on the jubilee of its foundation. It has for its protector a name that will touch a chord in the heart of Ireland, Cardinal

V. Vannutelli. 'We desire [words of Leo] on the occasion of this happy event to give it [Holy Childhood] a perpetual proof of our good will. Wherefore deferring also to the wishes of our dear Son Cardinal V. Vannutelli, protector of the whole Society, we ordain that the privileges which have been temporarily granted to it, shall be confirmed to it in perpetuity.' The Annals of this Society, not being so widely circulated as those of the 'Propagation,' we append the official account of the *privileges*, showing also the object and nature of the work itself.¹ It has been working for more

'WORK OF THE HOLY CHILDHOOD.

I. OBJECT.—To save pagan children in China, Africa, and elsewhere throughout heathendom, from the cruelty of inhuman parents, from infanticide, and from slavery, and bring them up as Christians—such is the aim and object of this most laudable and fruitful of Catholic works, world-wide in its organization, blessed by the Sovereign Pontiffs, and enriched with numerous indulgences and privileges.

II. MEMBERS.—The conditions of membership are—(1) The daily recital of a *Hail Mary*, with the invocation, '*Holy Mary, ever Virgin, pray for us and for the poor pagan children*;' (2) A subscription of not less than sixpence a year, or a halipenny a month. In the case of very young members, the parents may satisfy for them by saying the prescribed prayer.

LIFE-MEMBERS.—Anyone who, instead of the ordinary annual subscription, contributes to the funds a sum of not less than £4, becomes a life-member. A sum of not less than £12 entitles the donor, besides, to a copy of the *Annals* gratis for life.

Though primarily intended as a Missionary Association of Children, all Catholics, of whatever age, may become members of the Holy Childhood. Saving souls in the divinest of all good works, and it is known that no other charity saves so many souls as this much-needed work of corporal and spiritual mercy.

III. FUNDS.—Allocated each year by the Central Council at Paris to the several Missions adopted by the Association—these Missions at present (1898) are 186 in number. The funds are exclusively employed—(1) in procuring the grace of Baptism for pagan infants in danger of death; (2) in buying children doomed to death or slavery; and (3) in providing for their maintenance and Christian training. The number of rescued children on the funds of the Society last year (1897) was 335,173; and the number baptized was 474,407. Thus only can those nations be evangelized.

CLERICAL PRIVILEGES.

Priests who, as directors, promoters, heads of a circle of twelve members, or by an annual subscription of not less than six shillings, aid the work of the Holy Childhood, are granted faculties—(1) to bless beads, crucifixes, statues, &c.; (2) to enrol in the Scapulars; (3) to attach to crucifixes the indulgences of the *Way of the Cross*; (4) to give the indulgence *in articulo mortis*; and (5) they enjoy the personal favour of the privileged altar three times a week.

The signature of the Ordinary being required for the use of these

than sixty years (in Ireland probably over thirty) ; and yet outside the convents and colleges and some religious schools it is little heard of. This could scarce be so if the results of the work were better known. Now, what are these results ?

privileges, a printed copy of faculties will be forwarded on application to
THE DIRECTOR.

INDULGENCES.

By the Sovereign Pontiffs, Gregory XVI, Pius IX, and Leo XIII, in their Rescripts of May, 1846, of January, 1847, April, 1856, March, 1870, and of the 15th July, 1882 ; the following Indulgences are granted in perpetuity to members of the Association of the Holy Childhood, on the usual conditions of Confession and Communion, with the obligation also of praying for the prosperity of the good work.

I. PLENARY INDULGENCES.

1.—A Plenary Indulgence, on the Feasts of the Patrons of the Holy Childhood, viz., the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin (*November 21*), Feast of the Guardian Angels (*October 21*), Feast of St. Joseph (*March 19*), Feast of St. Vincent de Paul (*July 19*) and the Feast (*December 3*) of St. Francis Xavier.

2.—A Plenary Indulgence may be gained by assisting at the Holy Sacrifice offered for the living associates on any day between Christmas and the Purification, B.V.M.

3.—Also by assisting at the Holy Sacrifice offered for deceased members any day from the Second Sunday after Easter till the end of May.

4.—A Plenary Indulgence, on the anniversary day of Baptism, to directors, promoters, and collectors ; also to their immediate relatives, namely, the parents, brothers, and sisters of said promoters.

II. PARTIAL INDULGENCES.

1.—An Indulgence of *seven years*, to those who on the occasion of the festivals and general meetings of the Society, receive the solemn blessing according to the form given in the *Ritual*, and found also in our *Annals* for January, 1898.

2.—An Indulgence of *one year*, to members of Councils and Committees, as often as they take part in meetings for the good of the work.

3.—A *daily* Indulgence of a *hundred days* to promoters and collectors who recite the prescribed prayers.

4.—An Indulgence of a *hundred days* to any one (associate or non-associate) who during Christmas time makes an offering to the Divine Child in favour of the pagan children.

5.—An Indulgence of *forty days*, to any one (associate or non-associate) who speaks in favour of the Association, *toties quoties*.

N.B.—The above indulgences, both plenary and partial, may be gained by children who have not yet made their first communion, the Holy Father having dispensed with the usual condition of Holy Communion in their case—this condition, however, to be supplied by some other good work appointed by their confessor.

III. MASSES.

1.—Two Masses will be offered each month in one of the principal sanctuaries dedicated to the Infant Saviour or our Blessed Lady for all the living members.

2.—Two Masses will be offered each month in one of the above

The estimate must be a rough one, and not quite up to date. The immediate results, some millions of *Hail Marys* sent up to heaven from youthful hearts unstained by any grievous sin ; and the sum of about £140,000 (including donations) annually contributed. Ireland's part in this is between nine hundred and one thousand pounds, but for years scarce any progress is noticeable.

And the ultimate result is the baptism annually of some 400,000 infants of Pagan parents. The field of this great work is the Chinese Empire (not exclusively), where infant murder and desertion are still in practice.¹ Incredible, some readers may say. Where are the priests to baptize so many, and through the wide extent of the empire ; and if so, the Catholic population would stand much higher than it does. The answer is, the great majority are baptized in a dying state, and are now in Heaven pleading for their benefactors, and all are not baptized by priests. Many are baptized by the members of religious Sisterhoods and by educated lay baptizers. It might be added, as a matter of opinion from a constant reader of the *Annals*, that the number might well be doubled, if the means were provided to send out more baptizers, to maintain in orphanages the surviving children, and to purchase at a low figure the parental rights of thousands.

Beautiful and heaven-sent thought was this of the Holy Childhood, to constitute the children of the whole Church protectors, and, under the headship of the Child Jesus, saviours of their Pagan brothers and sisters. Nor can it be doubted that the short daily prayer and the monthly half-penny freely contributed will have a fine, softening effect on the youthful donors. It will teach them betimes the

sanctuaries also for all benefactors, one for the living and one for deceased benefactors.

3.—Mass will be offered annually the second week after Easter for all deceased members.

N.B.—In all the masses and suffrages of the Society, there is a special intention for Catholic mothers that their children may not die without Baptism ; and also that children may be worthily prepared for first communion, and may persevere in the paths of virtue.

¹ *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, art. 'China.'

lesson of Christian self-denial, and bring down blessings on the families they belong to.

Beginning this paper we enquired the cause of the falling off in Ireland of a work for which she was distinguished in history from the time of her own conversion, and have now seen it was not a want of faith or piety, or because the need of it to-day is less pressing than in the past. It is important to find out the cause, for then we shall know the remedies to apply. Now we would venture to suggest, as a cause, that the period of decadence was a time of agrarian and political unrest, when the temporal so easily gains the ascendant over the spiritual. Such a state of things is yearly being modified giving us the hope of a better future. Two other causes of a negative kind might, we think, be added, namely, the *Want of Advocacy*, and the *Want of Organization*.

Advocacy.—Our Holy Father in his recent Encyclical on the duty of instruction, attributes the apathy and indifference of many, leading to loss of faith, to ignorance of Christian doctrine. The same we think might be said of the indifference of many Catholics to the works of our two Associations. They are not known, or but superficially known, and so they are not heeded or but little heeded. There is need of an education. When martyrdoms were more numerous it was easy to keep up an interest in foreign missionary work. But martyrdoms have not ceased, and will not ; and further, the greater facilities and the wonderful success here recorded, should be matters of deepest interest to every Catholic who loves his Church. Here is a work for the zealous priest ; he will be assisted by others, but without him it must collapse. Periodical altar notices are necessary, and on such occasions interesting news from the missions, supplied by the *Annals* would be quite to the purpose.

Organization.—The idea of an association supposes rules ; no society can subsist without them ; nor will the rules work automatically. The priest, having founded or formed the association in his parish, must not withdraw his hand, but must see to the working of its rules. We have in Belgium an example showing what organisation can do, and what might be done about as well in Ireland. It is a country in

extent little over one-third of Ireland, but in population a great deal over it. The official account of last year's contributions to the Propagation is before me, and I see it set down nearly three times higher than Ireland, England and Scotland together! And not alone by her many contributions is she distinguished, but better still by her supply of labourers for the most difficult and dangerous missions in the world. For the last forty years her priests of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary have been labouring in North China, and in the Congo, but perhaps not so long. But since 1870 the work is being consolidated by the founding and working of a seminary to equip and keep up a supply of labourers for the most arduous of missions. In this seminary of Sheut le Bruxelles there are this present year (I quote from the *Annals* of last March) 'thirty-eight novices and fifty-five students in Philosophy. At Louvain we have eighty-four students in Theology. There are besides at the Mother House fifteen coadjutor Brothers preparing for the missions, learning the various trades that will make them so eminently useful. To the novitiate for these brothers are admitted young men from eighteen to thirty years of age, who possess the necessary moral and physical qualifications, and are members of respectable Catholic families. To be admitted into the novitiate it is necessary to be of Belgian or Dutch origin, to have gone through their Humanities creditably, and to possess the moral and physical qualities necessary for their future career.' Here is an example of missionary organization and zeal worthy of imitation by the other Catholic countries of Europe. With Belgium these noble qualities seem to have been traditional, for, three hundred years ago, St. Francis Xavier, writing for help on his Indian mission, said, *Da mihi Belgas*.

Might we also take an example of active organization from those who are not working with us, but the contrary rather? There is a Protestant propaganda working principally in England and the United States, and with, *as far as money is concerned*, wonderful results. The amount annually for many years might be set down at two million pounds,

about five times greater than the results of our two Associations. Now, even allowing for the Protestantism and wealth of England and the States, so large an amount could not be brought together without an active and well-sustained organization worthy of a cause like ours ; and this without the encouragement in the way of numerous conversions of the poor infidels. Of their record a large proportion is made up of those who attend a prayer meeting for the dinner or other presents given on the occasion ; and so the money is poured in and the deception carried on. For close upon a century these missions have been at work ; but they are a huge failure, the curse of barrenness is upon them.¹

But, what is more to our purpose, those wealthy missions, by reason of their wealth, are an obstacle to be counted with in the way of our missions. There are among the ministers gentlemen who can admire a work which is admittedly better than their own, and suffer it to stand ; but the Bible-reader, well-paid agent, is a real difficulty in the way ; he must show work, and that work too often is destruction. The priest has done his work at one station, and then must go to another, for to them also he is sent, and the slender means at his command will not enable him to provide a catechist as an instructor and protector to his flock. The wolf enters, and by bribery and lying scatters the sheep, thus marring the missionary's work, to the discredit of the whole teaching of Christianity. Here, then, is another motive to reinforce our Associations, and thus strengthen the hands of the missionary who ' bears the burthen of the day and of the heat.' Give him equal means, or diminish the inequality, and, apart even from the message that he brings, he is sure to win. The contrast is so striking of the minister with his family around him, and, for the place, what might be called a palatial residence, with many of the comforts of life ; and the priest, a solitary, self-cut-off from home and friends, devoted exclusively to his work, and living like the natives on simple fare, that even the untutored savage is drawn powerfully to the latter and listens to his message. The fact (I think it may

¹ See Marshall's *Christian Missions*, *passim*.

be safely asserted) is admitted by travelled Protestants, and by such of them as read both sides of the missionary question. An example occurs to the writer, and it will be given on the authority in writing of a Protestant gentleman. Travelling abroad he fell in with a French priest who was going out on a foreign mission. The gentleman enquired when he expected to return to his home and to civilization ; and the answer was in one word—*Jamais* (never). It was a revelation, and he then compared the missions of the Catholic priests with those of other denominations in favour of the former.

From the facts and figures and authorities already quoted we may conclude:—1. That our missions to the heathen are progressing, and fairly prosperous, and that at the present day facilities are given which encourage us to work more vigorously still. 2. That our own country is not true to the traditions of her past, which we have attributed to other causes than a decline of faith or zeal among the people. 3. That the remedy for the principal cause is to remove the ignorance that obtains, if not of the work itself, at least of its importance. If this is to be done at all it must be by the priesthood, founding, or refounding, and sustaining the two Associations treated of here, in which the junior clergy principally are addressed. But why principally the juniors, since they are not the Rectors ? First, I suppose because I am happy to know so many of them, and to think they will not take it as an impertinence. And secondly, because the hands of the Rectors may be already full of work which must be done, and with energies, it may be, more or less impaired.

Should the Principal be engaged with one Association, his assistant would find room for his zeal in the other ; for it could not be supposed that any priest would hinder the work of either, and thus constitute himself a veritable *Advocatus Diaboli*. A rather dangerous experiment it would prove, to discredit or even make light of a work so strongly recommended by the Sovereign Pontiffs, so dear to the Heart of the Saviour of men, and one which has already procured the salvation of millions.¹

¹ About thirteen years ago a report was made *directly* to Leo XIII

And yet we hear such foolish words as these—worse, a great deal worse than foolish: ‘Ireland is poor, and these monies should not be collected and sent out of the country.’ Oh ‘tell it not in Geth!’ What wonderful patriots! One is reminded of the *Ut quid perditio* of Judas. Why not rather attack the Irish drink bill, and strive to diminish the fourteen millions annually, than grumble at the four or five thousand pounds employed in the salvation of souls and in extension of the Church of Christ our Lord. Verily, if you are patriots, you are ill-natured children of the Church your mother.

Again it is said: ‘The home charities demand all the money that can be collected; so many poor people to be helped, and churches and schools to be built or kept in repair.’ Hear the present Cardinal Archbishop of Paris in reply:—

We must not allow ourselves to be intimidated by the thought that good works of every kind, often most urgent, such as Christian education, appeal to us on all sides. The organization and the plan of the Propagation of the Faith enable it to be developed without injury to other good works. . . . It is within the means of all, of the poorest and humblest children of the Church . . . and God has visibly blessed the thought. We are convinced that in working for the Association of the Propagation of the Faith, we shall draw down fresh blessings from God upon all our diocesan and parish work.

On so high an authority it may, I think, be asserted that no parochial work will suffer by the working of our Associations. Such a thing has not happened in all the past; why then fear it for the future?

But, after all, ‘charity begins at home.’ Yes, *cacteris paribus*; and all other things are not alike. The corporal necessity of the poorest in any Irish parish, except a case of extreme necessity, which is of the rarest, could bear no com-

of the working of the Holy Childhood since its inception in 1843, in which it was formally stated by the Director-General that it had resulted in the baptism of twelve million children of heathen parents. Now, calculating for these thirteen years, and remembering that, during this period, the result generally was between four and five hundred thousand annually, we may add six other millions, making up the enormous sum of eighteen million baptisms! On that occasion His Holiness said ‘It [the Holy Childhood] was a glory to the country that gave it birth; and a glory and a blessing to all the countries that welcomed and adopted it.’

parison with the spiritual necessities of the heathen, converted or unconverted. And, take the question of church-building at home, and on the foreign missions. It is no doubt a work of zeal to build magnificent temples and expend large sums on their decoration. But the same sacred functions are performed, and the same God is worshipped in the hut-chapel with its walls of mud, and roof of bamboos, or branches of the forest trees ; and, while the latter is not sufficient for a tithe of the eager worshippers, many of our churches are but half filled with people.

There is another circumstance which adds strength to the claims of the chapel as against the church, namely that the former often draws its congregation from a circuit of twenty miles or more, who spend days in the enjoyment of the spiritual luxuries of the poor edifice. Should it not be made for them as respectable as possible, when the result would be a swelling of the Catechumenate by hundreds ? To every reader of the *Annals* such recitals are refreshingly familiar.

Now, what is our conclusion ? Can it be other than this, that every true son of the Church should look out beyond the boundary of his own country, how dear soever it may be to him ; should look to the boundaries of the Church, which are the boundaries of the world as well ; should rejoice in her triumphs and sympathize with her in adversity, as to-day in France. And this not a barren, but a helpful sympathy ; yes, helping by prayers and contributions and by every means within our reach the great labourers in those distant fields we have been surveying. The priest who is so minded, though he may feel no stirring to embark on so dangerous a mission himself, has within him—in our humble opinion—one of the surest signs of predestination.

A suggestion that deserves an earlier mention is, that as the Associations are open to donations and bequests, and have been largely aided by them, they should be occasionally made the subject of altar notices, in which the conditions necessary for a valid will might be stated. Another means of powerfully helping these missions within the reach of every priest would be, to see if there is in the parish one or

more promising subjects for the foreign missionary colleges at Wilton, Cork ; or any other college or seminary, where students are prepared for foreign missions, other than the Colonies and the United States of America.

Further information for the founding or working of the Associations, and also for the necessary appliances, may be had by communicating with—for the Propagation, Rev. Joseph P. Gorman, Secretary, Committee Rooms, Parliament Street, Dublin ; and for the Holy Childhood—Rev. M. Hyland, C.S.Sp., French College, Blackrock, Dublin.

Among the appliances for the working of the Junior Association, a large print, showing the work on the field itself, will be supplied on application. This will serve as an object-lesson for children in the schools, which will interest them immensely, and be productive of (for them) very large results. We speak from experience.

JAS. CARPENTER, C.M.

THE MESSIANIC IDEA—II

THE SCRIPTURES SEARCHED.—THE RESULT

I.

OUR object in the last article was to gather together the scattered Scripture evidence on which the Messianic hope rested. It may be of interest to outline briefly at the commencement of this article, the nature and growth of that hope, in so far as these may be inferred from the search of the Scriptures just completed. Needless to say, we do not find in any of the pages of the Old Testament a complete picture of the Messianic hope ; but, as we read through one sacred book after another, the picture rises up before us, and grows in ever-increasing sublimity, like some flower beautiful in its first opening that grows more lovely as each new beauty unfolds itself. Looked at in its fulness, after tracing its growth through the ages, the Messianic hope is like some marvellous picture, too great in its comprehensiveness to be the concept at first of any one mind ; but which is brought to completion by a series of brilliant artists, who laboured zealously, one after the other, in filling in the details outlined by their predecessors. It is easy to see how much more beautiful the picture would appear in its growth and completion, had we seen it under the full light of faith, but even when looked at under the weaker light that comes from unaided reason, it is beautiful still.

Before tracing the growth of the Messianic hope from Eve to Malachias, we must ask the reader to notice the close connection between the early promises and those which follow. Taken by themselves,—as already remarked—these early promises may seem vague and uncertain ; it is different, however, when they are viewed in the light of subsequent prophecies. They are then seen to be the first supports on which the Messianic hope rests, the first broad lines in the Messianic picture ; and through them

we can trace that hope to its first source amid the shadows of Eden.

It is not the followers of Jesus alone who discover this intimate connection between the earlier and later Messianic prophecies. It was recognised through every period of Jewish history, down even to the time of Christ. It was before the mind of Mary as she chanted the *Magnificat*, and of Zachary, when 'his mouth was opened and his tongue loosed' to utter the heavenly *Benedictus*; for to one of them the coming of the Messiah *was the fulfilment of the oath which Jehovah made to Abraham*, and to the other *the remembrance of the mercy He spoke to him and to his seed for ever*.¹

Thus,—we repeat it,—whether these early promises were mythical or not; they are inseparably connected with what follows; they are the origin and root of the Messianic hope.

Let us now, guided by the evidence already gleaned, trace briefly the hope itself. Its beginning, according to the Jewish faith, dates back to the beginning of sin. Hardly had the first fall thrown its darkness across the world, till the Messianic hope shed its first light of consolation, and through the ages that followed, wherever that hope was cherished, it shed comfort around the sorrow-laden. To Eve there was given but the vague promise of victory over the serpent; when or how, she knew not. With Shem, however, begins God's special predilection for one part of the human race,—a predilection which becomes centred afterwards in Abraham, and his posterity through Jacob. That posterity,—numerous as the stars of heaven,—were to be united to Jehovah by special bonds, and were destined to be the channels through which He would pour out His blessings on the human race; what these blessings are to be, is not clearly defined, but it becomes apparent afterwards. Though Abraham had passed away, the promises which centred around his personality, and which were supposed to be made to him, were jealously guarded, and had caught firm hold on the

¹ See Luke i.

people's minds, when David and the other Psalmists sang. So far from ignoring the tradition, these sacred writers made it the text for the revelations with which they were entrusted; their most sublime pronouncements were ultimately but revelations of the manner in which Jehovah had decreed to fulfil these early promises. The glory of Abraham's posterity is insisted on, but now they are told how that glory is to be realised in the person of an anointed One who was to spring from their midst, and rule over all nations. Again and again, in words of surpassing beauty, these high-souled poets, chant Messiah's praise, his indescribable greatness, his power, his sanctity, his victory over his enemies, his goodness to mankind, his love for his friends. These new revelations, explaining as they did the vague promises handed down to them, sent deeper into the Jewish people's hearts the root of the Messianic hope; while the revelations themselves received still greater definiteness from the heaven-cleansed lips of Isaias. He speaks as one who saw the Messiah face to face, and lived in the sunshine of peace, which the light of his glory shed over the earth. He describes him with all the detailed vividness of an eye-witness, and either he, or some 'great unknown,' whose genius rivalled his, describes, in words of unequalled grandeur, the glory of the New Jerusalem—King Messiah's Kingdom.

But mingling with these growing hopes, we find a darker belief, concerning some sufferer by whose wounds we were to be healed. His sufferings are connected in some mysterious way with the blessings of the Messianic Kingdom, and he himself intimately connected, if not identified, with King Messiah. This strange cloud, which throws its shadow across the brightness of the Messianic hope, is first sketched by the Psalmist, but its colours are deepened, and its form made more defined, by the pencil of the Deutero-Isaias.

Seeing the place which the Psalmists and Prophets held in the estimation of their countrymen, it is certain that, by this time at least, the firm belief in the coming of Messiah had entered deep into the heart of the Jewish people. Their

prophets afterwards repeatedly refer to the blessings which shall characterize his reign, but they utter no direct promise of his coming,—that is taken for granted. To him, however, they turn amid all the troubles that surround them, and in him they find consolation for all their sorrows. Terrible as may be the wickedness around them, and sad as they may feel in contemplating it, they ultimately rise above these thoughts, to centre the gaze of their countrymen on the promised day when all these things shall disappear, and peace and righteousness shall dwell supreme. Their thoughts may be occasioned by their circumstances, but they are not so bounded ; they soar away beyond the horizon of their own times, and seek rest within the peace of King Messiah's Kingdom. Bitterly indeed does Jeremias deplore the wickedness of the unworthy pastors, who destroy the sheep of the Lord's pasture, but he consoles his people by reminding them of the promised shepherd, who shall bring back the wandering sheep ; and Ezechiel, amid the miseries and sinfulness of his own age, turns for consolation to the time when God will put a new spirit into His people, and will bring back the flock that the wicked pastors scattered, and will feed them by the mountains of Israel, by the rivers and on all the habitations of the Lord, and will appoint over them one shepherd, His servant David.

Through all the subsequent years, until the author of the Book of Daniel gives his message to his countrymen, the hope is ardently cherished, and in the pages of that book we find it reappearing again in all its living reality. From the touch of this artist, however, the growing picture seems to have received a new colouring. Not alone is the time of Messiah's coming more exactly defined, and the identity of the King and servant more strikingly suggested, but the Messianic Kingdom itself is seemingly looked at from a new standpoint. The institution and growth of that Kingdom, over the world's greatest empires, and its comparison with them, give it a certain worldly aspect it had not till then. True, they all speak of it as extending over the whole earth, but Daniel seems to describe it as though

it were a kingdom of the earth, outrivalling in *earthly* splendour the kingdoms it had destroyed. We do not say that Daniel's words lead, necessarily, to this conclusion. It is easy to see that they do not,—but it seems to us that his prophecies contributed no small share towards the belief of the latter-day Jews, about the worldly grandeur of Messiah's Kingdom.¹

Still the splendour which, to his gaze, surrounded the Messianic Kingdom, did not make Daniel forget the dark background on which its glory seemed to repose; Messiah was to be slain.

As the age advances, the hope grows continually more detailed. Each of the prophets contributes something towards the completion of the picture at which his predecessors loved to labour, till the last touches are given by the pencil of Malachias.

Hasty and imperfect as is this sketch of the development of the Messianic hope, it shows how uniquely strange was the central dogma of the Jewish faith. Bequeathed to them,—at least according to their own thinking,—from the remotest antiquity, it remained through all their history the vivifying principle of their religious creed. Far from withering away as the race grew older, it expanded during each generation with a more vigorous and more undying life. Its continuity was faithfully preserved through all its varying developments, and in its latest form it may be reasonably interpreted, as a detailed explanation of the Divine method of fulfilling the earliest promises from which it sprang. Looked at in its completion, as seen in the Old Testament pages, even by eyes closed to the light of faith, it is the abiding hope that Jehovah, faithful to His oft-repeated promises, would raise up a great Son of David,—beautiful above the children of men, and more than human in his majesty, who would sit upon the throne of his father, and would establish a new kingdom of world-

¹ Such belief was certainly widespread at the time of Christ, and was shared even by Christ's disciples long after they left all things to follow Him. Even after His resurrection His chosen ones asked would He this time restore Israel (Acts i. 6). See also Luke xxiv. 21, where they hoped it was He that would have redeemed Israel.

wide extent, where peace and justice and judgment should for ever dwell, and over which he would for ever reign. Far beyond the limits of the Promised Land would that Kingdom extend, yet Sion was to be its centre and its chief glory. Unlike the kingdoms typified by the statue of Nebuchodonozer, it was to be indestructible, and its splendour chiefly religious. It was to be established while the Temple stood, and seventy weeks after the Persian had permitted the remnant that returned to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. Messiah, the King and founder of that empire, was to be a prophet also, a shepherd over his people, and a priest. He would purify the sons of Levi, and in his Kingdom there would be a new sacrifice,—a clean oblation,—offered not merely in Jerusalem, but the whole world over, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same.

We need not dwell again on the mysterious connection between Messiah and the sinless servant. But it may be well to remark, that the reality of such a connection is unaffected by the inability of pre-Christian Jews to discern it. It is by no means essential to prophecy that men must know beforehand the precise manner in which the prophecy is to be fulfilled; it is enough if the fulfilment, when it takes place, be such that men can see in it a real accomplishment of the promises made, and not a mere accidental similitude between two disconnected facts. And so, even though the Jews who looked for the fulfilment failed to understand the full connection between Messiah and the servant, or entertained mistaken ideas about the general character of the Messianic blessings, their error need not disturb us. Even though the supposed realization in Christ is not the kind they expected, it is still possible for us to say whether it be not the true accomplishment after all; whether the correspondence between the life of Christ and the promises on which the hope rests is of Divine institution, or the result of chance, and so whether the difference between it and the Jewish hope be not due to Jewish error.

THE RESULT CONFIRMED

II.

Having tried to outline the Messianic hope, as it is revealed to unaided reason, in the pages of the Old Testament, it is well, before seeing how far the hope has been truly realized in Christ, to see how far the evidence already obtained may be confirmed and supplemented from other sources. From the Talmud and Targums,—works dealing with the Old Testament, and written by Jewish scholars,—much interesting information might be adduced, but the space at our disposal forbids a full study of them. Yet for the sake of the information they give regarding Jewish belief, we must find place for their commentaries on a few of the passages controverted by Rationalists.

In the Jerusalem Targum, as well as in the Targum of Jonathan, we find clear evidence that the Messianic hope rested on foundations supposed to be as ancient as the human race. Paraphrasing the Protoevangel, the Jerusalem Targum, says : ‘ When the children of the woman labour in the law, they shall smite the serpent’s head, and shall kill it ; but when they forsake the precepts, it shall smite them. Yet,’ it adds, ‘ there shall be a remedy for the children of the woman, but for thee, O serpent, there shall be no remedy, *for they shall hereafter perform to each other a healing in the days of King Messiah.*’¹

True, these Targums are not as old as the passages they paraphrase. They were written when the Messianic idea was developed, but they throw an interesting light on the traditional Jewish interpretation of the passage, as well as on the Jewish concept of Messiah’s work. Equally interesting is the interpretation given in the Talmud and Targum Onkelos of Jacob’s famous prophecy. Because of this prophecy, the Talmud gives ‘ Shilo ’ as one of the names of Messiah, while the Targum Onkelos paraphrases thus the well-known passage in which that word occurs : ‘ Until

¹ Targum Jonathan has practically the same.

the time that *King Messiah* comes whose is the Kingdom.' ¹ Elsewhere in the same Targum Messiah is styled the mighty King of Jacob's line, and in many of the Targums on the prophecy of Balaam, it is stated explicitly that 'the star that is to arise out of Jacob' is King Messiah.

Rationalists, anxious to explain away the Messianic import of the Second Psalm, indulge in theories about the feelings of the Psalmist, whose hopes and aspirations as he wrote this Psalm swelled beyond the actual and realizable, into an ideal region of anticipation.² Perhaps they have a charism for discerning the minds of these sacred writers, but their opinions are very much at variance with the Rabbins, who, commenting on this Psalm, say, in the *Midrash Esther*, that the war spoken of in the first verse is that which Gog and Magog shall wage against Israel *in the days of King Messiah*, and who in the *Zohar* state explicitly that the anointed One is King Messiah, and in the *Midrash Tehillim* that the words 'Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron,' were addressed by the Holy God to Messiah.

Equally instructive is the difference between the Rationalistic interpretation of the other Psalms, and the traditional belief of the Jews as reflected in the records under consideration. Paraphrasing the fourth verse of the Forty-fourth Psalm, the Targum has '*Thy beauty, Oh King Messiah*, is superior to that of the sons of men;' and in the eighth verse, '*Thou, Oh King Messiah*, because thou lovest justice.' Again, in the first verse of the Seventy-first Psalm, it has: 'Oh, God! give the decrees of Thy judgment *to King Messiah*;' and commenting on the Hundred and Ninth Psalm—which, according to Davidson,³ was written by some follower of David when the legendary tradition (!) regarding Melchisedec began to appear, the Midrash says the King sitting at the right hand of Jehovah is *Messiah*. We leave to the 'new exegetes' the task of

¹ It is very much disputed whether the meaning of the passage in question is until Shilo (i.e. Messiah) comes, or until he (Juda) comes to Shilo (a town in Palestine).

² See Davidson's *Introduction to Old Testament*, ii. 282.

³ *Lib. cit.* ii. 285.

defending their views in face of an opposing traditional belief entertained by men uninfluenced by the claims of Jesus Christ.

While admitting that, like the eunuch whom Philip accompanied on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza,¹ the Jewish people felt puzzled to know the meaning of Isaias when he spoke of Jehovah's sinless servant, we still find here and there² traces of their belief in the identity of that servant with the Messiah, but nowhere in the literature of the Talmud or Targums, is there a word about 'Idealized Israel,' or the 'true and effective Israel,' or any of these phantasmagoric beings conjured up by the magic of our latter-day prophets.

Other passages might be cited from the Rabbinic literature, but we must rest content with what is given.

A more full and satisfactory evidence, however, of the Jewish hope, and of the Jewish interpretation of the passages cited as Messianic, may be found in the New Testament. It is needful to state at the outset how the New Testament evidence can be of any value in the present enquiry. Taken as an historical record, its evidence is two-fold. It tells *directly* of the belief existing amongst the followers of Jesus Christ, but *indirectly* of the Jewish interpretation of many of the Messianic passages; for it reveals to us how the Apostles argued from these passages in favour of Jesus Christ against their countrymen. It may be said that it is not fair to accept as evidence of the Jewish faith the interpretation of men prejudiced, perhaps, in the interest of Jesus. But it is easy to meet such an objection. The Apostles shared with their countrymen the Messianic hope. That hope, as already stated, was based on the Scripture, and the object of the Apostles was to show that what on the admission of all, was said in the Scriptures concerning the Messiah, was verified in their Master. In trying to prove its fulfilment in Christ, they

¹ Acts viii.

² Commenting on Isaias xlv. the Targum has: 'Behold my *servant the Messiah*. I will bring him near.' Again, on the tenth verse of the forty-third chapter it has: 'And my *servant Messiah* in whom I am well pleased.' While in the thirteenth verse of the fifty-second chapter it has 'Behold, my servant the Messiah shall prosper.'

might be suspected of party feeling, but we do not cite them here by reason of their own personal beliefs, but as indirect witnesses to the belief of their countrymen. The fact that they tried to vindicate, from certain passages in the Old Testament, their Master's claim to the Messiahship before their countrymen, who founded their belief on the Scriptures, shows that those passages cited by them, were considered by their countrymen to have a Messianic import. They may, indeed, have often tried to show their countrymen a new meaning in the promises cited, but the very fact of appealing to these promises, shows that the Jews looked on them as Messianic, even though they rejected the interpretation given by the Apostles. If they did not so look on them, the Apostles appealing to them were only ruining the cause which they tried to forward. Let us exemplify this by, say, the sermon of St. Peter on Pentecost Sunday, or by any of St. Paul's discourses in the Jewish synagogues. How could these Apostles more effectually draw upon themselves the derision of their hearers, than by trying to prove the claims of their Master from Old Testament passages in which no Jew admitted a Messianic meaning? Were they not stultifying themselves, by telling their countrymen that in some act of their Master's life, a prophecy was fulfilled, which prophecy their countrymen already interpreted of David, or Solomon, or Ezechias, or some other renowned ancestor, and of him alone. To argue effectively you must have some common ground with your adversary, some thesis which you and he accept; and from which you may deduce the truth of your own contention. This was the common ground between the Apostles and their unbelieving countrymen;—the mutual acceptance of certain Scripture passages as Messianic, and the duty of the Apostles was to show that in Christ the promises contained in these passages were verified. It is not with their success in this latter point that we are concerned now; but with the implied admission of the Jews that the passages cited were Messianic. Our point is, that the fact of the Apostles arguing from these passages shows that their Messianic

character was admitted by all sides, and we emphasize the point, because once it is established a flood of light is thrown on the traditional Jewish belief, and our interpretation of the passages discussed in the preceding article receives indestructible confirmation.

Before directing the attention of the reader, however, to these different passages, scattered through the pages of the New Testament, it will be of value to show from the same source the keenness with which the Jews looked forward for the fulfilment of their long-cherished hope.

Josephus, in his *Antiquities* and *Wars of the Jews*, bears unsuspecting testimony to the truth of the twenty-first chapter of the Acts, concerning the Egyptian who 'did raise a tumult, and lead into the desert four thousand men who were murderers,' and it is well known that his followers flocked to his standard, because they thought he was Messiah coming to establish his kingdom. Again, from the Samaritan woman who spoke to Jesus at the well,¹ we get another unprejudiced evidence. The Samaritans had only the Pentateuch, and yet this woman tells Jesus that she knows the Messiah cometh, *and that when he comes he will teach them all things*. More explicit still is the question put by the Pharisees to the Baptist,² 'Art thou *he who is to come*, or are we to expect another ;' and St. Luke,³ speaking of John's preaching, says they were all thinking in their hearts whether he might not be *the Christ*.

Furthermore, in all controversies of Christ and His Apostles with the Pharisees, the question of a Messiah being promised is never raised. That is taken for granted, and the matter for controversy is, what the Messiah was to be like, and whether Jesus could reasonably lay claim to the fulfilment of the promises.

In questioning the Pharisees about the meaning of the Hundred and Ninth Psalm,⁴ Jesus assumes as admittedly that a Christ is expected, and the Pharisees' reply, so far from denying such an assumption, admits it. Though the Jews clamoured for our Saviour's death before Pilate,

¹ John iv.² Matt. xi. 3.³ Luke iii. 15.⁴ John ii. 24.

their accusations by no means disproves that expectation,¹ and underlying Peter's confession in Christ's divinity² is the assumption that a Redeemer was promised and expected by all.

More strikingly still is the vividness of that strange hope revealed in the language of God's servants among the Hebrews. Listen to Elizabeth,³ as she asks whence is this to her that the *Mother of her Lord* should visit her; or to that mother,⁴ as her soul magnified the Lord, because He hath received Israel His servant, *mindful of His mercy to Abraham and his seed for ever*. Listen to Zachary,⁵ when his tongue is loosed to bless the Lord, because *He hath fulfilled His promise, which He spoke by the mouth of His prophets from the beginning, and remembered the holy testament which He swore to Abraham and to his seed for ever*; and hear him as he sums up the prophecies of Malachias, Zacharias, and Isaias, in foretelling the destiny of his child, who was to be called the Prophet of the Most High. Listen to the aged Simeon, who was *waiting for the consolations of Israel*,⁶ and had received an answer from the Holy God that he should not see death before he had seen the *Christ of the Lord*. Listen to him as he blesses God, and chants his *Nunc Dimittis* because *his eyes had seen the light to the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of the people of Israel*; and hear Anna,⁷ as she spoke of Christ to *all that looked for the redemption of Israel*. Deny if you will that these sublime canticles, were spoken as St. Luke gives them, yet one fact is written indelibly across them all,—the existence of an anxious expectation that some Saviour of Israel was to come,—an expectation which had not grown up in the age of the speaker, nor was confined to the holy ones amongst the people; but which had entered into the very fibre of the people's lives, and was continually dwelt upon by their prophets since God first sealed His covenant with Abraham.

It is needless to dwell further on this point. We can confidently challenge anyone to cite one single passage from the New Testament, or from any authentic historian,

¹ John xix. 17.

² Luke i.

³ Matt xiv. 16.

⁴ Luke ii. 29-32.

⁵ Luke i.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii.

⁴ Luke i.

to show that the Jews at the time of our Saviour did not ardently look forward to the coming of Him, whom they believed was promised of old.

Relying on the principles stated a few pages above, we may now glance through the pages of the Gospels and Epistles to find out the Old Testament passages on which the Jews rested their hope.

St. Matthew is continually pointing to Christ as the One foretold by such and such a prophet. His birth of a virgin is a fulfilment of Isaias' famous prophecy¹; while His birth in Bethlehem is a fulfilment of Micheas.² Stranger still, the mission of St. John the Baptist is the fulfilment of a prophecy which, taken literally, seems to refer to the return from Babylon. Rationalists³ may object to the existence of a double sense in any Scripture passage; but St. Matthew's interpretation of this and other prophecies, proves that the Jews, rightly or wrongly, admitted such a meaning. Nor does it obviate the difficulty to accuse St. Matthew of 'accommodation.' His object is, to show that Christ is the Messiah, and if he applies to Him any text not recognized by the Jews as Messianic, he is damning his own cause. St. Matthew does not deny the literal reference in this passage to the return from Babylon; but his interpretation shows that the Jews recognized in the prophecy something more than a description of the return.

Again, on the dwelling of Jesus on the shores of Capharnaum and Zabulon⁴ he sees a fulfilment of Isaias' prophecy concerning the people 'who sat in darkness and the valley of death.' More important still, he tells us that Christ, who certainly claimed to be the Messiah, declared in His immortal sermon on the Mount, that He

¹ Matt. i.

² Matt. ii.

³ e.g., Davidson, *Introduction to Old Testament*, iii. 79. Dr. Forbes in his book, *The Servant of the Lord* (p. 213), develops a rather interesting theory about the double sense. He tries to show that the Hebrew prophets accompanied their messages with some outward sign *in act* of these messages; and that the people knowing this, were always prepared to trace a connection between the sign and the thing signified. Whatever may be the value of this theory, it is certain that the Jews did recognise a double meaning in many of the Old Testament passages; one referring *literally* to the near object; the other *mystically* to an object more remote.

⁴ Matt. iv. 15.

came not to destroy the Law and the Prophets, *but to fulfil them*.¹ What is implied in such an assertion is too evident to need explicit statement. In the humility shown by Jesus, when He charged those whom He healed that they should not make Him known, and in His unwillingness to excite the Pharisees' envy, the same Evangelist² sees a fulfilment of Isaias' description of the servant of Jehovah, who would not contend nor cry out, who would not break the bruised reed nor extinguish the smoking flax, till he sent forth judgment unto victory. The fact of Jesus sending two of His disciples from Mount Olivet to bring to Him the ass and the colt from the neighbouring village, before His triumphal entry into Jersusalem,³ was done that Zacharias' prophecy might be fulfilled; and even Jesus Himself,⁴ we are told, sees in the desertion of His disciples on the night of His passion, a verification of Jeremias' words: 'I will strike the shepherd and the sheep of the flock shall be dispersed.' In the purchase of the potter's field by the blood-money of Judas, St. Matthew⁵ sees a fulfilment of the prophecy of Jeremias concerning 'the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was prized by the children of Israel;' while in the division of the garments⁶ is verified the words of the Twenty-first Psalm: 'They have divided my garments amongst them and on my vesture cast lots.'⁷

Reading on through the pages of the New Testament, we get fuller knowledge concerning the promises on which the Hebrew people founded their faith. The message of the angels to the shepherds on the first Christmas night⁸ is a beautiful proof of the Jewish belief at the time. They were tidings of joy to them, and to all the people,—a

¹ Matt. v. 17.

² *Ibid.*, xxi.

³ Matt. xii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxvi. 31.

⁵ Matt. xxvii. Such a prophecy is not found in Jeremias, but it is in Zacharias. For an explanation of the seeming error see McCarthy's *Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel in loco*.

⁶ Matt. xxvii. 35.

⁷ Many of these passages occur elsewhere in the New Testament, especially in the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, but always for the same purpose—to prove that Christ is the Messiah.

⁸ Luke ii.

Saviour is born to them, who is Christ the Lord—and the meaning of the angel's words was not intelligible to these simple pastors on the hill-sides of Judea, for they went over to Bethlehem, *to see the word that is come to pass.*

The interpretation of the Fifty-first chapter of Isaiah given by Christ in the Synagogue of Nazareth, deserves special notice. After reading the opening verses of the chapter¹—verses which Rationalists ask us to believe were never meant for fulfilment in Christ—that same Christ says: 'This day is fulfilled the Scripture in your ears.' Did any of His hearers deny His interpretation, pointing out that it was of 'Idealized Israel' the Prophet spoke? Perhaps they, too, were the victims of 'stereotyped exegesis,' but their beliefs are not obscurely hinted at, when the Evangelist says, 'all gave testimony to Him.' True, they rose up afterwards and thrust Him out of the city. But why? Read the Evangelist's account and see.

Again, see with what confidence St. Peter on Pentecost Sunday,² points to the wonders they all have witnessed as the fulfilment of prophecy. These strange things were not, as some mockingly said, the effect of drink; they were the fulfilment of Joel's famous words. Neither was it of himself David spoke, when he said that God would not leave his soul in hell, nor suffer His holy one to see corruption; he knew that *God had sworn to him with an oath, that the fruit of his loins should sit upon his throne, and foreseeing this, he spoke of the resurrection of Christ.* 'Therefore,' St. Peter concludes, 'let all the house of Israel know most certainly, that *God hath made both Lord and Christ, this same Jesus whom you crucified.*' The mind of Peter regarding the Messianic nature of those prophecies is pretty evident, while the three thousand conversions caused by his discourse, show how much his application of the prophecies to Christ agreed with the traditional notions concerning them. On a subsequent occasion³ Peter tells the admiring multitude how the death of Jesus was only the fulfilment of those things which God hath shown by the

¹ Luke iv.² Acts ii.³ Acts xiii.

mouth of His prophets,—that His Christ should suffer,—and he points to Jesus as the prophet foretold by Moses.

Take again the exhortation of Paul in the Synagogue of Pisidia.¹ The central idea in his appeal to his countrymen is, that Jesus is the Saviour raised up by God to Israel from the seed of David *according to His promise*; and the same idea is again uppermost in the great Apostle's mind when he argues from Moses and the Prophets concerning Jesus, with the Jews at Rome.

We have not exhausted the test of the New Testament references to the passages discussed in searching the Scriptures, but we have sufficiently proved the truth of our contention. In all these different passages, and indeed wherever Jesus or His apostles address their countrymen, one fundamental idea is taken for granted on both sides,—a Messiah was expected,—and though one may deny the real fulfilment in Christ of the passages cited, the circumstances in which they are adduced show that they were recognized by the Jews of the time as Messianic.

We thus find from this imperfect study of the New Testament, and of the Talmud and Targums, that the conclusions arrived at from our search of the Scripture, were faulty only in their insufficiency. They were true as far as they went, but they did not go as far as the Jewish belief. They did not penetrate to that more spiritual feeling of the Jewish people, which threw a halo over all their Scriptures, and revealed to them depths of Messianic meaning in passages that we passed over unheedingly. They revealed to us, indeed, a hope that entered into the very fibre of Jewish life, intensifying its blessings and mitigating its sorrows; but they left unexplored the deeper and more secret recesses of the nation's heart, where expectancy was still more active, and hope more ardent, and life more strange.

It is a strange fact in the world's history,—that ever-abiding, ever-growing hope of the Jewish people, that God would yet raise up Israel and make her queen of

¹ Acts iii.

nations ; but stranger still is the definiteness which that hope assumed through the ages of the nation's history. And yet there are men who dogmatically declare, that such hope is merely the outcome of national aspiration, the ideal of a liberty-loving, spiritual, but oppressed people, longing for the return of a departed greatness. It is hopeless to reason with such men ; their ears must be shut to all argument whose eyes are closed to the indestructible facts just outlined.

It is more than a century ago since a certain writer, struck by the similarity between the history of the Irish and of the Jewish people, and basing his theory on that similarity, tried to prove that both races were descended from Abraham. The resemblance in their aspirations is striking indeed, but how clearly the difference shows the superhuman character of the Jewish hope. Like Sion's :—

Our exiles 'mid dreams of returning,
Died far from the land it were life to behold.

Like her's :—

Erin's sons in the days of their mourning
Remembered the bright things that blessed them of old.

Yet, read through the pages of Ireland's sweetest poets, or listen in admiration to the promises of her most sanguine orators, and where is there aught to compare with what we have just seen. There is indeed a longing desire for better days, and a fervent hope that yet Dark Rosaleen may reign and reign alone ; but compared with the Jewish hope how vague it all is. Set these hopes beside the promises of Isaias, enraptured at the sight of the child whose advent means joy for Israel, or beside the promises of Jeremias, or Daniel, or Zacharias, or Malachias, or Micheas ; admit, as you must, that the patriot's heart was as warm beside the Shannon as beneath the cedars of Lebanon ; then say if you can that there was no force in Israel,—no superior spirit, whispering its inspirations and sustaining its hopes, and telling it what human minds dare not predict.

We ask the reader to notice that we have not, throughout this study of the Jewish hope, centred our attention

on any one prophecy or prophet. We wished rather to set forth the whole evidence as we found it in the pages of Sacred Scripture, that we might the better see how each part fitted in with the other, part sustaining part, and the whole presenting an unmistakable reality. Before science enabled men to say with truth *ex pede Herculeum*, there might, perhaps, be many parts of the human frame from which alone men could not decide with certainty as to the nature of the being to which such part belonged. Yet, even in those days, mistake was impossible when all the parts were knit together; and so it is with the Messianic hope, as we have found it. No single prophecy is sufficient to reveal the nature of that hope, yet, when all the prophecies are knit together, there is no room for doubt.

We are aware that in arguing from the New Testament, we assumed its veracity as a history, but of course such assumption is not let pass unchallenged. Basing their theories on the supposed late authorship of the New Testament books, some deny that they represent accurately the faith of the early ages. The interpretation they give of the Old Testament prophecies, we may be told, were those current amongst the faithful after Christians had begun to read into the Jewish Scriptures the life of their Master. On this view our argument would only prove that at the time the books were written the *faithful* looked on those passages as Messianic. It would only leave unproved the important point—that the *Jews* of our Lord's time regarded the prophecies in the same light.

The reader may estimate the value of the objection from the assumption on which it rests. But taking the argument on its intrinsic merits, of what avail is it. If our only evidence of early Jewish belief was that furnished by the New Testament, and if the late authorship of the latter were proved, there would be a real force in the difficulty. But the New Testament is not our only nor our chief source of evidence regarding the Jewish hope. We merely sought from its pages confirmation of a conclusion already established from the Old Testament, and strengthened by the Talmud and Targums—books not under

Christian influence. Take away the New Testament passages in which there is a *mystical* reference to Messiah, and where do we find a passage interpreted of Jesus, which from the Old Testament alone we did not discover to be Messianic? The New Testament presents to us as actually fulfilled in Christ, what the Old Testament promised would be fulfilled in Messiah. The New Testament assumes as admittedly Messianic those passages, which from independent sources, we have proved were certainly such. What, then, becomes of the objection? So far from the New Testament interpretation, of the Old Testament passages cited, being that of a later age, and a Christian people, it is certain that whenever the New Testament was written, and by whatever hands, its account of Jewish belief at the time of Christ is the true one; and thus the objection, so far from militating against us, is turned on the heads of its authors. We can confidently challenge anyone who maintains that the New Testament interpretations misrepresent early Jewish belief to explain the harmony just pointed out between the Old and New Testaments.

Our object in these two articles was to place before the reader an outline of the Jewish hope, and the foundations on which it rested. In the next article we shall try to outline the claims of Christ to have fulfilled such hopes, and to see whether, in His life's work, there can be found any real fulfilment of those promises dating from the ancient days.

THOMAS P. F. GALLAGHER.

(To be continued.)

DONATISM AND ANGLICANISM

A FEW months ago two new Anglican Sees were erected, at Southwark and at Birmingham, and as a consequence two Anglican prelates received titles which were already borne by Catholic Bishops. So there are now two Bishops of Southwark and two Bishops of Birmingham. There is no novelty in the situation, yet whenever such a state of things comes about, it must give matter for reflection to some Catholic-minded Anglicans, inasmuch as it emphasizes, with a sort of pictorial plainness, the division that was introduced into English Christianity by what some are pleased to call the Reformation settlement.

Such Anglicans may naturally turn to a sixpenny reprint of a book entitled *Roman Catholic Claims* by the Right Rev. Charles Gore, which appeared while the preliminary business of the new bishoprics was under discussion. The first edition of *Roman Catholic Claims* was issued in 1888, when its author was Principal of Pusey House ; the reprint bears on its cover the title of its author as Bishop-Designate of Birmingham.¹

Early in the March of this year Dr. Gore was enthroned in the Midland Capital, and the postal authorities are no doubt by this time getting used to the 'dual episcopate.' But there are others besides postmen who are interested in a double bishopric, for a situation of this sort has at any rate a *prima facie* look of schism about it ; and the word 'schism,' be it remarked *per transennam*, finds great favour with High Church controversialists. Chapter VII., on the nature of schism, ought to be interesting to English High Churchmen at least. The readers of the chapter will find no hesitancy in Bishop Gore's condemnation not of schism only, but of the schismatical temper. Evidently with approval he quotes one ecclesiastical writer who holds

¹ Since this article was written an answer has been provided to the points raised by Bishop Gore. It is written by the learned Benedictine, Dom John Chapman, of Erdington Abbey—*Dr. Gore on the Catholic Claims*. (Longmans. 1s. and 6d.)

that martyrdom to prevent division is more glorious than martyrdom to avoid idolatry; and another who teaches that 'nothing is more serious than the sacrilege of schism.'

But it is natural that a High Church Bishop should write a chapter on this subject, with the Anglican Church in his eye. The condemnation of schism must be made to square with the Anglican theory of a divided though not dis-united Christianity. The Church is one; but the Anglican, the Roman, and the Eastern branches have a sort of separate existence; all are parts of the true Church, Christian and Catholic, for all accept the Creeds and acknowledge the supernatural powers of the priesthood, and inherit the Catholic doctrine of the Sacraments. The three branches form, so to speak, one essential Christianity. That is the theory; it is difficult for a Papist to appreciate it; to tell the truth, it reads as if the metaphysics of *de Trinitate* had found their way into the treatise *de Ecclesia*.

It is the ordinary High Church conception of unity, and the basis of the Anglican theory of schism, yet we may well ask, where shall we find schism if it is not already present in the three-fold Christianity of East, Rome, and British Empire?

Dr. Gore explains that a distinction is to be drawn between schism which is *from* the Church, and schism which is *in* the Church. Schism which is *from* the Church is a forfeiture of Catholic communion, 'a withdrawal from the legitimate succession of the Catholic Church.' That schism which is *in* the Church may be described as a split which still leaves the fragments within the bounds of the Universal Church. Neither East, nor West, nor British Empire can be excused from the latter form of schism, since all branches are in some degree responsible for the miseries of a divided Christianity.

What then is the schism of the greater, the deadlier sort? Where is that exemplified in history?

Dr. Gore points to the Donatists as one of his examples of schismatics who separate themselves *from* the Church. In their case there was a genuine break from Christian unity. The Bishop is aware that the Donatist schism has

a special interest for us, for he writes : ‘ Since the days of Dr. Newman’s *Apologia* at any rate it has been the fashion to compare the condition of the Church of England with that of the Donatists.’

These words send us back to that passage in the *Apologia* which describes the most important step in Newman’s conversion. Wiseman had written an article in the *Dublin Review* of August, 1839, against the Tractarian view of the Apostolic succession in the Church of England. The greater part of this article was occupied with a comparison of the English Church and the Donatist schism. A Protestant friend drew Newman’s attention to it, and read the article aloud to him. He read on till he came to a passage written by St. Augustine against the schismatics ; then he paused and read the passage over several times—‘ *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*’ The pregnant sentence was a challenge thrown down to the African seceders—but had it not a modern application ? It showed the Donatists in their isolation from the life of the Catholic world,—but was not the English Church cut off from the great company of the faithful ? ‘ *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*’—the words rang in Newman’s ears like the refrain, *Tolle Lege* which converted the great doctor of Hippo himself. Though the refrain soon died away, the sentence of Augustine had entered Newman’s soul, ‘ One who has seen a ghost can never be as if he had not seen it.’ The historian of Tractarianism writes of the incident : ‘ From that time the hope and exaltation, with which in spite of checks and misgivings he (Newman) had watched the movement, gave way to uneasiness and distress.’¹

The course of Donatism is too complex to be described here, but it will be of use to recall the circumstances under which it arose, and be it noted in advance that it is not in these circumstances that the similarity between the ancient schism and the modern is to be sought, but rather in the situation they created. The causes of division in religious matters may be very unlike, it is in the effects that the

¹ *The Oxford Movement*, by R. W. Church.

similarity between sect and sect appears. Schisms have, always resulted in the division of Christian peoples, in the awakening of the bitterness of controversy, in the obscuring of divine truth, in dissipated religious effort, and the seeming justification of indifferentism. In the case of Donatism there was added moreover the scandal of a divided episcopate, a separate clergy and separate churches for worship in one district.

The important Church of North Africa, from the time when it emerged into history, is seen to have borne its share of persecution at the hands of the Roman power. In the year 303 Diocletian inaugurated what is known as the last of the great persecutions, and Africa was the theatre of its terrible fury. The edict was directed principally against the clerical order and the materials of religious worship, the church furniture, the sacred vessels, and especially the Sacred Scripture and the liturgical books. The religious libraries possessed by the different sees were searched out by the Roman officials. Some of the bishops, intimidated by the threats of the searchers, gave over the sacred volumes, and these became hateful in the eyes of the brethren as cowards and traitors (*traditores*). Donatus of Casenigre was particularly active in influencing the faithful against the betrayers of the books, and did much to sow the seeds of division throughout the African Church.

The persecution ceased and Constantine gave a stable peace to the Church, but the dissension between the excited factions continued. Shortly before the accession of Constantine, the schism entered upon a more decided phase of existence, when the Bishops of Numidia elected Majorinus as Bishop of Carthage in opposition to Caecilian. The ground of their action was that Caecilian had been consecrated by a traitor-bishop. The example set in the principal African see was followed throughout the province. Councils of Arles and Rome could not arrest the evil; the schism grew in spite of the condemnation of Pope and Emperor. Donatist bishops were appointed side by side with the Catholic hierarchy, and when Donatus, the second and greater schismatic who bore that name, succeeded Majorinus,

he gave to the party a permanent organization. For about a century there were two important churches in Africa, one Catholic and one Donatist, each with a similar but separate organizations. Civil disorder followed religious disunion, the State more than once stepped in between the parties, and at times the disagreement seemed to take the shape of a civil war rather than of a schism. Generally speaking, the Empire took sides with the Church, though in the reign of Julian the positions were reversed and the Donatists were in the ascendant. Partly by repression from the Empire, partly by the tact and moderation of the Catholic party, the division was healed at a Council which met at Carthage in 411. After that time the schism lingered on, but only as a shadow of its old militant self. It dwindled in Africa and found no welcome abroad. The errors of doctrine which it favoured were such as one might expect from a movement which was in its essence schismatical. It claimed to be the only true church in the world, authority having departed from the Catholic Church by reason of the corruption of its members. It revived the doctrine condemned by Pope Stephen, which insisted on the re-baptism of heretics, and gave it a present application by baptising such Catholics as passed over to its obedience. These views, however, do not appear to have been held consistently by all the members of the sect ; in a word, it is as a schism and not as a heresy that the movement presents its most interesting phases.

The differences between Anglicanism and Donatism are necessarily rather wide. This is true both historically and doctrinally. Anglicanism was imposed by the State, Donatism rose from the bosom of the Church ; Anglicanism found its support from statecraft, Donatism had to contend against the imperial religion ; Anglicanism supplanted the ancient Church, Donatism was unable to do more than secure an existence side by side with it. Anglicans have not re-baptized Catholics, nor has the Church of England proceeded to the extreme folly of officially excommunicating the Catholic Church—irony would indeed have reached its climax had decorous anathemas been added to the penal

inflictions which marked the 'transformation' of the English Church. Dr. Wiseman in the article I have referred to has noted many minor points in which Anglicanism and Donatism agree, but with these I do not propose to deal; they are unimportant when compared to his main contention, viz. :—that both were equally schismatical, that a Catholic apologist to-day can take the same line against the English Church as the protagonists of the Catholic cause did against the African seceders, that the arguments of St. Optatus and St. Augustine have equal force against Donatist and Anglican; and that while the Catholic can now employ them against all sectaries, an Anglican cannot urge them either against Catholics or anybody else. Neglecting then such points as we regard as merely secondary in the issue, and preparing to focus our judgment on what is essential, we turn to the passage in which Dr. Gore gives his view of the comparison, or as he would prefer to put it, the contrast between the 'pars Donati' and the Anglican Church.

Let us make an imaginary story of events in England which would bring the facts of the English Church in the sixteenth century into exact analogy to those of Africa in the fourth, and the imaginary case will show us both what sort of conduct would have really constituted an English Protestant episcopal schism, and also how far in fact the English Churches are from being implicated in anything of the sort. Suppose that a body of zealous reformers in the reign of Mary, despairing of the Church of England, had, on the election of an Archbishop of Canterbury, raised frivolous objections against him, consecrated a rival prelate first to that see, and then in a number of places; established a separate church in England and gathered large numbers of adherents; declared itself not only the only Church of England but the only church of the world, the Catholic Church having ceased to exist through the contamination of evil; suppose, we say, such a course of action had been pursued and that the schismatical church had succeeded in gaining the majority in England for a while and subsisting side by side with the Catholic succession, baptizing as persons not yet Christian those who came over from the Catholic Church; then you would have had a parallel to the Donatist schism. Be it ever remembered that the Donatist body in Africa was not constituted by a reform of a national church, but was as distinct a schism from the church of their own district as ever took place: and that the Donatist body held itself the only true church of the world—in both points

differing *toto cælo* from the position of the Anglican communion.¹

Now, so far as the issue has been defined by us, this quotation is for the most part beside the mark. We do not contend for 'exact analogies;' they are impossible or next to impossible in history; nor are we emphatic about the mere 'structural resemblances' or differences—they are interesting but unessential. Further, if one wished to analyse the above quotation, the reason of Dr. Gore's choice of Queen Mary's reign would come under discussion, and a few points would have to be modified before accepting his description of Donatism itself. But in scholastic fashion we would answer, 'transeat' to the first part of the quotation—it is the last sentence that really brings us to the point. Donatism was a schism because it was secession from the local church and existed side by side with it. This is the common Anglican view, and this is Dr. Gore's view of it. It remains to be seen whether it was the light in which the Fathers regarded it.

Fortunately, we are in possession of a considerable literature which illustrates the situation of the Church in Africa during the tumultuous time. Our main source is the reliable history of St. Optatus of Milevis, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, written about 370, and re-edited about 385. Then, at intervals from the year 393 onwards, there came works by St. Augustine, the chief being his three books *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani*, three books *Contra Petilianum*, four books *Contra Cresconium Grammaticum*, and lastly, in 411, three books relating to an important conference held at Carthage. These works had more than a transitory importance. They formed the foundation of the Catholic Theology on the 'Notes of the Church.' A recent writer has said of St. Augustine's contribution to the Donatist controversy: 'The scriptural demonstration of the Catholicity of the Church found in St. Augustine an interpreter whose eloquence and completeness may never be surpassed.'²

¹ *Roman Catholic Claims*, p. 128.

² *Histoire de la Théologie Positive*, par J. Turmel. Paris, 1904.

We are left, then, to the pages of these two writers to explain for us the Catholic doctrine regarding the nature of schism, and we cannot make a better beginning than to gain a clear idea of what they conceived ecclesiastical unity to be. There it would appear is to be found the solution of the question ; for when we know clearly what unity is, then we can understand what division implies. With St. Augustine the 'note of unity' is something patent and manifest. It is not merely a quality which the religious philosopher can discern amidst a multitude of divergencies, and which the modern mind represents to itself 'as in a glass darkly,' under the name of 'essential unity,' but it is a unity which appeals to the historical sense, which may be said to meet the eye. It is welded into the 'note of Catholicity,' and is the evident realization of the Visibility of the Church ; and, moreover, it implies active, or at any rate potential communication between all the Churches throughout the orthodox world. St. Optatus holds the same concrete view as St. Augustine. Throughout the whole literature of the controversy we come across this same conception of the 'one Church diffused throughout the world.'

This is well exemplified in St. Augustine's case by an incident he describes in one of his letters. He held a discussion with a Donatist bishop, Fortunius, who, contrary to the custom of his kind, asserted that he (Fortunius) was united to the great universal Church. St. Augustine's reply came back in an instant, 'That being the case, you are able to give letters of communication to any part of the world I choose to name. If you can do that, the whole question is settled at once.'¹ It was by this appeal, this test, that the Catholic doctors judged the case. They are ready to admit that the sectaries resemble them closely in many important matters. They have a true baptism, admits St. Optatus, likewise the same worship, creed and sacraments.

One of their number urged this against St. Augustine.

¹ 'Hic prima asserere conatus est ubique terrarum esse communionem suam. Querebam utrum epistolas communicatorias, quas formatas dicimus, posset quo vellem dare, et affirmabam quod manifestum erat omnibus hoc modo facillime terminari posse quaestionem' (Ep. 44).

‘The Donatists obeyed all the divine precepts and held to the sacraments; did not that suffice?’ The Father answered that his adversary doubtless thought he was saying something very clever—the great doctor evidently did not take the theory too seriously.¹

Many and important as were the admissions made by the Catholic doctors to their adversaries, their condemnation is not the less drastic. The schismatics refuse to form a common episcopal college with the Catholics, in that lies the grievance and the crime. Yet their separation from the episcopal college in Africa is not the full extent of their wrong-doing. Rather their rebellion is against the whole Church. In separating from the nearest link they are cut off from the whole chain of Christian communion. St. Augustine, when he pleads for the religious pacification of Africa, invites the separated bishops to return in these words, ‘We entreat you, allow yourselves to be reformed. *Return to this manifest unity of the whole world* and let all things be restored to their former position.’² We see that the local question is, so to say, absorbed in that of universal agreement with the ‘*orbis terrarum*.’ The Donatists are a sect ‘in a corner of Africa,’ and they are isolated not only from their fellow-Catholics in the province, but from the wider solidarity of the whole body of the faithful.

The following citations from St. Optatus express the doctrine which pervades the whole polemic. ‘It is a question of division; there was but one Church before it was divided by the consecrators of Majorinus, to whose see you (Parmenian) are the heir. Enquiry must be made, therefore, *who remained in the root with the whole world* and who cut themselves off from it.’³ In Book II., which contains the heart of the matter he dwells at some length on this line of reasoning. The passage may be summarized thus: ‘The true Church cannot exist in every sect and

¹ ‘*Acutum autem aliquid tibi videris dicere cum catholicae nomen non ex totius orbis communione interpretaris sed ex observatione praeceptorum omnium sacramentorum*’ (Ep. 93).

² *Contra Petilianum*, ii. cap. 97.

³ ‘*Videndum est quis in radice cum toto orbe manserit; quis foras exierit*’ (*De Schism Donat.*, lib. i., n. 15).

heresy in the world. All parties cannot be right. The question is, which one is right? Can it be the Donatists in their corner of Africa or the great Church, cosmopolitan, stretching from East to West. If that Catholic Church is in the wrong, where on earth shall the word Catholic find any meaning?'¹

Bishop Gore practically invites his readers to judge of Churches as local units, independent and self-sufficient. A passage of St. Optatus is interesting in this connection, as it appears to be an answer to an attempt of Parmenian to narrow the question to Africa alone. 'Since we hold communion with the whole world,' writes the Bishop of Milevis, 'and every province holds communication with us, you have set about founding a second Church, *as if Africa alone had Christian people.*'² In these last words there is an obvious protest against confining the issue to a mere local or provincial question in which the rest of the Catholic world was not involved.

There is another feature of the Donatist controversy which deserves to be taken into account by all who are concerned with our present state of division. The African Fathers conducted their campaign with a practical object, and made use of such arguments as readily appealed to all men of a practical bent of mind. They chose plain rather than recondite lines of reasoning, as though they were anxious to show a straight and easy way of settling differences. Their appeal to the testimony of the universal Church was one of these clear lines of debate, and the second (equally plain at that time) pointed out the importance of communion with the Roman See. The party of Caccilian was in the right, they argue, because it was in union with the Roman Church—it was of the truth because it was Romanist. 'Caccilian did not proceed from Majorinus your ancestor (in the see),' writes St. Optatus to the Donatist

¹ *De Schism Donat.*, lib. ii., n. 1.

² 'Et cum sit nobis cum universo terrarum orbe communio et universis provinciis nobiscum: sic jam dudum duas ecclesias comparare voluisti quasi sola habeat Africa populos Christianos . . .' (*De Schism Donat.*, lib. ii., n. 13).

Bishop of Carthage: 'but Majorinus went forth from Caecilian: nor did Caecilian break loose *from the see of Peter or of Cyprian.*'¹ St. Augustine's first work against the faction has a reference to this point. In 393 he composed a hymn, the '*Psalmus Contra Partem Donati,*' for popular use. This is a long irregular poem, with a chorus intended to be sung in the churches. It relates the origin of the division and refutes the charges made by the discordant party. Towards the end of the hymn occurs the following verse:—

Come, brothers, if you would be grafted in the vine
We grieve to see you thus cut off, and lying on the ground.
Recall the list of priests, even from Peter's chair,
And in that long array note who to whom succeeds—
That is the rock 'gainst which prevail not hell's proud gates.²

From the fact that this hymn was meant for common use it may be gathered that 'the Roman Question' was to the fore then. The faithful evidently understood the importance of communion with the '*ecclesia principalis,*' of which St. Cyprian had written. Nor were the schismatics unaware of the force of objections on this score. They were but feeble missionaries, yet they thought it worth their while to establish one of their sees at Rome. For a considerable period a Donatist bishop held some sort of a conventicle outside the Eternal City, thus enabling his brethren at home to parade a connection with the central see. This bishop provokes the scorn of the Catholic controversialist. 'So you boast that you also have some share in Rome,' he writes; 'Yes, but the branch there issues from a lie, not from the root of truth. If Macrobius (the schismatical Bishop of Rome) is asked what is his see, can he answer the see of Peter?' He goes on to trace the genealogy of Macrobius until he arrives at Victor, the first Donatist Bishop of Rome—'a son without a father, a recruit without a commander,

¹ '*Nec Cæcilianus recessit a cathedra Petri vel Cypriani*' (*De Schism. Donat.*, lib. i., n. 10).

² '*Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede
Et in ordine illo patrum quis cui successit videte:
Ipsa est petra quam non vincunt superbae inferorum portæ.*'
—(Psalm cont. *partem Donati.*)

a scholar without a teacher, a follower without a predecessor, an alien without a home, a guest without a shelter, a shepherd without a flock, a bishop without a people. For those few are not worthy to be called a flock or a people, who, among the forty basilicas and more can find no place in which to hold their meetings.' Continuing in this strain the doctor thus drives home the charge: 'Why, then, do you strive to usurp the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, you who with impudent sacrilegious boldness set yourselves in opposition to the chair of Peter?'¹

It would be superfluous to multiply quotations in order to confirm the simple point which is sufficiently established by those I have already given. Others can easily be found by all who have the curiosity to glance through the work of St. Optatus and the treatises of St. Augustine I have named. Other charges, not devoid of a modern application, are levelled against the Donatists by the vigorous apologists, but the solid ground upon which they rest is seen to be a firm conviction of the concrete reality of the Catholic Church. One has only to compare modern Anglican theories of the Church with that which St. Augustine urged against Donatist and Manichæan alike to be sensible of the radical difference between them. St. Augustine's presentment of the Church is a picture well defined and detailed. Anglicans seem to be able to construct nothing more substantial than a dissolving view. It may be that they will soon begin to note the difference.

There is at present a movement in full force in Anglican circles towards the ecclesiastical doctrine of the first six centuries as the surest standard of orthodox faith. We cannot be indifferent to it, though it may be a long time before it produces its due effect—the needle must swing somewhat before it points due north. In the meantime, it is for the Catholic theologian to study the writings of these early centuries in which are to be found the elements of our more organized modern divinity. Of all questions the most fundamental must be that of the Church—its principle

¹ *De Schism Donat.*, lib. ii., 4 and 5.

of unity and authority. The Fathers of the fourth century, following in the wake of St. Cyprian, illustrated the treatise *de Ecclesia* fully and eloquently; and the occasion which elicited a plainer conception of its unity, naturally brought out a more clear-cut theory of the nature of schism—the theory of St. Optatus and St. Augustine, which passes from the patristic to the scholastic age, and thence to our own time.¹

TRANSMARINUS.

¹ ' . . . schismatici dicuntur, qui subesse renuunt summo pontifici et qui membris ecclesiae ei subjectis communicare recusant ' (St. Thomas, *Summa*, 2, 2^{ae}, 39, art. 1).

THE RE-BAPTISM OF INFANTS

THERE is hardly any duty of the missionary priest in which he is called on so frequently to exercise his judgment on a matter of the highest importance as that of infant baptism. Children are brought to the font, and on inquiry the officiating clergyman learns that they have already received private baptism. It may have been administered by the midwife, or by some of the attendant women, or by the doctor. The midwife or doctor may have been non-Catholics, or there may have been other circumstances that combine to add an element of perplexity to the case. With as little delay as possible the officiant has to decide what to do, whether to repeat the baptism *sub conditione*, or merely to supply the ceremonies. To add to the difficulty he remembers that the repetition of baptism involves in certain cases the incurring of an irregularity. It may, therefore, be useful to set forth the opinions of some theologians on this important point, and to see what course is safe to take in practice.

Gury lays down (No. 200) the following rules regarding the repetition of the Sacraments:—

(1) Sacraments can be repeated as often as a prudent doubt arises regarding their validity.

(2) Sacraments cannot be repeated without grave sin when a prudent doubt does not arise about their validity.

(3) Sacraments ought to be repeated in case of such prudent doubt, whenever the claims of justice, charity or religion demand such repetition.

Under No. 249 the same author states in reply to the question whether infants baptized by midwives or other laics are to be re-baptized, that such repetition of the sacrament is to take place only in case of a *probable* suspicion of error arising as to validity. It would seem, therefore, that by a *prudent* doubt Gury means a *probable* doubt, and this interpretation is borne out by a reference to No. 1032, where, in a note by the editor of the Ratisbon edition, it is stated that baptism is to be repeated *sub conditione*

in case of a *probable* doubt ; not, however, in case of slight doubt (*dubium leve*), as, in the latter, the presumption is in favour of validity. In support he quotes the *Analecta*, J.P.

The question then arises, what kind of doubt justifies a priest in re-baptizing ? Must the doubt be *probable*, resting on substantial reasons ; or is a *slight* doubt sufficient ? On this point theologians are by no means unanimous. In the Roman *Ritual*, 'De forma Baptismi,' No. 9, we find it laid down that the conditional form is not to be used other than prudently, and whenever, after investigation, a *probable* doubt remains as to whether the infant has been validly baptized. St. Liguori (No. 136) says, 'the most common and true opinion teaches that such children are to be baptized when there is *probable* suspicion regarding the validity of the baptism already given.' In support of this view he quotes a very large number of authors, amongst them Suarez, the Salmanticenses and Laymann, and quotes a decision of the Sacred Congregation in which it was laid down that children baptized at home were not to be re-baptized, except in case of probable doubt of invalidity.

O'Kane (No. 454), speaking of the conditional baptism of adults, says the doubt about the validity of the previous baptism 'should be a reasonable one, for every slight suspicion would not suffice.' And he adds : 'Baptism should be administered conditionally unless there be a moral certainty that it was previously conferred. This is the rule laid down by St. Liguori with regard to foundlings ; and being based on the necessity of baptism, it manifestly applies to all about whose baptism any doubt is raised.'

It would seem, therefore, that the older theologians required a probable or grave doubt concerning the validity of the previous baptism to justify repetition. The more recent writers, however, are more liberal in their views regarding the case in question, as far at all events as the officiant is concerned.

It is true that Gury, in explaining the above-mentioned rules regulating the repetition of the sacraments, says that the more necessary sacraments such as Baptism and Holy Orders can be administered on more generous lines, and, therefore, that even when the doubt is only doubtfully or slightly probable (*dubie aut tenuiter probabile*) that they can be repeated. Sabetti (No. 654) agrees with this, saying, 'tenuis probabilitas circa invaliditatem sufficit ad re-baptizandum.' Genicot (No. 152) states that on account of the great necessity of Baptism for salvation the same strong reasons are not required for its repetition as for other sacraments, Confirmation, for example, and, therefore, if it is uncertain whether the doubt is probable or merely groundless the decision should be in favour of re-baptism. 'Si incertum manet utrum dubitandi ratio sit probabilis an spernenda, in favorem baptizandi inclinandum est.' In Palmieri similar language is used, and it is laid down that in such a case *aliquale dubium* is sufficient, provided it is contained within the bounds of a doubt. Indeed O'Kane in another part of his book (No. 214) speaking of this very subject of infant baptism says: 'the doubt, if after proper inquiry any still remains being always resolved in practice by conferring conditional baptism.' Bucceroni (No. 77) in treating of the same subject says: 'potest et debet repeti sub conditione quoties de ejusdem valore adest aliquod dubium non spernendum;' and adds: 'facilius iteranda sunt sacramenta magis necessaria, viz., Baptismus et Ordo etiamsi pro valore sacramenti militet multo major probabilitas contra rationes *dubie aut tenuiter probabiles*.' Noldin, treating of Baptism, adds his testimony: 'quodsi dubium *non prorsus inane* de ejus valore supersit, sub conditione iterandus est.'

Finally, Lehmkuhl, (De Sacramentis, No. 16) who treats the matter in considerable detail, is of the same opinion. It may be useful to summarize his teaching. He lays down three principles:—

(1) It is not lawful to repeat a sacrament if the doubt wants all reasonable foundation.

(2) When the doubt regarding validity is reasonable, it is lawful to repeat.

(3) A sacrament *must* be repeated when sufficiently doubtful to become licit, and when, moreover, there is an obligation of justice or charity to administer more securely to the subject that particular sacrament, lest, *v.g.*, he should be deprived of a notable benefit or be exposed to danger of grave loss.

In explaining the second principle he divides the sacraments into two classes, *viz.*, those which are very necessary and those which are not. In the first, which includes Baptism, repetition is lawful when the doubt is anything more than a scruple, or, as Gobat says, *non aperte vanum*.

Dealing with the third principle, and speaking of those sacraments which are most necessary, such as Baptism, he says they must be repeated as long as the validity is not morally certain in *vero sensu*, as distinguished from *lato sensu*.

Continuing he introduces a rather novel distinction when he says that the repetition of such sacraments may be sometimes lawful though not obligatory; for instance, a troublesome and long-continued scruple can make it lawful to repeat a baptism, although in reality there may be no obligation to do so. Similarly in *dubio juris*, when some old theologians hold a certain opinion, although the opposite opinion may be morally certain, it is lawful to repeat, except some authentic declaration has been made in the matter. However, any dicta of a theologian or even theologians, would not be sufficient for this purpose. The writers must have a certain standing. He then states that the mind of the Apostolic See itself favours the repetition in all cases of doubt of such a necessary sacrament as Baptism, and quotes from the statutes of recent councils approved at Rome, in one of which directions are given that even when intelligent catechists in India baptize, the sacrament is to be as a rule repeated, unless there are two reliable witnesses to testify the validity. In the same sense he quotes from the Decrees of the Plenary Council of Baltimore where,

referring to infants baptized by midwives, it is laid down that if, after inquiry, any doubt (*aliquod dubium*) remains, the baptism ought to be repeated.

From such an array of testimony, therefore, we may with safety conclude that in the case of infants previously baptized we may repeat, *sub conditione*, when the doubt of its validity is probable, or even slight (*dubium leve*), or in fact anything above a scruple. The writer has heard it advanced as a reason for re-baptism, that for some priests non-repetition caused such trouble of mind and unrest that life was made miserable. Even such will find consolation in the acute and exhaustive treatment of this subject in the learned pages of Lehmkuhl.

Indiscriminate re-baptism is specifically condemned by all theologians, and they are equally emphatic in insisting on an inquiry in each case. The Roman *Ritual* says the case must be diligently investigated (*diligenter perverstigata*) before conditional baptism is given, and as to the nature and extent of such inquiry, Lehmkuhl (No. 19, note) quotes a response of the S. Cong. Prop. Fid. to an American missionary, in which it is stated that it should be such as circumstances will allow, *prout adjuncta ferant*. It will be sometimes possible to get considerable information about the private baptism, sometimes very little, and often none at all. Noldin gives a list of questions to be put to those who bring the child to the font, but the officiating clergyman will be the best judge of the queries in a particular case.

With regard to private baptism given by midwives, I have heard a very experienced priest say that he 'always baptized after women,' and although it is laid down by theological writers that the testimony of one witness, even a woman, suffices to establish the validity of a baptism, still as a rule the former is a sound principle to adopt. For it has to be remembered that, in general, private baptism is given when confusion and excitement reign supreme, and when the supposed danger to the life of the infant causes hurry in the administration.

In the case of baptism given by a non-Catholic doctor

there need not be much ground for hesitation ; and even when the medical man belongs to the true fold, I think it may safely be laid down that there will not be many instances in which sufficient doubt will not arise to justify the re-baptism, *sub conditione*. For here again we have the element of confusion and a certain amount of strain and divided attention, and even in the case of those who are well instructed there is a liability in such circumstances to make a mistake.

An irregularity is incurred, according to Benedict XIV, by any one re-baptizing even *sub conditione*, without just cause (Gury, 1032). This is called by Genicot (No. 633) the more common opinion, and the annotator of the Ratisbon edition of Gury states that the Sacred Congregation of the Council required in such cases a *dispensatio ad cautelam*. However, the opposite opinion is now solidly probable, and is supported by the modern theologians and St. Alphonsus (No. 356), who extends the probability even to cases where the conditional re-baptism is even rashly and culpably given (*etsi temere et culpabiliter fiat*) ; or, as Lehmkuhl phrases it (No. 1006), ‘*quamquam propter dubium non fundatum res temere peragitur.*’

In those cases mentioned above, therefore, the minister of the sacrament, relying on the fuller and more liberal teaching of the most recent theologians, can carry on his ministrations free from anxiety, always keeping in mind the weighty words of Lehmkuhl (No. 19, note) when treating of this matter : ‘The supreme law ought to be the securing of the salvation of the child.’

T. DUNNE.

DOCUMENTS

THE RIGHTS OF CERTAIN PRELATES

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

DE PROTONOTARIIS APOSTOLICIS, PRAELATIS URBANIS ET ALIIS QUI
NONNULLIS PRIVILEGIIS PRAELATORUM PROPRIIS FRUUNTUR

Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Divina Providentia Papae X.

MOTU PROPRIO

De Protonotariis Apostolicis, Praelatis Urbanis et aliis qui nonnullis privilegiis Praelatorum proprii fruuntur.

[Concluded]

III.—*Protonotarii Apostolici ad instar.*

42. Inter Protonotarios Apostolicos *ad instar* Participantium illi viri ecclesiastici adnumerantur, quibus Apostolica Sedes hunc honorem conferre voluerit, ac praeterea Dignitates et Canonici alicuius Capituli praestantioris, quibus collegialiter titulus et privilegia Protonotariorum, cum addito *ad instar*, ubique utenda, fuerint ad eadem Apostolica Sede collata. Canonici enim, qui aut in propria tantum ecclesia vel dioecesi titulo Protonotarii aucti sunt, aut nonnullis tantum Protonotariorum privilegiis fuerunt honestati, neque Protonotariis aliisve Praelatis Urbanis accensebuntur, neque secus habebuntur ac illi de quibus hoc in Nostro documento nn. 80 et 81 erit sermo.

43. Qui Protonotarii Apostolici *ad instar* tamquam singuli iuribus honorantur, eo ipso sunt Praelati Domus Pontificiae; qui vero ideo sunt Protonotarii quia alicuius ecclesiae Canonici, Praelatis Domesticis non adnumerantur nisi per Breve Pontificium, ut num. 14 dictum est. Omnes Protonotarii *ad instar* subiecti remanent, ad iuris tramitem, Ordinario loci.

44. Beneficia illorum, qui Protonotarii *ad instar* titulo et honore gaudent tamquam Canonici alicuius Capituli, si vacent extra Romanam Curiam, Apostolicae Sedi minime reservantur. Beneficia vero eorum, qui tali titulo et honore fruuntur, tamquam privata persona, non poterunt nisi ab Apostolica Sede conferri.

45. Quod pertinet ad habitum praelatitium, *pianum* et

communem, stemmata et choralia insignia, habitum et locum in Pontificia Cappella, omnia observabunt, uti supra dictum est de Protonotariis Supranumerariis, nn. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

46. Iisdem iuribus gaudebunt, praecedentiae, privati oratorii, conficiendi acta Beatificationis et Canonizationis, passivae electionis in Conservatores, caeterisque; item recipiendae Fidei professionis, reverentiae ad Crucem, thurificationis, quibus omnibus fruuntur Protonotarii Supranumerarii, ut supra nn. 21, 22, 23, 24, ac iisdem sub conditionibus.

47. De venia Ordinarii et Praesulis consensu ecclesiae exemptae, extra Urbem, Missas, non tamen de requie, pontificali ritu et ornatu celebrare poterunt, prout supra notatur, ubi de Protonotariis Supranumerariis, nn. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; verum his legibus: Nec Faldistorio nec Gremiali unquam utantur, sed una cum Ministris in scamno, cooperto panno coloris diei, sedeant; caligis et sandaliis utantur sericis tantum, cum orae textu item serico flavi coloris ornato, et similiter sericis chirothecis sine alio ornamento; Mitra simplici ex serico damasceno, nullo ornamento, ne in oris quidem distincta, cum rubris laciniis ad vittas. Extra Cathedrales Ecclesias tantum, assistentem Presbyterum habere poterunt pluviali indutum, dummodo non assistat Episcopus Ordinarius aut alius Praesul ipso Episcopo maior. Crucem pectoralem auream sine gemmis gerent, appensam funiculo serico violacei ex integro coloris, auro non intertexto. Omnia, quae in Missa cantanda vel legenda sunt, nunquam ad scamnum, sed ad altare cantabunt et legent. Manus infra Missam lavent tantum ad Ps. *Lavabo*.

48. Poterunt insuper, pariter extra Urbem, de venia Ordinarii et cum Praesulis ecclesiae exemptae consensu, Mitra, Cruce pectorali et Annulo ornati, ad scamnum, more Presbyterorum, celebrare Vesperas illius festi, cuius Missam ipsi pontificaliter acturi sint, vel peregerint (absque benedictione in fine). Iisdem ornamentis eodemque ritu uti licebit, de speciali tamen commissione Ordinarii, in Vesperis festi, cuius Missa in pontificalibus ab alio quolibet Praelato celebretur, itemque in benedictione cum Sanctissimo Sacramento solemniter (non tamen trina) impertienda, in Processionibus, et in una ex quinque absolutionibus in solemnioribus exsequiis, de quibus in Pontificali Romano.

49. Romae Missam lectam, aliqua cum solemnitate cele-

brantes, si praelatitio habitu sint induti, ea retineant, quae de Protonotariis Supranumerariis n. 31 constituta sunt; extra Urbem, de speciali tamen commissione Ordinarii, eodem modo se gerent; aliis in Missis et functionibus, tamquam Praelati Domestici, ut n. 78, Palmatoriam tantum, si velint, adhibeant.

50. Qui Canonicorum coetui adscriptus, cui hactenus recensita Protonotariorum *ad instar* privilegia concessa sint, tamquam privata persona iisdem uti velit, prius Breve Pontificium, ut dicitur nn. 14 et 43, de sua inter Praelatos Domesticos aggregatione, servatis servandis, obtineat, simulque suae ad Canonitatum vel Dignitatem promotionis, initaeque possessionis ac inter Praelatos aggregationis testimonium Collegio Protonotariorum Participantium exhibeat. Tum coram ipsius Collegii Decano, vel per se vel per legitimum procuratorem, Fidei professionem ac fidelitatis iusiurandum, de more, praestet; de his denique exhibito documento proprium Ordinarium certiolem faciat. Qui vero tamquam privata persona huiusmodi titulum rite fuerit consecutus, non ante privilegiis eidem titulo adnexis uti poterit, quam legitimum suae nominationis testimonium memorato Collegio exhibuerit, Fidei professionem et fidelitatis iusiurandum, uti supra, ediderit, he hisque omnibus authenticum documentum suo Ordinario attulerit. Haec ubi praestiterint, eorum nomen in sylloge Protonotariorum recensebitur.

51. Qui ante has Litteras, Motu Proprio editas, iuribus gaudebant Protonotarii *ad instar*, tamquam alicuius ecclesiae Canonici, a postulatione Brevis, de quo in superiori numero, dispensantur, quemadmodum et a iureiurando, ut ibidem dicitur, praestando, quod tamen proprio Ordinario infra duos menses dabunt.

52. Habitum et insignia in choro Dignitates et Canonici Protonotarii gerent, prout Capitulo ab Apostolica Sede concessa sunt; poterunt nihilominus veste tantum uti violacea praelatitia cum zona sub choralibus insignibus, nisi tamen alia vestis, tamquam insigne chorale sit adhibenda. Pro usu Roccheti et Mantelleti in choro attendatur, utrum haec sint speciali indulto permissa; alias enim Protonotarius, habitu praelatitio assistens, neque locum inter Canonicos tenebit neque distributiones acquireret, quae sodalibus accrescent.

53. Collegialiter tamquam Canonici pontificalibus functionibus, iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum, sacris vestibus induti

assistentes, non alia Mitra utentur quam simplici, nec unquam hoc aliisve supra memoratis insignibus et privilegiis extra propriam ecclesiam, nisi in concessionis diplomate aliter habeatur. Canonicus tamen, qui forte ad ordinem saltem Subdiaconatus non sit promotus, ne in choro quidem cum aliis Mitra unquam utatur. In functionibus autem praedictis inservientem de Mitra non habebunt, prout in Pontificalibus uni Celebranti competit. Qui in Missa solemni Diaconi, Subdiaconi aut Presbyteri assistentis munus agunt, dum Dignitas, vel Canonicus, aut alter Privilegiarius pontificaliter celebrant, Mitra non utentur; quam tamen adhibere poterunt, Episcopo solemniter celebrante, ut dictum est de collegialiter adsistentibus, quo in casu, cum ministrant, aut cum Episcopo operantur, maneat detecto capite.

54. Protonotarius *ad instar* defunctus efferri aut tumulari cum Mitra non poterit, nec eius feretro ipsa imponi.

55. Ne autem Protonotariorum numerus plus aequo augeatur, prohibemus, ne in posterum in ecclesiis, de quibus supra, Canonici honorarii, sive infra, sive extra Dioecesim degant, binas partes excedant eorum, qui Capitulum iure constituunt.

56. Qui secus facere, aliisve, praeter memorata, privilegiis et iuribus uti praesumpserint, si ab Ordinario semel et bis admoniti non paruerint, eo ipso, Protonotariatus titulo, honore, iuribus et privilegiis, tamquam singuli, privatos se noverint.

57. Sciant praeterea, se, licet forte plures una simul, non tamquam unius ecclesiae Canonici, sed tamquam Protonotarii, convenient, non idcirco Collegium Praelatitium constituere; verum, quando una cum Protonotariis de numero Participantium concurrunt, v. gr. in Pontificiis Capellis, tunc quasi unum corpus cum ipsis censentur, sine ullo tamen amplissimi Collegii praeiudicio, ac servatis eiusdem Capellae et Familiae Pontificiae consuetudinibus.

58. Si quis, quavis ex causa, Dignitatem aut Canonicatum dimittat, cui titulus, honor et praerogativae Protonotariorum *ad instar* adnexa sint, statim ab iisdem titulo, honore et praerogativis decedet. Qui vero Pontificium Breve inter Praelatos aggregationis obtinuerit, horum tantum privilegiis deinceps perfueretur.

IV.

Protonotarii Apostolici Titulares seu Honorarii.

59. Cum Apostolica Sedes, non sibi uni ius reservaverit Protonotarios Titulares seu honorarios nominandi, sed Nuntiis Apostolicis, Collegio Protonotariorum Participantium et forte aliis iamdiu illud delegaverit, antequam de eorum privilegiis ac praerogativis aliquid decernamus, leges seu conditiones renovare placet, quibus rite honesteque ad eiusmodi dignitatem quisque Candidatus valeat evehi, iuxta Pii PP. VII Praedecessoris Nostri Constitutionem '*Cum innumeri*,' Idibus Decembr. MDCCCXVIII datam.

60. Quoties igitur de honorario Protonotariatu assequendo postulatio praebeatur, proferantur, ab Ordinario recognita, testimonia, quibus constet indubie : 1° de honesta familiae conditione ; 2° de aetate saltem annorum quinque et viginti ; 3° de statu clericali ac caelib ; 4° de Laurea doctoris in utroque, aut canonico tantum iure, vel in S. Theologia, vel in S. Scriptura ; 5° de morum honestate et gravitate, ac de bona apud omnes aestimatione ; 6° de non communibus in Ecclesiae bonum provehendum laudibus comparatis ; 7° de idoneitate ad Protonotariatum cum decore sustinendum, habita etiam annui census ratione, iuxta regionis cuiusque aestimationem.

61. Quod si huiusmodi Protonotariatus honor alicui Canoniorum coetui collective ab Apostolica Sede conferatur (quod ius, collective Protonotarios nominandi, nemini censi posse delegatum declaramus), eo ipso, quo quis Dignitatem aut Canonikatam est legitime consequutus Protonotarius nuncupabitur.

62. Pariter, qui Vicarii Generalis aut etiam Capitularis munere fungitur, hoc munere dumtaxat perdurante, erit Protonotarius Titularis ; hinc, si Dignitate aut Canonicatu in Cathedrali non gaudeat, quando choro interesse velit, habitu Protonotarii praelatitio, qui infra describitur, iure utetur.

63. Protonotarii Apostolici Titulares sunt Praelati extra Urbem, qui tamen subiecti omnino manent locorum Ordinariis, Praelatorum Domus Pontificiae honoribus non gaudent, neque inter Summi Pontificis Familiares adnumerantur.

64. Extra Urbem, dummodo Summus Pontifex eo loci non adsit, in sacris functionibus rite utuntur habitu praelatitio, nigri ex integro coloris, idest veste talari, etiam, si libeat, cum

cauda (nunquam tamen explicanda), zona serica cum duobus flocculis a laeva pendentibus, Roccheto, Mantelletto et bireto, absque ulla horum omnino parte, subsuto aut ornamento alterius coloris.

65. Extra Urbem, praesente Summo Pontifice, descripto habitu indui possunt, si hic tamquam chorale insigne concessus sit, vel si quis uti Vicarius adfuerit.

66. Habitu praelatitio induti, omnibus Clericis, Presbyteris, etiam Canonicis, singulatim sumptis, praeferantur, non vero Canonicis, etiam Collegiatarum, collegialiter convenientibus, neque Vicariis Generalibus et Capitularibus, aut Superioribus Generalibus Ordinum Regularium, et Abbatibus, ac Praelatis Romanae Curiae; non genuflectunt ad Crucem vel ad Episcopum, sed tantum se inclinant, ac duplici ductu thurificantur.

67. Super habitu quotidiano, occasione solemnis conventus, audientiae et similium, etiam Romae et coram Summo Pontifice, zonam tantum sericam nigram, cum laciniis item nigris, gestare poterunt, cum pileo chordula ac floccis nigris ornato.

68. Propriis insignibus, seu stemmatibus, pileum imponere valeant, sed nigrum tantummodo, cum lemniscis et ex hinc sex inde flocculis pendentibus, item ex integro nigris.

69. Si quis Protonotarius Titularis, Canonicatus aut Dignitatis ratione, choro intersit, circa habitum se gerat iuxta normas Protonotariis *ad instar* constitutas, num. 52, vestis colore excepto.

70. Sacris operantes, a simplicibus Sacerdotibus minime differant; attamen extra Urbem in Missis et Vesperis solemnibus pariterque in Missis lectis aliisque functionibus solemnius aliquando celebrandis, Palmatoria tantum ipsis utenda conceditur, excluso Canone aliave pontificali suppellectili.

71. Quod pertinet ad acta in causis Beatificationis, et Canonizationis, et ad passivam electionem in Conservatores ac caetera, iisdem iuribus gaudent, quibus fruuntur Protonotarii Supranumerarii, uti n. 23 et 24 supra dictum est.

72. Beneficia eorum qui, tamquam privatae personae, Protonotariatum Titularem assequuti sunt, non vero qui ratione Vicariatus, Canonicatus sive Dignitatis eodem gaudent, ab Apostolica tantum Sede conferantur.

73. Noverint autem, se, licet forte plures una simul, non tamquam unius ecclesiae Canonici, sed tamquam Protonotarii, conveniant, non ideo Collegium constitueve.

74. Tandem qui Protonotariatu Apostolico honorario donati sunt, tamquam privatae personae, titulo, honoribus et privilegiis Protonotariatus uti nequeunt, nisi antea diploma suae nominationis Collegio Protonotariorum Participantium exhibuerint, Fideique professionem, ac fidelitatis iusiurandum coram Ordinario, aut alio viro in ecclesiastica dignitate constituto emiserint, Qui vero ob Canonicatum, Dignitatem, aut Vicariatum, eo potiti fuerint, nisi idem praestiterint, memoratis honoribus et privilegiis, quae superius recensentur, tantummodo intra propriae dioecesis limites uti poterunt.

75. Qui secus facere, aliisque, praeter descripta, privilegiis uti praesumpserint, si ab Ordinario semel et bis admoniti non paruerint, eo ipso honore et iuribus Protonotarii privatos se sciant: quod si Protonotariatum, tamquam privata persona adepti sint, etiam titulo.

76. Vicarii Generales vel Capitulares, itemque Dignitates et Canonici nomine atque honoribus Protonotariatus titularis gaudentes, si quavis ex causa, a munere, Dignitate aut Canonicatu cessent, eo ipso, titulo, honoribus et iuribus ipsius Protonotariatus excident.

(b)—DE CAETERIS PRAELATIS ROMANAE CURIAE.

77. Nihil detractum volumus honoribus, privilegiis, praeeminentis, praerogativis, quibus alia Praelatorum Romanae Curiae Collegia, Apostolicae Sedis placito, exornantur.

78. Insuper concedimus, ut omnes et singuli Praelati Urbani seu Domestici, etsi nulli Collegio adscripti, ii nempe, qui tales renunciati, Breve Apostolicum obtinuerint, Palmatoria uti possint (non vero Canone aut alia pontificali suppellectili) in Missa cum cantu, vel etiam lecta, cum aliqua solemnitate celebranda; item in Vesperis aliisque solemnibus functionibus.

79. Hi autem habitum, sive praelatitium sive quem vocant *pianum*, gestare poterunt, iuxta Romanae Curiae consuetudinem, prout supra describitur nn. 16, 17; nunquam tamen vestis talaris candam explicare, neque sacras vestes ex altari assumere valeant, nec alio uti colore, quam violaceo, in bireti flocculo et pilei vitta, opere reticulato distincta, sive chordulis et flocculis, etiam in pileo stemmatibus imponendo ut n. 18 dictum est, nisi, pro eorum aliquo, constet de maiori particulari privilegio.

(c)—DE DIGNITATIBUS, CANONICIS ET ALIIS, QUI NONNULLIS PRIVILEGIIS PRAELATORUM PROPRIIS FRUUNTUR.

80. Ex Romanorum Pontificum indulgentia, insignia quaedam praelatitia aut pontificalia aliis Collegiis, praesertim canonicorum, eorumve Dignitatibus, quocumque nomine nuncupentur, vel a priscis temporibus tribui consueverunt; cum autem eiusmodi privilegia deminutionem quamdam episcopali dignitati videantur afferre, idcirco ea sunt de iure strictissime interpretanda. Huic principio inhaerentes, expresse volumus, ut in pontificalium usu nemini ad aliquod ex supra memoratis Collegiis pertinenti in posterum ampliora suffragentur privilegia, quam quae, superius descripta, competunt Protonotariis sive Supranumerariis, sive *ad instar*, et quidem non ultra propriae Ecclesiae, aut ad summum Dioeceseos, si hoc fuerit concessum, limites; neque ultra dies iam designatos, aut determinatas functiones; et quae arctiora sunt, ne augeantur.

81. Quoniam vero de re agitur haud parvi momenti, quippe quae ecclesiasticam respicit disciplinam, ne quis audeat arbitraria interpretatione, maiora quam in concedentis voluntate fuerint, sibi privilegia vindicare; quin potius paratum sese ostendat, quatenus illa excesserint, minoribus coarctari; singulis locorum Ordinariis, quorum sub iurisdictione vel quorum in territorio, si de exemptis agatur, aliquis ex praedictis coetibus inveniatur demandamus, ut, tamquam Apostolicae Sedis Delegati, Apostolicarum Concessionum documenta ipsis faventia, circa memorata privilegia, infra bimestre tempus, ab hisce Nostris Ordinationibus promulgatis, sub poena immediatae amissionis eorum quae occultaverint, ad se transmitti curent, quae intra consequentem mensem ad Nostram SS. Rituum Congregationem mittant. Haec autem, pro suo munere, omnia et singula hisce Nostris dispositionibus aptans, declarabit et decernet, quaenam in posterum illis competant.

Haec omnia rata et firma consistere auctoritate Nostra volumus et iubemus: contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 21 Februarii 1905, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

PIVS PP. X.

SPIRITUAL RETREATS FOR THE ROMAN CLERGY
 EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM
 PIUS X IUBET UT OMNES SACERDOTES SAECULARES URBIS SPI-
 RITUALIBUS EXERCITIIS VACENT SALTEM TERTIO QUOQUE
 ANNO, IN TRIBUS ADSIGNATIS ASCETERIIS

*Dilecto Filio Nostro Petro, Tit. SS. Quatuor Coronat. S.R.E.
 Presb. Card. Respighi, Nostro in Urbe Vicario*

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecte Fili Noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem,

Experiendo plus satis cognitum est, tam instabili hominem esse natura, ut vel diligentissimus quisque officii, nisi opportunis subinde stimulis excitetur, sensim frigeat ad virtutem, ac tandem languescat prorsus in vitiumque decidat. Ab hac naturae conditione, quum sacerdotes profecto soluti non sint, idcirco ne suis partibus aliquando prae languore desint, certa adhibeant subsidia oportet, quibus identidem reparare vires et alacritatem redintegrare pristinam possint. Subsidia eiusmodi non obscure videtur Deus velle, ut potissimum in pio aliquo recessu, idest seorsum per dies aliquot anteactam vitam reputando, quaerantur. *Cogitavi vias meas : et converti pedes meos in testimonia tua* (Ps. cxviii. 59). Perspicuum id quidem ratio facit, qua cum Apostolis se gessit Christus Dominus. Qui quum, doctrinae legisque suae destinatos orbi universo nuntios, interea in vicos et castella Iudaeae et Galileae, praedicandi Evangelii causa, soleret mittere, reversos, ubi quae docuissent fecissentque audierat, ad solitudinem invitabat ; quo recreatis animis, pares laborando vel magis deinceps fierent. *Venite seorsum in desertum locum, et requiescite pusillum* (Marc. vi. 31).

Iamvero non Apostolos tantum, quos coram alloquebatur, sed omnes, quicumque Apostolici ministerii participes futuri essent, hac invitatione excitasse Dominus putandus est ; ut nimirum qui, ob sanctimoniam non modo officii sed etiam vitae, et sal terrae et lux mundi et quasi terrestres dii esse deberent, iidem praesidium retinendae augendaeque sanctimoniae maximum usurparent.

Etenim, si quaerimus omnium ornamenta virtutum, quae Clericum decent, studium sacrarum rerum continet : id vero ob

eam quam diximus, inconstantiam naturae, ex quo die sacris initiati sumus, diuturnitate in multis defervescit, in non paucis dissipatur misere et extinguitur. Ipsa etiam assuetudo, quae quotidie res easdem tractando gignitur, causa est quare paullatim sacerdos non diligentior ad sancta, quam ad caetera vitae munia evadat. Accedunt huc pericula et varia et magna, quas saepe sunt in administratione sacerdotalis officii subeunda. Denique quum necesse sit de mundano pulvere etiam religiosa corda sordescere, multo magis necessitas haec sacerdotem tenet, in mediis mundi illecebris et miseriis habitantem. Quibus ex rebus omnino apparet oportere, ut, si rectos in nobis denuo excitare spiritus, si quamlibet vitiositatem corrigere in agendo contractam, si maiorem ad discrimina constantiam induere volumus, intermissis loco quotidianis curis, atque e magisterio parumper in disciplinam regressi, illuc revertamur, unde olim bono incensi studio prodivimus, docilesque excipiamus vocem, quae nos de officiis admoneat, salubriter corripiat, ad potiora hortetur atque urgeat. Quamobrem nihil tam proderit quam longe a strepitu et agitatione communis vitae secedere; quippe animae ad Spiritus Sancti accipienda munera quies est amicissima: *Ducam eam in solitudinem, et loquar ad cor eius* (Osee ii. 14).

Equidem non intelligimus sacerdotem ullum posse reperiri qui, in tantis difficultatibus, molestiis periculisque collocatus, non tamen sentiat subinde ex intervallo requirendum sibi esse praesidium, quod spiritualia, quae dicuntur, exercitia suppeditant. Atqui videmus haec ipsa ab iis quidem, quorum est actio vitae munerisque commendabilior, cupide expeti accurateque frequentari, ab aliis vero, utinam paucis, ita negligi, ut minimo aestimari videantur. Quid? mercator quivis, cui sunt sua negotia cordi, diligenter quotidie, diligentius quotannis acceptorum et expensorum rationes computabit; sacerdos autem quispiam curatorque animarum, qui quum Dei negotia administret, Deo districtam rationem redditurus est, non, se colligens aliquando, aequa iudicii lance ponderabit hinc officia sua, hinc facta, atque dispiciet utrum vocationi suae congruat, an penitus discrepet?

Imploranda quidem est divina benignitas, ut omnibus ad unum Clericis persuadeat huiusce opportunitatem instituti, quod tanta eis affert adiumenta, unde se rite praestent ministros Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei. Nobis interea, qui in

universa gubernanda Ecclesia praecipuam quamdam curarum partem huic Almae Urbi deemus, ad temperandam, ut oportet, Romani disciplinam Cleri, visum est praesertim spiritualium exercitiorum morem fovendo dirigere. Quare Sodalibus et e Societate Iesu et a Christi Passione et Vincentianis significavimus, gratum Nobis eos facturos, si per unam singulis mensibus hebdomadam (quantum spatii est a vespertinis diei dominici ad matutinas horas proximi Sabbathi) in suo quique asceterio urbano sacerdotibus navare operam voluissent. Qui Sodales quum paratissimos responderint sese esse Nostris obsequi votis, iam tuum erit, Dilecte Fili Noster, usque ab initio appetentis anni opportuna praescribere, ut quotquot Romae, praeter religiosas familias, sacerdotes numerantur, omnes, nullo cuiquam suffragante privilegio, spiritualibus exercitiis in aliquo e ternis asceteriis, quae dicta sunt, saltem tertio quoque anno vacent.

Dubitandum minime est quin eiusmodi praescriptiones universi omnes, ad quos datae erunt, magna cum voluntate studeant perficere, atque hoc ipso consolari Nos; qui quidem ad propositum, quod necessitatibus temporum adducti urgemus instaurandi omnia in Christo, nihil tam valere arbitramur, quam recta studia et exempla Clericorum. Auspicem divinorum munerum benevolentiaeque Nostrae testem tibi, Dilecte Fili Noster, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXVII Decembris anno MDCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

Pius PP. X.

FRANCISCAN TERTIARIES LIVING IN COMMUNITY

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM
DE TERTIARIIS IN COMMUNITATE VIVENTIBUS ORDINI MINORUM
AGGREGATIS

Beatissime Pater,

Auctis admodum ex utroque sexu Tertiariis in communitate viventibus emittentibusque simplicia vota, qui exemplo et opere optime de re catholica merentur, Apostolica Sedes per Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis et Reliquiis praepositae datum sub die 28 Augusti anno 1903 statuit universim, ut Ecclesiae Tertiariorum huiusmodi, dummodo ipsi Ordinibus, a quibus nomen et habitum mutuuntur, legitime sint aggregati, *'eisdem Indulgentiis gaudeant, quibus Ecclesiae respectivi primi et secundi Ordinis fruuntur.'*

Nihilominus, sanctione hac generali per Apostolicae Sedis benignitatem edita, plurima inter Fratres ac Sorores Tertiæ Ordinis Regularis Sancti Patris N. Francisci enascebantur dubia, quae prohibent quominus Seraphici Instituti Sodales eundem Tertium Ordinem Regularem amplexi, assecutam gratiam pacifice obtineant. Neque enim singulae Congregationes colorem lanae naturaliter subnigrae seu fulvae, qui italicè dicitur 'MARRONE' in suo ipsarum habitu retinent, prouti servant Fratres Ordinis Minorum ex num. 107 Constitutionem Generalium apostolico munitarum robore; neque omnes Tertiiorum Regularium Domus Ecclesiam proprie dictam adnexam habent, sed passim Capellam sive Oratorium parvum, quae non semper utpote interna fidelium commodis patent, atque passim vel Sanctissimae Eucharistiae asservandae venia destituuntur.

Perplexitates vero rationabiles equidem videntur, si attendatur: 1°. Decretum Sacrae Congregationis consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praepositae, die 18 Martii 1904 datum, quo Monialibus Tertiariis ad Ordinem Sanctissimae Trinitatis de Redemptione Captivorum pertinentibus iniunctum esse dicitur in approbandis earum Constitutionibus, ut colorem habitus in Ordine ipso SSmae. Trinitatis consuetum, qui albus est cum Scapulari cruce rubea ac caerulea insignito Sorores acciperent loco habitus caeruleo in integrum colore, quem hucusque retinuerant; et quo, ad effectum Indulgentiarum primi Ordinis assequendarum, permittitur quidem eisdem Sororibus, ut adhibitum eousque colorem in habitu retineant, ne habitus primi Ordinis intuentium oculos percellat, sed sub promissione quod Moniales interius tunicam albam cum Scapulari Ordinis perpetuum gerant.

2°. Decretum Sacrae Indulgentiarum Congregationis diei 22 Augusti anno 1842 in *Verdunen.* evulgatum, quo declaratur ad implendam Ecclesiae vel Oratorii publici visitationem, in Rescriptis Indulgentiarum requisitam, minime censendum esse publicum Oratorium sive in Monasteriis, sive in Seminariis aut aliis Conventibus canonice dedicatum, ad quod tamen Christiana plebs non soleat accedere.

Itaque hodiernus Procurator Generalis, Supremi Fratrum Minorum Moderatoris iussu, ne tot Regulares Tertiæ Ordinis Fratres ac Sorores, qui bonum Christi odorem verbo et exemplo ubique diffundunt, prohibeantur primo ac secundo Fratrum

Minorum ascribi et inde tot Indulgentiarum lucro potiri ; enixe Sanctitatem Tuam rogat, ut in favorem Sodalium Tertio Ordini S. Francisci Regulari adscriptorum viventiumque sub regulis saltem ab Ordinario loci approbatis, qui Fratrum Minorum Ordini petant accenseri, sequentia opportune Indulta dignetur elargiri :

I°. Ut Fratres ac Sorores Tertii Ordinis Regularis, quamvis colorem habitus in Ordine Fratrum Minorum ultimo praescriptum non assumant, possint eidem Ordini aggregari : hoc etiam attento quod Fratribus praefati Ordinis, ante probatas anno 1897 per Apostolicam Sedem Constitutiones Generales, nullus *proprie* erat color, quem officialem nuncupant, sed aliae Provinciae alium colorem retinebant ; et quod plura Tertiariorum Tertiariarumque Instituta ante annum illum 1897, aut ab Apostolica Sede, aut ab Ordinario loci probata sint cum suis Constitutionibus, ubi diversum atque nunc in Ordine Fratrum Minorum consuetum reperimus colorem cum forma speciali ordinatum, qui nunc absque intuentium admiratione et exorituris inter diversa Instituta contentionibus, mutari amplius minime possit.

II°. Ut aggregationes hucusque factae Sodalium huiusmodi Tertii Ordinis Regularis, quatenus opus sit, in radice sanentur, quin eis conditio imponatur colorem habitus interius deferendi ; prouti nempe, plures Tertii Ordinis Franciscani Coetus, vi Constitutionum Apostolico robore pollentium, Ordini Fratrum Minorum iam sunt adscripti, neque eis praeceptum imponebatur colorem habitus interius unquam gestandi.

III°. Ut deficiente Ecclesia vel Oratorio publico Tertiariorum Domibus adnexo, possint interim Fideles lucrari Indulgentias Ecclesiis et Oratoriis publicis primi ac secundi Ordinis Fratrum Minorum concessas, in Oratorio interno ac principali earundem Domorum, quatenus illic Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum non asservetur ; hoc maxime attento quod Oratoria eiusmodi, per Decretum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis SUPER ORATORIIS SEMIPUBLICIS sub die 23 Ianuarii anno 1899 datum atque sub num. 4007 in novissima collectione insertum : '*etsi in loco quodammodo privato vel non absolute publico auctoritate Ordinarii erecta sunt,*' inter semipublica accensentur, in quibus '*omnes qui eidem intersunt, praeepto audiendi Sacrum satisfacere valent,*' et Sacramenta recipere.

Et Deus, etc.

Vigore specialium facultatum a SSmo. Domino Nostro

concessarum, Sacra Congregatio Emorum. et Rmorum. S.R.E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, attentis expositis, benigne commisit Patri Ministro Generali Ord. Min., ut praevia quatenus opus sit, sanatione quoad praeteritum, peritam aggregationem pro suo arbitrio et conscientia concedat, imposita tamen Sodalibus utriusque sexus Congregationum in futurum aggregandarum conditione aliquod distinctivum Ordinis exterius deferendi.¹ Quoad tertium postulatum, eadem Sacra Congregatio mandavit rescribi: Recurratur ad S. Congregationem Indulgentiarum.² Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Romae 30 Ianuarii 1905.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

PHILIPPUS GIUSTINI, *Secret.*

HIS HOLINESS PIUS X AND AMERICAN COLLEGE IN ROME

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII, DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE X, LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE, QUIBUS COLLEGIUM URBIS PIUM-LATINUM-AMERICANUM PONTIFICII TITULO AUGETUR, EIUSQUE REGUNDI LEGES SANCIUNTUR

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Sedis Apostolicam providam studiosamque de America Latina curam, cum alia argumenta illustrant, tum in primis testatur multiplex instituta ratio, ut in ea perampla dominici agri parte cultores boni, satis magna copia, suppetant. Huc valent apertae ibidem Domus complures alumni sacri ordinis pietate doctrinaque idonea conformandis; quarum quidem, novis constituendis dioecesibus, augecit numerus; atque in earum praecipuis facultas praebita melioris notae adolescentibus academicos gradus assequendi. Iamvero in hoc pontificalis providentiae genere facile primas tenet Urbanum Collegium, a decessoribus Nostris fel. rec. Pio IX conditum, Leone XIII amplificatum in sacrae inventutis ex America Latina utilitatem. Etenim adolescentes clericos, bona indole praeditos et animi

¹ Hoc autem distinctivum, uti ex Officialibus eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis rescivimus, arbitrio Ministri Generalis totius Ordinis Fratrum Minorum designandum in posterum relinquitur.

² Recursus iam habitus est ad Sacram Indulgentiarum Congregationem; atque in dies Rescriptum generale exspectatur, quod omnibus III Ordinis Regularis Institutis hac in re providebit.

et ingenii, missos in hanc almam Urbem atque ideo ad ipsum ecclesiasticae eruditionis vitaeque centrum, ibique, advigilante Iesu Christi Vicario, omnibus praesidiis, quae disciplinam optimam deceant, ad sacerdotale munus instructos, nemo non videt, eosdem popularibus suis et Ecclesiae patriae admodum salutares debere existere.

Equidem, si fructus quaerimus quos Collegium Pium Latinum-Americanum hoc intervallo tulerit, reperiemus rei exitum expectationi egregie respondisse: responsurum autem de caetero vel melius, si quidem paulo diligentius ea, quae in alumnorum delectu sunt servanda, servantur, atque si earum regionum nullus sit posthac Episcopus, quin aliquem suum alumnum in isto Collegio, ipse non parcens impendiis, collocet. Utrumque Leo, qui, ad religioam Americae Latinae rem rite componendam, Plenarium eorum Episcoporum Concilium Roman coëgerat, quum Concilio peracto dimitteret Patres, vehementer eos hortatus est, tamquam viderentur dioecesis suis consulturi satis, si eidem Collegio pro facultate consulerent. Hi vero, quum exploratam iam ipsi per se haberent huiusce utilitatem Instituti, praeterea tanta Pontificis hortatione permoti, non modo se velle ostenderunt eius votis satisfacere; sed etiam, ut Concilii Plenarii, quod in ipsa Collegii aede esset actum, monumentum exstaret aliquod, magnopere sibi gratum fore significarunt, si Collegium *Pontificii* titulo honestaretur. Eorundem sunt illa postulata: ut Sodales Societatis Iesu gubernationem Collegii, quam obtinent, ratam in perpetuum obtineant; ut praecipuae sanciantur leges, quibus morum et studiorum disciplina Collegii dirigatur; ut, quoniam Collegii aedes, mutui nomine, Apostolicae Sedi obligatae sunt longe ultra quam pro opibus Collegii liberari hodie queant, benigne Summus Pontifex, sibi et successoribus salvo iure, velit in commodiorem Collegio diem exactionem crediti differre.

Nos autem, quum erga Americae Latinae ecclesias Urbanumque ipsarum Collegium, haud secus ac duo illustres decessores Nostri, plenum paternae charitatis geramus animum, huius testandae benevolentiae occasionem, quam Venerabiles Fratres, ista rogantes offerunt, perlibenter amplectimur. Itaque firma et stabilia iubentes esse, quae de Collegio sive constituendo, sive provehendo Decessorum est auctoritate sancitum, atque de eo, quod dictum est, aere alieno edicturi, quo modo Sedis Apostolicae simul et Collegii rationibus consultum esse velimus,

his litteris Nos eadem Apostolica auctoritate idem Collegium seu Seminarium Pium Latinum-Americanum in Urbe, secundum sacrorum statuta canonum solemniter erigimus et constituimus, ac *Pontificii* titulo decoramus, ipsique omnia privilegia et iura, quae Seminariis seu Collegiis Pontificiis attribui solent, attribuimus ad eas leges, quae infra scriptae sunt.

I. Munus regendi et moderandi Collegii inclytae Societati Iesu, optime usque adhuc de Collegio meritaе, perpetuo committimus. Quocirca Societatis Praepositus e sacerdotibus, qui sibi parent, hos saltem constituet: Rectorem, Ministrum, Subministrium, Oeconomum, Magistrum pietatis, Confessariorum quantum opus fuerit, et Praefectorum contuberniis quantum fieri poterit. Idem duos destinabit, alterum hispane, alterum lusitane doctum, qui alumnos, in patrio sermone litterisque excolendo, ad sacras potissime conciones exerceant. Praeterea volumus, ut alumni ne alias Urbis scholas quam Lycei magni Gregoriani celebrent.

II. Alumni legitimo matrimonio nati, et valetudine bona sint, et non deformi corpore. Ad haec voluntatem praeferant exploratam sacerdotalis ineundae vitae, ac non vulgare ingenium discendi studio coniunctum: nec minus eorum debet disciplinae amor et integritas morum constare.

III. Alumni non aute cooptandi sunt, quam exhibito testimonio probaverint, se humanitatis et litterarum spatium recte confecisse, ideoque idoneos esse, qui maiorum doctrinarum cursum ineant.

IV. Liceat, raro tamen et singularibus de causis, adolescentes, natu minores necdum gravibus studiis maturos, in Collegium admittere, his quidem conditionibus: primum, ut eiusmodi nunquam plus quam decem in Collegio sint; deinde, decimum tertium aetatis annum compleverint; tum, e scholis primordiorum honestum ingenii diligentiaeque testimonium retulerint, iidemque elegantiorum litterarum institutionem cum laude, magnam partem, perceperint, itaque Romae possint, quod reliquum sit, anno aut summum biennio absolvere; deinde aere ipsi suo vel benigne ab aliis collato, non autem pensionibus seu *Capellaniis*, quae alumnorum causa constitutae sint, sustententur, quos quidem sumptus suppeditatum iri Episcopus, suo et successorum nomine, spondeat; postremo Episcopus ne candidatum Romam ad Collegium dimittat, nisi, nisi postquam per authenticas litteras fidem Rectori fecerit, omnia, quae hoc loco sunt re-

quisita, suppetere, ab eoque cooptationis, quae permissu Cardinalis Patroni facta sit, legitimum documentum acceperit.

V. Omnes alumni, ne iis quidem exceptis, qui pensiones seu Capellanas consequuti sint integras, tantum afferre debent pecuniae, quantum satis erit ad redditum: quae pecunia in thesauro Collegii reponetur, eaque aliam in rem insumi, vel Ordinario probante, non poterit.

VI. Qui suae familiae impensis aut de cuiuspiam, beneficio sustentandus erit, nullo pacto inter alumnos recipiatur, nisi, praeter Episcopi sui licentiam, syngrapham afferat, qua ipse Episcopus, proprio et successorum nomine, obligationem se suscepisse testetur subministrandi Collegio pecuniam pro alumno debitam, si quidem huius propinqui vel alii qui fidem dederunt, eam praestare aut neglexerint aut nequiverint.

VII. Universis et singulis Americae Latinae Episcopis omni ope curandum est, ut in Collegio pensiones id genus, quae vernaculo sermone *Becas* dici solent, alumni sustentandis instituantur, Capellaniarum titulo; quarum redditibus alumni qui fruuntur, suae quisque Capellaniae fundatorem Deo commendare, quotidie quidem tertiam marialis Rosarii partem rite recitando, in singulos autem menses semel aut sancta de altari libando aut sacerdotes sacrum faciendo, debeant. Pecuniae vero summa cuiusque Capellaniae constituendae Consilio pontificali Stipi Petrianae administrandae tradetur: quod Consilium redditus huius pecuniae statis temporibus Collegio pensabit.

VIII. Alumni, sive in doctrinae studiis indiligentes, sive in cultu pietatis desidiosi, sive qui ea natura eisque moribus exstiterint, ut sodalibus offensionem et Collegio perturbationem sint, si quidem opportune correpti, non se tamen emendarint penitus, e Collegio sine dubitatione expellantur. Expellendi potestatem Rector obtineat; is tamen in causis singulis, ut rite se pro tanta rei gravitate gerat, moderatores Collegii caeteros in consilium adhibebit.

IX. Alumnis qui, semel et iterum facto periculo, academicos gradus in Lyceo magno Gregoriano adipisci nequiverint, minime licebit, sine Nostra aut successorum Nostrorum venia, in aliquo Americae Latinae gymnasio aut alibi tertium periclitari.

X. Integrum Rectori erit sinere, ut alumni, qui studiorum cursum absolverint, in Collegio dies aliquot, non plus triginta, ante redditum in patriam, morentur; obnoxii tamen etiamtum Collegii legibus et moderatorum auctoritati.

XI. Rector quotannis de disciplinae rationibus, de moribus alumnorum, de rei familiaris conditione accuratam descriptionem duplici exemplo conficiet ; quorum alterum, Cardinali Patrono, alterum, cui quidem idem Cardinalis subscripserit, Nobis et successoribus Nostris deferet. Idem ad omnes Americae, Latinae Episcopos, praeter descriptionem eiusmodi summam factam, aliam de alumnis cuiusque peculiarem mittet.

Haec decernimus et statuimus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Item quae in utilitatem Collegii oeconomicae vel a Decessoribus Nostris vel a Nobis decreta et statuta sunt, ea confirmamus rataque habemus. Quod vero ad domesticam disciplinam pertinet, Collegii moderatoribus mandamus, ut eius temperandae rationem, collatis consiliis cum Cardinali Patrono et cum Praeposito Societatis Iesu, opportune retractent, eamque retractatam Nobis probandam atque auctoritate iussuque Nostro stabiliendam offerant.

Reliquum est, ut omnes, quoscumque haec causa attingit, non modo quae praescripta a Nobis hic sunt, religiose servent, quod minime dubitamus, sed etiam ex eisdem praescriptionibus nitantur quam iacetissimos fructus elicere, quod magnopere hortamur. Itaque religiosi viri, quorum vigilantiae et curis tot sunt Americanarum Ecclesiarum spes concredita, non satis habebunt, alumnos apud se tamquam in umbraculis diligenter excoluisse ; verum eosdem iam in solem atque pulverem eductos, et trans Oceanum in sacris muneribus desudantes, pergent consiliis, hortamentis, omni denique amoris officio adiuvere universos. Hi vicissim dociles se bonis patribus dabunt, et hanc maxime eis itemque Apostolicae Sedi studebunt referre gratiam, ut illorum disciplina multum profecisse videatur. Episcopi vero in dies melius ostendent, hoc suum Collegium sibi non minus esse cordi quam Nobis, qui certe, ipsorum praecipue causa, habemus carissimum : ideoque ad eius stabilitatem et incrementum nitentur, quantum quisque poterit, conferre. Deprecante Maria labis nescia, cuius in tutela Collegium est, faveat optatis Nostris divina benignitas ; atque auxiliorum eius sit auspex Apostolica benedictio, quam omnibus, quos memoravimus, universaeque Americae Latinae peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XIX Martii anno MDCCCXCV, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

PIUS PP. X.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SOCIALISM: ITS THEORETICAL BASIS AND PRACTICAL APPLICATION. By Victor Cathrein, S.J. Authorized Translation of the Eighth German Edition, with Special Reference to the Condition of Socialism in the United States. Revised and enlarged by Victor F. Gettelmann, S.J. 424 pp. Benziger Brothers. Price 6s. net.

'SINCE its first appearance in 1890 Father Cathrein's book has gone through eight large editions. It has been translated into Spanish, French, English, Italian, Polish, Flemish, Bohemian, and Hungarian. . . . Liberal and Protestant papers . . . have referred to it in terms of the highest praise. . . . Competent critics have declared the present volume to be the best refutation of Socialism to be found in the German language. . . . The German original from being merely an extract from the author's larger work on Moral Philosophy, has now far outgrown its initial proportions. It has been completely recast and expanded into a complete though succinct treatise on Socialism in all its aspects. . . . [The present translation] has thus been increased to more than twice the size of the former American editions and may rightly be styled an entirely new work.'

To those few sentences from the translator's preface we take the liberty of adding the following from the author's own preface of 1903:—

'Within the last few years Socialism has spread to an alarming extent. At the last general elections in Germany, June 16, 1903, it polled considerably above three million votes. The jubilant exultation of Socialists at this unparalleled success may easily be imagined. In view of this gigantic development of social democracy it certainly behoves every man of culture, but above all the leaders in civil and social life, to become familiar with Socialist ideas, to make themselves acquainted with the scientific basis so much vaunted by Socialists, and to form an independent judgment concerning them. . . . In our refutation of Socialism it has been our constant endeavour to enter into their ideas to the best of our power, to study their

principles in their own writings, to enquire into the foundations upon which their system is based, to examine their principal demands and the relations they bear to each other. The task was by no means an easy one. . . . Notwithstanding these difficulties our exposition of Socialistic tenets has been acknowledged by prominent socialistic leaders as substantially correct. Thus Kautsky in his *Neue Zeit* (1891, ii. p. 637) remarks of our work : "Marx's theory has been rendered much better by Cathrein than by any of the liberalist socialist killers. The author has at least read the works which he discusses. . . ." The most recent literary productions for and against Socialism have been pressed into service as far as possible. Besides, our account of the present state of Socialism in different countries has been corrected according to the latest data available.'

After reading the book we have no hesitation in saying that it will be found to be a most useful and satisfactory work on a subject of grave and growing importance. The unhappy condition of the labouring masses, the grasping greed of capitalists, and the evident need to ameliorate social and economic conditions—these things create discontent and unrest and impatience in the minds of many well-meaning people, and lead them to sympathise with Socialism before they become aware of the shockingly irreligious and immoral consequences to which Socialism inevitably leads. Happily for us the Continental type of Socialism has never found favour in the British Islands. In spite of all the efforts of Marx and Engels, the latter was forced to confess, in 1895,—the year of his death and twelve years after the death of Marx,—'that English working-men entertain no thought of putting an end to capitalist production, their only endeavour being to make the most of their actual situation' (page 114).

So far, Socialism has won favour in other countries only as a *negative* policy,—as an organized attack on the existing order by the discontented masses while suffering under very real and unredressed grievances; and the only *practical* way to arrest its progress is by promoting a very real and very earnest reform of the social and economic conditions of labour in every country where those grievances exist,—and that is everywhere. 'The powerful trades unions contend for what is immediately attainable, without pursuing nebulous phantoms' (*ibid.*) And hence both Church and State would do well to aid and encourage those unions in their legitimate aims, and so to save the working

classes from the misery and disaster into which unwise or unscrupulous counsellors would lead them.

The attempts that have been hitherto made to construct a *positive* economic and social system on a Socialistic basis are simply unworthy of serious attention. Socialism as a scientific system has been intellectually bankrupt from the beginning. A clear and fair exposition of it, such as we find in the volume under consideration, is its best refutation. Its impracticability alone would condemn it on economic grounds, altogether apart from the materialism, irreligion, and open infidelity with which the actual system is permeated. We could scarcely believe, until we read Father Cathrein's book, that it was based on such rotten economic foundations, that it was so essentially and avowedly Godless, that it was so extravagant and puerile in its promises; nor were we aware that it was so widespread and powerful in Germany and some other Continental countries. Yet we are not surprised that it has carried away the masses to such an extent. They have their grievances, and it is but human that they should try to air them. The pity is that they should be so misled. If they are told to look to the State for redress they answer that they have been too long looking, and in vain. And, unfortunately, that is partly true. The modern State will do its duty towards them just in the degree in which it is leavened by the spirit of Him Who was Himself a labourer and Who loves the poor.

P. C.

THE PALACE OF CAIPHAS, AND THE NEW GARDEN OF THE ASSUMPTIONIST FATHERS, ST. PETER'S, AT MOUNT SION. With Plans and Designs. By the Rev. F. Urban Coppens, O.F.M. From the French, with Preface by Father Andrew Egan, O.F.M. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.

THE scope of this book can be best conveyed by the following quotation from the preface to the English translation: 'A crisis has been reached in Palestine which threatens the very existence of many of the venerable sanctuaries so richly dowered with indulgences, the preservation of which is dear to Catholic hearts. In plain words this critical state owes its origin to,

and has been precipitated by, the imprudent and regrettable action of the Assumptionists, and the present work has been composed with a view to deal therewith by exposing the tactics resorted to by the same Fathers.' In brief, this is a part of a controversy that is at present taking place between the Franciscans and Assumptionists. If any reader of these pages feels interested, he can decide the merits of the question for himself. For our part, whilst hoping that truth may prevail, we refrain from interfering in so delicate a matter.

P. B.

THE PULPIT ORATOR. Containing seven elaborate skeleton Sermons for every Sunday in the Year, also elaborate skeleton Sermons for the chief Festivals and other occasions. By Rev. John Evangelist Zollner. Translated from the German, with permission of the author, and adapted by the Rev. Augustine Wirth, O.S.B. Six vols. New York and Cincinnati; Pustet & Co.

THE above-mentioned treatise has been brought under our notice for review. We glanced at the title-page with decided misgivings and not without prejudice, because of the amount of rubbish on so-called pulpit oratory with which the ecclesiastical market is strewn. We confess, however, that our misgivings and prejudice were very soon dissipated and were succeeded by real admiration. This work, we consider, is by far the best of those that have as yet come under our notice, and we strongly advise the young preacher to make it his text-book in preparing his sermons—not of course in a slavish manner—but we advise him to digest the subject-matter therein contained, to observe the divisions into homiletic, dogmatical, liturgical, symbolical and moral sketches, and the manner in which they are developed, to note the logical arrangement and the lucid order as also the frequent and apt quotations from Sacred Scripture and the writings of the Fathers with which the work abounds, and if he does so, he is sure to become an efficient preacher. We have not a lot of confidence in Horace's maxim about the man of one book, but we do think that so far as the framework of a sermon is concerned it holds good in this case, at least for the young preacher. There is only one other work that we should

think of putting in the same category with this, viz., *Adjumenta Oratoris Sacri*, by Father Schouppe ; but while Father Schouppe's work contains only nuggets of thoughts and suggestions, most valuable indeed, but only when fused in the white heat of much thinking, the *Pulpit Orator* gives the material ready fit to be moulded, and that so full and suggestive that the moulding can be made after one's own individual taste.

The treatise before us has already gone through ten editions, and we fully endorse all that has been said in the preface by Rev. A. A. Lambing.

P. A. B.

A HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND. By Herbert Paul. In Five Volumes. Vol. III. London : Macmillan and Co., 1905. Price 8s. 6d.

IN a former issue of the I. E. RECORD we noticed the first two volumes of Mr. Herbert Paul's *History of Modern England*, and whilst expressing our admiration for several of the most striking qualities of the work, we had certain reservations to make on others. In the volumes already noticed Mr. Paul dealt with the ministries of Lord John Russell, Lord Derby, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby again and Lord Palmerston again.

The third volume opens with an account of Lord Russell's short administration after Palmerston's death. Then came Lord Derby as Prime Minister for the third time. From that forward Gladstone and Disraeli divide the chief attention for many years.

On the whole we notice the same characteristics in the third volume as in its two predecessors. It is spirited, clever, well-informed, clear, decisive ; but it is also, where the personal views of the author are in question, dogmatic, aggressive, self-sufficient, narrow and bombastic. Most of these defects will be met with in the author's chapters headed 'The Irish Church,' and 'The Church of England.' We do not say by any means that these chapters are not worth reading. On the contrary, we believe them not only to be full of interest, but to be rendered specially attractive by the rather personal style of treatment adopted by the author. We may be shocked by the writer's conceit and loftiness ; but we must read him all the same.

His chapter on 'Theology and Literature' is a curious study for a Catholic. A Scotch Presbyterian writing on Erastianism and Rubrics, on Lord Acton and Newman, on the Athanasian Creed, and on 'Literature and Dogma' cannot fail to be original; and original in truth Mr. Paul is. But it is in his chapter on 'Intellectual Progress' that we benighted Catholics find our real level. There we find that Papal Infallibility was a retrograde and foolish affair, that the people of England would as soon have thought of troubling themselves about the Grand Lama of Thibet as about Pope Pius IX and his Council, that the spectacle of Döllinger's excommunication made Gladstone's 'blood run cold,' and so on, and so on. All we can say is that in such matters we pity Mr. Herbert Paul. His reading of history must, after all, be rather narrow, and his capacity to judge of the merits of theological controversies of the very poorest.

J. F. H.

THE HOUSE OF GOD AND OTHER ADDRESSES AND STUDIES.
By the Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., of the
Catholic University of America. New York: The
Cathedral Library Association, Amsterdam Avenue.
1905.

WE offer sincere congratulations to Dr. Shahan on the appearance of this volume. The great variety of its contents and the purity and beauty of expression that adorn all its pages, make it a welcome addition to any library. To a priest who wishes to lecture on interesting subjects to Catholic audiences it will serve as an excellent model. The chapter headed, 'Why we build Beautiful Churches,' will be found useful in Ireland. 'Do we need a Catholic University?' is another subject well treated and well suited to the needs of others besides Americans. The chapters relating to Ireland are numerous and invariably sympathetic and friendly. 'St. Patrick,' 'Ireland and Rome,' 'The Irish Language,' 'The Music of Ireland,' 'Robert Emmet,' 'The Future of Ireland,' all show the interest taken by the distinguished professor in the land of his forefathers. We, on our part, entirely reciprocate his good will and hope that his volume will get a warm welcome from our readers.

J. F. H.

THE MIDDLE AGES. By Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Professor, Catholic University of America. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1904. Price 8s.

THE present volume is made up of a collection of papers and essays contributed for the most part to American magazines. Amongst others we find such subjects treated as 'Gregory the Great,' 'Justinian the Great,' 'The Religion of Islam,' 'Catholicism in the Middle Ages,' 'German Schools in the Sixteenth Century,' 'Clergy and People in Mediaeval England,' 'The Crusades' and 'The Italian Renaissance.' Dr. Shahan has spared no pains in the preparation of these articles. All the most reliable sources of information have been judiciously probed, as well as recent literature of any real value; and as everybody, who has read his work on *The Beginning of Christianity* knows, Dr. Shahan has a knack of putting his conclusions in the brightest and most attractive way. The result is a book that is at once scholarly and popular. To many it is useless to recommend it, for their notions about the Middle Ages are hopelessly incurable; but for those who are honestly seeking the truth, and who wish to learn something really reliable on the great mediaeval movements, we know of no handier popular volume than the one under review.

J. MACC.

PRAELECTIONES DE SACRA ORDINATIONE. Fr. Many, C.S.S. Paris: Letouzey, 1905.

ALL those who have to do with ordinations will, we think, find in this volume everything they are likely to want. It contains not only a great deal of history and theology, but all the canon law bearing on this most important subject. The most recent decrees are given, and clearly explained. Questions such as 'Episcopus proprius,' 'litterae dimissoriales,' 'tempus et locus,' 'ordinatio regularium,' are all treated in a most satisfactory manner. In these and similar matters the learned author has had the help of Gasparri's work, but he has advanced considerably beyond it. As regards the historical and theological treatment of the whole question of sacred orders, too much praise can hardly be bestowed on the present work. The various rites of the Eastern and of the Western Churches are clearly described, and the question of what is the essential

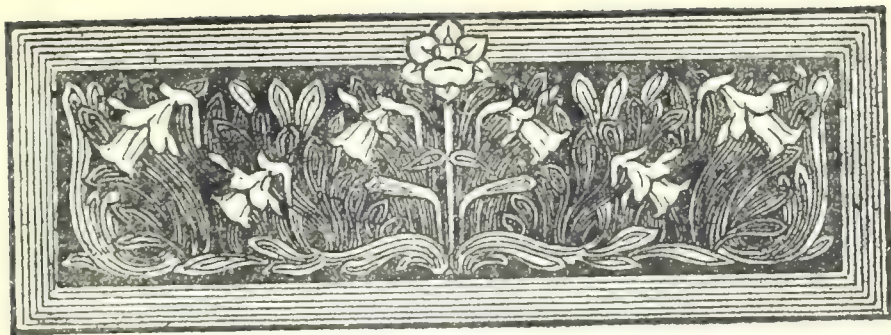
matter is admirably handled. The author's use of the standard sources of knowledge leaves little to be desired. The only omission, if indeed omission it can be called, in his series of proofs for imposition of hands being the essential matter of priestly ordination, is that he does not mention the examination and approval of the 'Euchologium' by the Propaganda Commission (1636-1640), on which Dom Gasquet, the discoverer of the documents, has written such an interesting article in the *American Catholic Quarterly*, October, 1900. We refer to this in the hope that when a second edition is called for, the author will supplement his argument from this source. But the work as it stands gives everything that is needed for practical purposes. The appendix contains several documents, not the least valuable of which is the 'Apostolicae curae,' the Decree about Anglican Orders. The present work, with its predecessors on the Mass, and on Churches, etc., should be in every library.

R. W.

A SECOND THEBAID. By Rev. James P. Rushe, O.D.C.
Dublin : Sealy, Bryers & Walker. 1905.

THE author's object in writing this work was, as he tells us, to give a plain simple account of our Irish Monastic History. It deals with the religious Orders in Ireland from the days of St. Patrick down to their suppression in the Reformation campaign. The author has evidently taken considerable pains in the preparation of his book, and as a popular work on the subject his story does not lack considerable merit. We presume, however, that it was only as a popular handbook he meant it, because if anything more were intended we should be obliged to modify our judgment. In any case, the title *A Second Thebaid* is particularly inappropriate and might easily be misleading. The sources and books consulted were not always of any great historical value, and no particular effort seems to have been made to unravel any of the difficult questions connected with Monasticism in Ireland, or to give any critical judgment on the many conflicting testimonies which are to be met with in portions of the subject. The book is excellently brought out.

J. MACC.



AN OLD SYSTEM ON ACTUAL GRACE REVIVED

THE present article was suggested to the writer by the reading of a recent treatise on grace.¹ We venture to say that the work is a very valuable contribution to our theological literature. Our Holy Father Pius X was so pleased with the book, that he directed a special letter to the author. In it he calls the writer an *eminent* theologian, congratulates him on his book, and praises him for having followed St. Alphonsus, whom he styles *tutissimum sententiarum fontem*. The Sovereign Pontiff finally expresses a wish that all theological students should read this important work.

Now, what is the reason that Father Herrmann's book rises above the level of so many other theological publications? It is principally because of the special standpoint taken by the author with regard to the various systems on actual grace. He has brought again to the point a system on grace, which was common in the schools before the disputes between the Thomists and Molinists arose, and which may be summarized in the following way: there exist two kinds of grace, *gratia communis* and *gratia specialis*.² The *gratia communis* is given to all men

¹ *Tractatus de divina gratia secundum S. Alphonsi M. de Ligeri, doctrinam et mentem*. Scripsit J. Herrmann, C.S.S.R., in provincia Parisiensi S. Theologiae Lector. Romae: Philippus Cugiani, Vico della Pace. 1904.

² See this division in Koellin, a celebrated Dominican, + 1689 in his commentary on St. Thomas, 1, 2, q. 109, n. 1; and also in Ysambert

for the more easy works, and by making a good use of it all can obtain the *gratia specialis*, necessary for justification and salvation. We will give here the words of Curiel, a professor of the University of Salamanca, who died in 1609 :—

Advertendum est sicut in ordine naturae ad operationem formarum naturalium est necessarius concursus generalis Dei proportionatus eisdem formis et eis debitus lege Dei ordinariâ ; ita etiam in ordine supernaturali ad operationem formarum supernaturalium, scil. gratiae et virtutum infusarum, necessarium esse concursum actualem Dei proportionatum eisdem formis, ut sint principia operandi et eis debitum ex lege ordinaria gratiae. Et quamvis hic concursus possit appellari auxilium *speciale*, facta comparatione ad hominem secundum suam naturam, quia non est ei debitus, tamen alia ratione potest appellari *auxilium generale* et concursus generalis, scil. intra ordinem gratiae, quia facta comparatione ad hominem, ut habet gratiam, est debitus ex connaturalitate ad ipsam gratiam ; sed in ordine gratiae praeter hoc auxilium datur aliud *specialius* quod . . . consistit in tribus. *Primum* est directio extrinseca qua Deus rationem vivendi alicujus dirigit et ordinat per media quibus adjuvatur ad observanda praecepta. *Secundum* est protectio etiam extrinseca qua Deus removet impedimenta sive moventia ad peccatum, sive retardantia a prosecutione boni. *Tertium* est *copia internarum illustrationum et inspirationum valde efficacium* et hoc auxilium vocatur *simpliciter speciale*, quia non solum non est debitum homini secundum suam naturam, sed neque ut habet gratiam, imo datur ei ex nova misericordia.¹

Later on this *gratia communis* was called *gratia sufficiens*, and the *gratia specialis* came to be known as *gratia efficax* ; but the real meaning remained unchanged.²

Father Herrmann proves clearly that the *gratia sufficiens*, as taught by Bannes and his followers, was not known amongst the older theologians, not even amongst the Dominicans. According to them the sufficiency of grace consisted in enabling a man to perform some supernatural

+ 1648, one of the leading professors of the Sorbonne, in 1, 2, q. 109, disp. 8, art. 1.

¹ In 1, 2, q. 109, a. 9.

² Hurter says in his *Nomenclator litterarius*, that the first author, who used the terms of *gratia sufficiens* and *efficax* was Adrian VI, an. 1500 ; but that these terms were already used fifty years sooner by Henricus a Gorichem, + 1450.

works without the need of a *gratia efficax*. See amongst others the testimonies of Robertus Pullus, 1130 ; Richardus a Mediavilla, 1290 ; Raynerius de Pisis, 1301 ; Thomas ab Argentina, 1345 ; Gabriel Biel 1490 ; Franciscus de Sylvestris, O.P., 1528 ; and Ludovicus Granatensis, O.P., 1589. We will give the words of the latter, because they summarise the general doctrine of these times :—

Duo auxiliorum genera theologi statuunt, quibus Deus homines ad se vocare solet ; quorum alterum *sufficiens* appellant, alterum *superabundans*, quodque omnem superat duritiam. Et quidem priori illo auxilio excitati homines *aliquando convertuntur*, aliquando converti renuunt ; hoc autem posteriori, quoniam majoris gratiae et virtutis est, nemo non convertitur.¹

It is clear from these words that the theologians, who flourished before the disputes between the Thomists and Molinists, admitted two very distinct graces,—one really sufficient, another more powerful or efficacious. When, however, the celebrated disputes arose between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, almost the whole theological world took sides with one or other of the parties, and so it came to pass that the old system began to fall into oblivion.

However, there was one University where it continued to be taught, and where it always received all the honours due to its antiquity ; this was the celebrated University of Paris, commonly called the *Sorbonne*. It would fill a long list to give the names of the celebrated professors of the Sorbonne, who continued to defend the old system. Such, for example, were Gamachacus, 1634 ; Ysambertus, 1648 ; Alphonsus Lemoyne, 1650 ; Isaac Habert, 1647 ; Boucat, 1718 ; Frassen, 1720 ; Tournely, 1725 ; and many others.

But towards the second half of the eighteenth century the Sorbonne began to lose its ancient splendour. Jansenism penetrated into France and infected even the University of Paris, till this great centre of learning disappeared in the great cataclysm of the French Revolution.

¹ *Opera*, ed. Romana, 1587, vol. ii., p. 256.

But, wonderful enough, the old system of grace abandoned, so to say, by everybody, was taken up with wonderful vigour by a man, who was destined to become a doctor of the Church, and, in a special way, the doctor of prayer. The man of whom I speak was St. Alphonsus Maria de Liguori. His powerful genius, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, clearly saw the immense importance of the Sorbonne system for the salvation of souls, and at once he threw the whole energy of his vigorous mind into the study of the system. After having carefully examined all the different systems on grace,¹ he became so convinced of the solidity of the old system, that he not only adopted it, but completed and strengthened it with new arguments, and brought out, stronger than any one had ever done before him, the important part *prayer* plays in the working and distribution of divine grace.²

The dissertations of St. Alphonsus, however, were written in Italian, and though later on translated into French and other languages, they remained almost unknown in the schools. Yet several solid theologians took it up as Knoll, Schwetz, Martinet, and others,³ till, finally, Father Herrmann appears with a fine Latin volume as the new champion of an old and venerable system.

We have read the book carefully, and we must say, that the impression made on us is a very favourable one. The system satisfies the fundamental aspirations which are found in every soul and, especially, by showing that everyone can through prayer obtain all the graces necessary for salvation, nourishes the feelings of true Christian hope.

¹ See Walter, *Op. dogm. S. Alph.*, i., 517. Romae : Cugiani, Vico della Pace. 1903.

² This is the reason why the system is rightly called by Father Herrmann, *Systema S. Alphonsi*, not that St. Alphonsus invented it, but because he completed it and, because as Doctor of the Universal Church, he may be considered as its most powerful defender. 'Illius systematis secundus saltem parens dicendus est S. Alphonsus.'—*Causa Doctoratus*, p. 55.

³ Professor Katschthaler, now Cardinal-Archbishop of Salzburg, in Austria, in his treatise *De Gratia*, amongst the various systems of grace gives also the system of St. Alphonsus. He speaks of it as the *systema syncretisticum*, and concludes his treatise with the following words: 'Ego si necesse esset uni alterive horum systematum assensum praebere, accederem theologis qui syncretisticum systema amplectuntur.'

Let us now give a brief summary of the system of St. Alphonsus:

1°. There exists a really sufficient grace, by which, without the accession of a new efficacious grace, we are enabled to perform the more easy duties of the Christian life, and especially, the easiest of all, namely, the duty of prayer.

St. Alphonsus proves this assertion first from the celebrated text of St. Paul: *qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire*. If God, says the Saint, wills all men to be saved, it follows that He gives to all that grace, and those aids, which are necessary for the attainment of salvation; otherwise it could never be said that He has a true will to save all. Now it is certain that all do not receive efficacious graces, consequently it is necessary that the sufficient graces be of such a nature that man can act with them; otherwise, a great number of men, being deprived of the efficacious graces, could never obtain heaven.

St. Alphonsus proves this proposition, secondly, from the *Council of Trent*. I beg the reader, he says, to give his best attention to this proof, which, if I am not mistaken, is decisive. Here, then, are the words of the Council: *Deus impossibilia non jubet; sed jubendo admonet et facere quod possis et petere quod non possis*. The Council of Trent, says St. Alphonsus, does not speak here of a '*gratia sufficiens quae dat posse solummodo*,' because it says: '*monet facere quod possis*;' it does not say: '*monet posse facere sed facere*,' which evidently proves that there exists a *gratia vere sufficiens*, by which without the help of a new efficacious grace we can perform the more easy acts, and ask for that grace required for the more difficult acts, as St. Augustine expresses it in another passage: '*hinc admonemur et in facilibus quid agamus et in difficilibus quid petamus*.'¹

¹ *de Nat. et Gratia*, c. 69, n. 83. See the many other arguments in Herrmann, who quotes more than forty great theologians of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries in favour of this first proposition of St. Alphonsus. The arguments in its favour are so strong, indeed,

2°. There exists besides the *gratia sufficiens* another stronger grace, namely, the *gratia ab intrinseco efficax*, that is to say, a grace which enlightens the mind so vividly, and inclines the will so powerfully, that it always and infallibly produces the act willed by God.

St. Alphonsus first proves the existence of an intrinsic efficacious grace from the *Scripture*, where it clearly appears that God has no need to await the consent of man, or to consider circumstances, but can by His omnipotent Will produce in man whatever He likes. *Sicut divisiones aquarum, ita cor regis in manu Domini; quocumque voluerit inclinabit illud.*¹ *Non est qui possit tuac resistere voluntati si decreveris.*² *Consilium meum stabit et omnis voluntas mea fiet,*³ etc. We have a beautiful example of the working of efficacious grace in the *conversion of St. Paul*. The actual dispositions of St. Paul were all contrary to grace; the circumstances too were highly unfavourable; but God *willed* that persecutor of the Church to be converted, and therefore He sent him a most powerful efficacious grace, which as a flash of lightning destroyed all opposition, and at once changed the lion into a lamb, the persecutor into an apostle.

St. Alphonsus proves his assertion, secondly, from the authority of *St. Augustine*. In fact, innumerable are the texts of St. Augustine, whereby he affirms the existence of a *gratia ab intrinseco efficax*. Thus, *v.g.*, in his work *de Corr. et Gratia*, c. 14, he says: *Cui volenti salvum facere nullum hominum resistit arbitrium . . . sine dubio habens humanorum cordium quo placeret inclinandorum omnipotentissimam potestatem;* and in another passage of the same work: *'Subventum est igitur infirmitati voluntatis humanae ut divina gratia indeclinabiliter et insuperabiliter ageretur.'*⁴

that a learned French Dominican, R. F. Guillermin, lately writing in the *Revue Thomiste* on Sufficient Grace, does not hesitate to admit that by the *gratia sufficiens* a man can really perform certain acts without the help of an efficacious grace.

¹ Prov. xxi. 1.

² Esther xiii. 9.

³ Isaias xlv. 10.

⁴ Migne, 44, 940. See other texts in Herrmann, p. 348, and the testimonies of other Fathers, pp. 349, 350.

Hence we shall not be astonished that in former times this *gratia ab intrinseco efficax* was generally admitted in the schools, not only by the Dominicans and Augustinians, but even by the earlier Jesuits. Thus for example *Ripaldi*, in his great work on grace, asks whether such a grace exists and answers:—

Communis theologorum sententia affirmat, quin noverim unum, qui neget. Quod stabilire promptum est ex sacris litteris, Ecclesiae Patribus theologicisque rationibus. Primo quia ad moralem Dei providentiam et potentiam spectat, ita subdere sibi arbitrium creatum, ut possit ab eo certo obtinere consensum quando et quomodo Deus voluerit. . . .¹

3°. This '*gratia efficax*' produces its effect infallibiliter, not by a physical but by a moral premotion.

Here St. Alphonsus leaves the neo-Thomists to follow the Augustinians, the theologians of the Sorbonne, and in general the old school. The reasons he has for doing so are certainly very weighty, for we may safely say that the influxus moralis is more in harmony with the Scriptures, where the working of God upon the soul is always described as a moral influence. *In funiculis Adam traham eos*. This influxus moralis is also more in harmony with the teachings of St. Augustine, who in innumerable passages of his works speaks of this moral drawing; 'trahitur anima amore. Videte quomodo trahit Pater, docendo delectat,' etc.²

4°. After having stated the nature of sufficient and efficacious grace, St. Alphonsus proceeds to state the relation between the two graces, and this part of the system is the most practical. What, then, is the relation between the two? Can I by means of the sufficient grace, given

¹ Tom. ii. p. 467.

² It may be interesting here to observe that the *praemotio physica* was unknown to the earlier Dominicans, and that some of them complain of its introduction as a novelty. So *v.g.* Conradus Koellin, a celebrated Dominican, speaks of the *praemotio physica* in the following words: 'Nota quod aliqui fundant se in hac solutione dicentes voluntatem non habere sufficiens principium sui actus sed oportet quod Deus moveat eam per specialem motionem . . . qua voluntas efficitur potens ad volendum. Sed salva reverentia ipsorum non videtur haec esse mens D. Thomae, sed solum quod Deus semper sicut universalis motor omnis voluntatis movet omnem voluntatem in ordine suo ad bonum,' in 1, 2, q. 9, a. 6.

to all men, obtain the efficacious graces not given to all men, and yet necessary for salvation? Yes, says St. Alphonsus, I can, and the great means to obtain the efficacious graces necessary for salvation is *prayer*. And here again St. Alphonsus but follows the doctrine of St. Augustine and of the older theologians. 'Deus,' says St. Augustine, 'dare vult sed non dat nisi petenti.'¹

5°. But not only is prayer the necessary means to obtain efficacious graces, it is also an *infallible* means. Here the apostolic spirit of St. Alphonsus shows itself at its best; here he speaks out of the fulness of his heart. He heaps text upon text from the Scriptures: 'Clama ad me et exaudiam te; invoca me et eruam te. Petite et dabitur vobis,' etc. Then he multiplies the quotations from the Fathers, and finally draws this solemn conclusion: 'He who prays is saved; he who does not pray is damned.'

This is in brief the beautiful system of St. Alphonsus.² As we have shown it is not a new system, but in truth the oldest of all systems. It is the true system of St. Augustine; it is in perfect harmony with the Scriptures and with all the attributes of God; it is neither too severe nor too lax. It contains the best elements of the other systems without having any of their disadvantages. It is full of encouragement for the just, and full of consolation for the sinners. It is the only one followed in practice, believed by the faithful, and preached from the pulpit by the clergy. We sincerely hope that for the time to come

¹ See further testimonies of St. Augustine in Herrmann, p. 468. See also in Herrmann the testimonies of the older theologians, such as Gabriel Biel, Raynerus de Pisis, Alphonsus Lemoyne, Duhamel, and many others, pp. 434-457.

² When there was question of conferring on St. Alphonsus the dignity of Doctor of the Church, 750 bishops, archbishops, and cardinals signed a petition addressed to the Holy See; and in this petition mention is also made of his system on grace in the following words: '*Exposita vera S. Augustini doctrina . . . mirum in modum probatur, omnibus hominibus dare gratiam, qua possunt actu ovare, quin ad hoc alia nova indigeant gratia; et ab omnibus, ope orationis, obtinere posse omnia auxilia ad servanda mandata et salutem consequendam necessaria.*' Certainly this testimony of the entire episcopate in favour of St. Alphonsus' system is of great value.

this consoling system will take a prominent place amongst the various systems on grace.¹

Perhaps a more interesting testimony for theologians in these countries would be a letter of Cardinal Newman. It was written to Dr. Ward and is found in the second volume of Dr. Ward's Life, by his son, p. 16. Ward had evidently written to Newman on the subject of St. Alphonso's doctrine on grace, and in his answer Newman says: 'Have you looked in Tournely on the subject of grace? Should he agree with St. Alphonso, it is very important. St. Alphonso seems to speak the mind of the present Church. . . .'

JOHN VAN ASTEN, C.S.S.R.

Theol. Lector.

¹ Cardinal Svampa, Archbishop of Bologna, in a letter directed to Father Herrmann, speaking of the various systems on actual grace, says: 'The theologians in treating the question of grace have as a rule given proof of much cleverness, but very often without realizing it they have been taken in by sophisms and gratuitous suppositions. St. Alphonsus, on the contrary, has given proof of great discernment, and animated by piety has thrown upon the doctrine of grace a light truly serene, which does good to the soul—ha illustrato la dottrina della grazia di una luce serena che fa bene all' anima.'

‘THE SOUL’S DELIGHT:’

A BOOK AND ITS STORY

IN one of a series of articles, contributed to the I. E. RECORD a few years ago, I had occasion to speak of the zeal of our missionaries of the seventeenth century in the matter of mental prayer. A formal report, dealing largely with so important a subject, was forwarded to Rome as early as the year 1626 by one of the Irish Discalced Carmelites, who comments on the wonderful success achieved in this respect by a priest of the Dublin community of Teresian Friars,—Father Paul of St. Ubaldus. We are told that this religious, especially, was indefatigable in exhorting those who frequented the first little chapel of his Order in Ireland to persevering earnestness in the pious exercises of prayer. Many of the faithful availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them by the Discalced Carmelites, then recently established in Dublin; and came at an appointed hour to be instructed in the simple method of meditation adopted by Father Paul: a devout practice which soon resulted in their making most edifying progress in the way of Christian perfection. Thoroughly imbued himself with the doctrine of the great mystical writers of his Order—who teach very emphatically that no state in life precludes the easy acquisition of the spirit of contemplative prayer, even in its sublimer forms—Father Paul had little trouble in leading his fervent clients through the various phases of the soul’s union with its Creator, which culminate in the attainment of eminent holiness.

Now, after the lapse of upwards of three hundred years, we ourselves should derive nothing but the most consoling thoughts from this narrative of the piety of both priests and people, during an eventful epoch in the history of Irish affairs, if a certain urgent motive for such zeal were not kept constantly before our minds. Of course,

the faithful primarily devoted themselves thus ardently to the duty of prayer as an efficacious means of rendering themselves always pleasing in God's sight; but we are assured, over and over again, that they were taught, likewise, to seek therein strength and courage to enable them to bear patiently the harsh trials and privations of their lot, as Catholics loyal to their religion. Moreover, safely guided by their spiritual directors, the Irish people quickly realised that intense happiness—indeed, the only true happiness to be had on earth—was by no means incompatible with the awful sufferings which they had to endure at the hands of their merciless persecutors. Their heroic fortitude throughout the Penal Days is proof positive of this fact, showing clearly how highly the faithful of Ireland appreciated the blessings of contentment and peace which the truth alone can give. And so we read of the amazement of the fanatical tyrants of the seventeenth century on beholding with what cheerful indifference, with what glad readiness, their victims renounced every prospect of temporal prosperity in order to safeguard their glorious heritage of the faith.

So, too, we find the Irish Teresian Carmelites, in subsequent times, equally anxious that those who sought their spiritual guidance should emulate the example which had been set them by their ancestors in the practice of mental prayer. While our forefathers were still struggling for Catholic Emancipation, one of the community of St. Teresa's, Clarendon Street, published here in Dublin an English version of Lewis de Granada's *Memorial of a Christian Life*, which is, also, an admirable treatise on the same important subject. This Discalced Carmelite was Father L'Estrange: intimately associated with O'Connell in those grand projects for the country's welfare which the Liberator had very dearly at heart. In another place I have given some interesting details of O'Connell's own spirit of Christian reliance on the efficacy of humble prayer.

The series of articles, to which I have referred, treats, for the most part, of the nature of the hardships and

sufferings borne by Irish Catholics, priests and people, from the beginning of the reign of Charles I until well into the nineteenth century. The sources of my information, in this respect, were chiefly the very letters of the persecuted missionaries themselves, forwarded to their superiors in Rome. As a matter of fact, the reasons why those pious conferences, conducted by Father Paul of St. Ubaldus, had to be interrupted, in the first instance, was owing to a raid made by the Castle authorities on the religious establishments in Dublin, about the year 1629. Later on (A.D. 1641), we find Father Paul's own name on a list of Irish Teresian Carmelites, who had been driven into exile. On his return to Ireland, at the imminent risk of his life, he exercised the sacred ministry in different parts of the country during the Puritan persecution. His zeal caused his enemies to be all the more vigilant; but he again succeeded in escaping to the Continent. Still, in the year 1659, his name occurs once more among those of his brethren engaged in the perilous duties of the Irish mission.

Even when far from the scenes of his arduous labours, Father Paul of St. Ubaldus never once lost sight of the spiritual needs of the many clients who had long depended upon him for encouragement and advice in his native land. It was then he conceived the happy idea of endeavouring to continue their guide in the way of Christian perfection by publishing an unassuming treatise on mental prayer; quite confident that he would find means of having such a manual widely circulated among the Catholics of Ireland. He completed this labour of love on the 8th of September, 1651; and duly submitted the manuscript to the censors appointed by his superiors. Owing to the difficulty of having a work written in the English language printed on the Continent in those days, it was not until the year 1654 that the book was brought out in Antwerp, at the 'Sign of the Pelican,' by a publisher named William Lesteens. *The Soul's Delight* is the title given to this treatise by Father Paul. As this book is extremely rare nowadays, I may consider myself very fortunate in having

recently secured a copy in an excellent state of preservation. It originally belonged to a certain ‘Allice Bowdon,’ as a note on the fly-leaf explains.

De Villiers, in his Bibliography of the Carmelite Order, can only inform us that the manuscript of *The Soul’s Delight* was preserved in the monastery of the Discalced Carmelites at Antwerp; and that it was written about the year 1655. He alludes to the author as a very distinguished Theologian—a man of great learning and holiness—who was ‘a native of Belgium, and a religious of the Belgian Province.’ In the book before us, Father Paul himself states explicitly that he was born in ‘the city of Dublin;’ and that he had completed his treatise on the date which I have already assigned. It is quite true that he entered the Order in Belgium, where he remained until the year 1625, when he volunteered, with Father Edward of the Kings, to come and establish the first monastery of the Teresian Carmelites in Ireland. Although recent important discoveries of valuable MS. documents have disclosed, among other things, Father Edward’s family name,—the Rev. John Sherlock—the name by which Father Paul of St. Ubaldus was called in the world, is at present, unknown. Twice in *The Soul’s Delight* he signs himself ‘S. B.,’ his friends being evidently familiar with these initials. But priests on the mission both in Ireland and England in those days were frequently obliged to conceal their identity, from the Government spies, under an assumed name.

The work is dedicated to ‘The Lady Francis Butler of Kilkash,’ daughter-in-law of Lady Thurles,—Catholic members of the Ormonde family—both ladies being highly esteemed by the author for the edification which they gave as practical Christians. Lady Butler had a private oratory at Kilkash; and Father Paul now commends her solicitude concerning everything pertaining to the due celebration of the Divine Mysteries. He praises God for the extraordinary sanctity of Lady Thurles, whose winning humbleness and simplicity of manner were the outward evidence of the virtues which adorned her soul;

and which was in such striking contrast with the worldly demeanour of many moving in the same social sphere. Well aware that *The Soul's Delight* would find little favour among those inclined towards the frivolous literature then much in vogue; still the author can heartily recommend it to all of a serious turn of mind. He fears, however, that Lady Butler and her friends may attach undue importance to his own poor part in the work: so great their reverence for the priestly character, and the monastic profession.

Further on, Father Paul apologises for the typographical errors occurring in the letter-press, which he attributes to the fact of the book having been produced in a foreign country, and by those unacquainted with the English tongue. He, also, pleads 'the gentle reader's' consideration for the absence of elegance of style; it is his sole ambition 'to make himself understood in plain, significant words.' Yet even the quaintness of diction in *The Soul's Delight* has a charm of its own; and certainly the author's frequent loving allusions to the cherished traditions of his Order afford most refreshing reading, though they may not appeal to those who question the great privileges which the clients of Carmel hold so dear. A Discalced Carmelite himself, Father Paul of St. Ubaldus would accept those traditions in the spirit in which they were received by St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross: the actual possession of the same being, to his mind, a more convincing argument of truth than even the testimony of the many profoundly learned writers of the Order whose judgment and accuracy in matters of historical research (during the course of the seventeenth century) are worthy of all praise.

The space at my disposal admits of little more than passing reference to the plan and scope of *The Soul's Delight*. Neither may I quote at a length from those chapters that would reveal the author's edifying spirit of piety; the few passages which I shall cite being rather to exemplify Father Paul's homely method of illustrating his sublime doctrine so as to impress his readers all the more forcibly; no matter how illiterate they should be,

or lowly their state of life. Incidentally, he gives us a very vivid insight into the nature of certain customs and manners of the time, in so far as they might prove a hindrance to prayer by fostering the spirit of worldliness. Knowing him to be thoroughly conversant with the mystical writings of St. Teresa, we are quite prepared to find abundant evidence of the author’s sound common sense throughout his entire work. Like the Seraphic Virgin, Father Paul has the deepest contempt for those silly vanities which might grow harmful, indeed, to a Christian otherwise anxious to embrace the Interior Life. Accordingly, he cautions his spiritual clients against worldly fashions in dress; and against foolish gossip about their neighbour’s affairs:—

And do not, as some (too careless of their salvation), indulge in dancing and in the singing of idle things. Others, very effeminate, keep looking in a glass, walking to and fro in their chambers; then back to the glass again: now they cast their hair on one side, now on the other; and comb it up and down, I know not how often, powdering it with some trash—in which vanity they spend not a little time.

But Father Paul carefully discriminates between conduct of this kind and the more dangerous forms of worldliness, leading Christians to ‘so drown themselves in temporal affairs’ as to forget God altogether, until their folly is brought home to them by the transitory nature of those things in which they had sought contentment: all such being ‘like unto a flower which seems fair to-day, but to-morrow, perhaps, it is gone—withered and decayed.’ His horror of worldliness of whatsoever kind is occasioned by the thought of one of its most prejudicial effects: to weaken man’s purpose in good, exposing him to temptation to heinous sin. When condemning crimes which should cause the practical Christian to shudder, Father Paul bears witness to the evils of the age; and furnishes us with a painfully graphic picture of the abuse of power and position in Ireland to add to the trials of the persecuted faithful. He sadly deplores the oppression of the poor by courtiers and officials, who stop at no excess in order

to gratify their passion of avarice. And he so speaks of the criminal extortions of land-agents in their dealings with the helpless tenants, as to remind us very forcibly of what Irish landlordism implied in more recent, trying times.

I shall best explain the nature of this treatise on mental prayer by submitting a brief summary of each of the three parts of *The Soul's Delight*: a division of the subject not unusual among experts when expounding the 'Science of the Saints.' The opening chapter of the First Part is devoted to a concise commentary on prayer in general; and speaking of the spirit of 'Our Holy Father and founder, Elias,' the author advances strong arguments to show how each Christian may aspire to that holiness of life which made the great prophet so pleasing to God. Step by step, the reader is guided from stage to stage in the Way leading finally to perfection. Practical rules are laid down for the profitable exercise of prayer, so that nothing may hinder the soul's unceasing union with its Creator. The same end always in view, Father Paul also includes a course of short meditations on the Eternal Truths in the First Part of his book, having already had consoling experience (when in Dublin) of the spiritual advantages to be derived from this pious practice.

Thus, he proposes the creation of man as a motive to impress upon the reader a salutary knowledge of self; and to inspire a great longing for the unchangeable happiness of the life to come, which should ever be before the mind of a rational being, conscious of his duty towards the Almighty. A special chapter contains striking reflections on the awful consequences of sin; in another we have many comforting thoughts suggested by the considerations on God's wondrous love for man, as manifested in the grand work of our Redemption. In the remaining chapters of this part we are given a very full explanation of the particular means whereby the soul shares in the fruits of our Divine Ransom; and the instructions for Confession and Communion are well calculated to inflame the hearts of the most tepid with devout sentiments of renewed con-

fidence and hope. All the exhortations are an edifying testimony to the earnestness of those for whom *The Soul's Delight* was written in the first instance; and equally to the author's beautiful spirit of humble piety.

It is not easy to realise that in the Second Part of his book Father Paul proceeds to deal technically with the grand subject of Catholic mysticism; so prudently does he accommodate his own expert knowledge to the comprehension of his readers. Even the youngest can grasp his method, and follow his arguments; there is no room for doubt or hesitancy here; all are imploringly invited to partake of the delights to be enjoyed in the sublimest form of contemplation. So familiar are we made with what the Purgative, the Illuminative, and the Unitive Ways imply respectively, that we can only regard the enterprise, upon which we are exhorted to engage, as the logical sequence of persevering faithfulness in the observance of the precepts of Christianity. After the careful perusal of this simple treatise, based on the safe principles, which have insured the final victory of each saint, no one—not even those morbidly nervous in spiritual matters—could any longer shrink from the study of what is rightly known as 'the crown of all the sciences.'

Like St. Teresa, Father Paul of St. Ubaldus employs the homeliest examples to elucidate doctrine most profound. He compares (as the Seraphic Virgin does, likewise) the soul to a garden from which every trace of the weeds of vice and passion must be removed; in order that 'the sweet herbs and flowers' of virtue may be planted therein to put forth their blossoms in perfection for eternity. Trying as the cultivating of this mystical garden may prove at seasons—especially during that dread drought of aridity of the soul, the very Calvary of saints—still Father Paul explains how the toil grows easy in the end: all being freshened and made most fair by the copious inflowing of the needful grace.

Therefore, our author would have his readers pay closest attention to the exercises of the Purgative Way; for the rooting out of evil habits is the first, and a most

important step in the process which will be short or long, easy or difficult, in proportion to the fervour of him who sets seriously about the work of his eternal salvation. The counsels regarding penance and mortification, given in the First Part of *The Soul's Delight*, should now bear 'seasonable fruit,' if progress is to be made at all in the way of perfection. The tediousness of the task is put before us, plainly but encouragingly, when Father Paul likens the state of a man 'newly brought from the world' to that of 'a young colt recently taken from its dam: it is wild, unruly and untractable. Yet by beating and labouring it for a certain time every day in the ring until it becomes wearied, it is made to fear and leave off flinging, casting behind, and leaping. And at length it takes the bridle, though with difficulty; and after a while permits the saddle to be put on; then it is shod; and at last suffers its rider to mount. When it is thus rendered pliable, the rider begins gently to urge it on, stroking it and making much of it; and ultimately teaching it how to amble, to trot fairly, or what else he may please.' A homely example, surely; still depicting very vividly the subject which our author's pious ingenuity suggests to illustrate the patience and determination required to bring the undisciplined human heart under absolute control of the Christian's firm good will.

Treating of the Illuminative Way, Father Paul points out, in an instructive and edifying manner, how virtue comes, eventually, to be practised for the far purer motive of advancement in spirituality. 'It may well be called the Illuminative Way, since the dark clouds of sin are now dispersed; and the tempestuous winds of the unmortified passions—which obscured, blinded and troubled the understanding—are appeased by the exercises of the First Degree of Prayer.' The illustrations in this section of the Treatise are mainly drawn, as if in keeping with the more sublime nature of the subject-matter, from objects in the visible universe of the very noblest kind. For:—

now the sun of justice enlightens the mind so that it sees perfectly the great misery the poor soul was in; and that only by

the practice of virtue can a man be prevented returning thither again. . . . Little by little, the purity of the soul increasing, he gaineth a certain facility in the exercises of this Way, accompanied by contentment of spirit, and a sweetness in the practice of prayer. And well instructed by many illuminations, he realises how all that is in this world is but vanity, and hath an end; and that only virtue and a godly life hath eternal glory.

Each point of his doctrine is skilfully reasoned-out by the author, and confirmed by very apposite allusion to incidents in the Life and Passion of our Saviour, which lends a note of greater urgency to the teaching contained in *The Soul's Delight*.

By the time we are led to the consideration of the Unitive Way, or the State of the Perfect, we have no trouble whatever in following Father Paul's exposition of this degree of Mental Prayer. The simplicity of style remains unchanged; and it is consoling to find that the author proposes 'the Blessed Mary Magdalen' as a most excellent 'pattern' of the soul's passage through those three stages of the Mystical Way. He traces the Saint's progress in virtue from the moment of her conversion until she has attained to that degree of holiness which her Divine Master Himself proclaimed as 'the Better Part': a life wholly absorbed in Unitive Prayer. And the hearts of his readers might well glow at the thought of the virtues adorning the great Saint's soul, while Father Paul is thus speaking of the wonders wrought by sanctifying grace.

As for the Third Part of the Treatise, we are assured in the opening paragraph that this book merely contains the teaching of St. Teresa on the subject; Father Paul finding it necessary to include these chapters in his work, because it was so difficult to secure an English translation of the Seraphic Virgin's writings in those days. He has deferred touching upon what he calls the 'purely supernatural aspects of Prayer' until he satisfied himself that there can be no longer any danger of his readers misunderstanding what might, in certain cases, occasion very erroneous notions in the minds of those anxious to devote themselves to the Interior Life. With St. Teresa, he insists upon the

fact of those extraordinary manifestations, such as visions, ecstasies, and raptures, being by no means indispensable for the attainment of the highest grade of sanctity ; although they are vouchsafed at times to specially favoured souls, perhaps to those so grounded in holy humility as to believe themselves still engaged in the trying exercises of the Purgative Way. However, the discernment of such supernatural signs forms an important phase in the science of Mysticism ; and our author deals with the matter—employing, as a rule, familiar words and phrases instead of technical terms—so as to render his advice most profitable to those earnest in the Christian's vocation of living always in the presence of God.

■ Apology is hardly due for having submitted the book to public notice in this place ; from an historical point of view, it supplies us with much reliable information concerning the Church in Ireland at a very critical time. It furnishes, moreover, a convincing argument as to how our Irish missionaries of the seventeenth century had ever the highest interests of their clients closely at heart, notwithstanding their own grievous trials—often including, as in the case of Father Paul, a season of wearisome exile from their beloved native land. On these grounds alone—not forgetting, of course, what solace and strength *The Soul's Delight* afforded to many of the faithful in the hour of their pressing need—the book may be regarded as being of little less importance than those various original documents, which shed considerable light on the condition of Irish Catholics during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; and from which we have learned how the pious people of Dublin came to assist at those spiritual conferences, conducted by Father Paul, in the first humble chapel of the Discalced Carmelites in Ireland.

JAMES P. RUSHE, O.D.C.

DANTE AND THE GOLDEN AGE

PURGATORIO, XXVIII. 139-144

PETER LOMBARD, one of the founders of Scholastic Theology, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, put forward the view that the Golden Age of the classical poets was perhaps a reminiscence of the earthly Paradise handed down by vague tradition. This idea was taken up by Dante, and tersely set out in a few striking lines. While exploring the 'divine forest,' described in the early part of the twenty-eighth Canto of the *Purgatorio*, the Poet met a beautiful lady gathering flowers, who explained to him many things that seemed so wonderful. At the close of her discourse, she adds what she calls a corollary, as follows:—

Quelli che anticamente poetaro
 L'età dell'oro e suo stato felice,
 Forse in Parnaso esto loco sognaro.
 Qui fu innocente l'umana radice ;
 Qui primavera sempre, ed ogni frutto ;
 Nèttare è questo di che ciascun dice.

Those poets who of old the golden age,
 And all its bliss, recorded in their verse,
 Perhaps of this place in Parnassus dreamed.
 Here free from sin the human race began ;
 Here was perennial spring, and every fruit ;
 Here was the nectar which they all have sung.

GERALD MOLLOY

DR. SHEEHAN'S LATEST WORK

THERE is not, I feel sure, a single living writer of English prose whose works are looked forward to with such interest by Irish and Catholic readers as are those of Canon Sheehan. It is not alone that he is regarded as a front-rank exponent of Irish Catholic thought. In his case we are always sure of sound Catholic feeling ; we know that he will never utter a syllable that would leave an unpleasant effect on the mind ; and we are confident that his unerring sureness of touch in dealing with the life of our people will save him from those grating utterances, which others, who ought to know better, are wont to give expression to. The present writer, in common with so many other admirers of the now illustrious *soggarth*, was inclined to welcome his latest story even before reading it. Now that I have read it, I can gladly say that there is no need to withdraw the welcome—rather is there reason for a more cordial greeting.

In the present instance, Father Sheehan has broken what is for him almost entirely new ground. We have none, or almost none, of the delineation of Irish clerical life that we find in *Luke Delmege* and *My New Curate*, and still less of that exalted appeal to lay Catholic Ireland which marked the pages of *Geoffrey Austin* and *The Triumph of Failure*. We have rather an historical Irish novel, in which the secular side of our national life is predominant. For this reason the book will be less interesting to many than his former works ; but we must judge it by its own standards, not according to our own preconceived notions.

The story which the book unfolds may be briefly told. The Doneraile Conspiracy case of 1829, had its batch of informers. The wife of one of these, reduced to a state of starvation and desperation, leaves her infant child in the cattle-stable of a neighbouring farmer whom she knows to be a charitably-disposed man. The farmer keeps the

child and rears her, endeavouring all the while to conceal the fateful birth-taint that he knows she suffers from. But the secret leaks out in spite of all his vigilance. His neighbours cannot understand his action. Some of them are furious in their resentment. They expostulate with him ; they warn him of the curse that must attend his sheltering the offspring of an approver ; and finally, they murder him in his own home. The poor girl flies for her life from the home of her childhood, and wanders in loneliness and want during the dark days of 1847. She is discovered dying of starvation on the roadside by the local blacksmith,—who has loved her for many years—and after careful nursing she recovers health and strength. The blacksmith, heedless of the obloquy which he knows full well his action will bring upon him, makes her his wife. Years pass by and a powerful son grows up to the approver's daughter and her courageous husband. Young Casey is the greatest athlete of the countryside. He is first and foremost in every local tournament. He is the doughty champion of his parish in every athletic contest. But the primeval curse is upon him. The people pity him and despise him in spite of his prowess. They smile that quiet knowing smile so familiar to the middle and lower classes in this country when he waxes eloquent on the wrongs of his native land. The young men look at one another with a glance that is eloquent when they hear him urge them on to a fight for Ireland. He is puzzled at their indifference to his appeals. He little suspects the real cause. At length his eyes are opened. In the midst of an immense gathering of spectators, after he has won one of his hardest fought athletic triumphs, the dishonour of his birth is rudely flung in his face by an infuriated opponent. Casey leaves the field in despair. He bids adieu to the girl he loved, for he cannot bring himself to disgrace herself and her family by an alliance which would stain for ever their fair and untarnished name. He seeks a home and hopes for surcease of sadness beyond the Atlantic. Even there he hears an echo of the infamy which surrounds his name in Ireland. Twenty-five years—

weary years, of exile mellow his recollections of the old land, and he returns to claim his early love. The memory of his birth-taint has not even yet died out, but it is only among the oldest that it survives. Now comes what we cannot but regard as an unusual *denouement*: he marries, not the woman he loved a quarter of a century ago (for she is now a faded widow), but her youthful daughter,—the image of what her mother was in the olden time.

The *motif*, then, of the novel is the curse that attends the informer and the informer's descendants in Ireland. Father Sheehan preaches this lesson incessantly throughout the book. Whether the *motif* was wisely chosen is, perhaps, open to question. There are those who think that it has been already borne in upon the public mind in a thousand ways,—in history, and in fiction, in ballads, stories, and dramas. However, it is a great outstanding fact of our socio-political life, that has never been approached from Father Sheehan's point of view, and never, certainly forced upon the reader's notice with such abiding eloquence and force.

But the driving home of such a truth necessitated a rather complicated narrative. The fate and fortunes of three generations,—for the curse descends to the children's children—are described at length. True, we meet the hero at the commencement of the story. We no sooner meet him, however, than we are hurried back to the days of the hero's grandfather, who figured ingloriously in the Doneraile Conspiracy case, and we are brought through an elaborate account of his mother's chequered career before we are again face to face with his own personality. Such a course, though useful for the working out of the author's main idea, tends to render the story disjointed, and does not make for that unity of action which ought to characterise every work of fiction. But it must be said in fairness that the author has adopted a most ingenious means of meeting the difficulty under which his plot laboured. He has made the hero's mother the real heroine of the book, and by far the most fascinating character, thus spreading an absorbing interest over the greater portion of the work.

Father Sheehan's description of the Doneraile Conspiracy case is replete with dramatic power. It is, as he tells us, but a transcript from actual nineteenth century history ; but the historical facts lend themselves in his hands to a blending of the romantic, the pathetic, and the picturesque in description, such as one rarely meets with even in this age of brilliant descriptive prose. There is no longer need to debate the truth of the story as told by Father Sheehan : it is now admitted on all hands that the Conspiracy was a fabrication, the witnesses suborned perjurers, the jurors of the true-blue type, and counsel for the Crown intent not merely on presenting the case for the prosecution, but on securing a conviction at all hazards. O'Connell rescued the unfortunate peasants from the doom that awaited them, saving those for whom he was in time to plead, and dragging from the jaws of death those already convicted and sentenced. Here is fine scope for passionate invective and enthusiastic sympathy in one who feels for the peasantry and agrees with them, as Father Sheehan, needless to say, does. His picture of the crowded court-house, filled with the Protestant gentry and their satellites, but shunned by the friends of the prisoners, almost as a hostile garrison with its guns trained upon them would be shunned, is very realistic. The finest thing in the book, however, is his account of William Burke's ride from Cork to Caherciveen, to secure the services of the Liberator. The terrible ordeal of facing ninety Irish miles of an unknown mountain road, with but one horse to complete the journey, the physical exhaustion of horse and man, the swelling and subsiding hope of the rider, the almost sympathetic response of the dumb animal to the demand made upon his endurance by the rider, the weird sights and sounds of the long, lone night ride, are brought before the reader with a lightning-like vividness that recall's Mazeppa's ride in Byron :—

With glossy skin and dripping mane
And reeling limbs and reeking flank
The wild steed's sinewy nerves still strain
Up the repelling bank.
We gain the top : a boundless plain

Spreads through the shadows of the night,
And onward, onward, onward, seems
Like precipices in our dreams
To stretch beyond our sight.

Quotation would do scant justice to the author's beautiful description. Let the reader judge for himself from the entire passage.

There is some fine character-drawing in *Glenanaar*. Edmond O'Connor, the farmer who harbours the approver's daughter, is a splendid type of Irish peasant,—strong, muscular, silent, honest to a fault, truthful under all circumstances, satisfied with little if only his conscience be at rest, filled with a living faith and an undying hope. He has himself been the victim of the approver's malice, yet he will not allow a thought of revenge to deter him from shielding the poor defenceless child, 'that God sent us this blessed Christmas night.' He stands by her even when all his family are opposed to him, and heroically refuses to turn her adrift when ordered to do so at the mouth of the rifle. We had come to love this creation of Father Sheehan's so strongly that we felt sad to find his end was so tragic and so cruel. The Deirdre of the piece, Nodlaf, is herself a fascinating picture. Strange in her manner, mysterious in her history, she is like no girl around her. She is noticed from her childhood for her aloofness, her unconscious dignity, her unmistakable superiority over all her female contemporaries. There is that in her which compels the admiration of her neighbours, much as they dislike her because of her birth-stain. She lives a life apart, at first wondering at the unfriendliness of her acquaintance, and afterwards brooding in solitude over her unmerited misfortune. If Father Sheehan were at all inclined to yield to that alluring temptation which besets so many novelists—the temptation to grow enamoured of his own characters—he would have provided a more kindly end for Nodlaf's troubled life. Nor can we withhold our need of admiration from the character of the 'Yank.' His resolve to sacrifice all earthly happiness rather than bring his own dishonour upon others, his fidelity to faith and fatherland under the

strain and stress of twenty-five years' temptations in America ; his undying resolve to be faithful to the object of his earliest affections, are traits of character that do not appeal in vain to the sympathy of the reader.

Indeed we might say of most of the men and women in this book that their figures stand out in bold clear outline upon the canvas. The big, burly blacksmith, so lovable in his courageous honesty and childlike ingenuousness ; the younger Mrs. O'Connor, with her unscrupulous worldly wisdom ; the 'Yank's' young wife in all her confiding sincerity, the firebrand sister of the latter, not so untamable as she looks,—surely it would be difficult to find more clearly distinguished types of Irish manhood and womanhood.

Within the limits which he set himself, clear, definite characterization was all that could be expected from the author of *Glenanaar*. It would have been impossible for him to make the analysis of character very deep or very acute. In fact, the introspection or psychological element is almost altogether absent. Not that I regret the absence very much. I think we have had enough of it and to spare in latter-day fiction. How really refreshing and healthful it is to turn from our later novelists—even Dr. Barry—to the bracing atmosphere of Thackeray ! There is something in the old master that gladdens while it engrosses, yet never tears a passion to tatters, nor leaves the reader a spent force after the perusal. The dissecting of poor humanity may be, and in the hands of a first-rate literary practitioner always is, a work of great skill and keen penetration, requiring much breadth and depth of sympathy, profound knowledge of life, and a sounding of the depths of one's own heart where rod or plummet has, perhaps, never gone before. No flippant dogmatist or shallow-hearted cynic, I admit, can ever give the world a sympathetic appreciation of even one 'vast profound' in human passion. But while all this is undoubtedly true, it is just as undeniable that the portrayal of character by successive acts rather than by searching analysis, makes a far less exacting demand upon the mind of the reader, and leaves him a brighter and a happier man. In these

days of high tension and neurotic tendencies it is no slight ordeal to follow the fortunes of the principal characters in *Robert Elsmere*, in *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, or even in *The Two Standards*. No doubt Mrs. Ward, and Mr. Hardy, and Dr. Barry, knew the audience for whom they wrote these works, and spoke to their audience in accents which they knew would be appreciated. For a novelist, like an orator, if he wishes to conciliate his hearers, must take in their vague feelings in vapour and fling them back in flood. No matter how firmly he holds aloof from them in principle he must at least compromise with their tastes and prejudices if he wishes to win them to his way of thinking or to leave behind him a luminous track. But the selection of the psychological method in order the more effectively to preach a moral or deliver a message to a particular public, is no reason why that method should be chosen when a writer speaks to an audience with no morbid tastes or ingrained prejudice. And indeed I would venture to assert that for people generally it is better to look outwards than inwards ; better to be up and doing than turning a search-light upon their own inner and hidden selves ; better read a book in which action speaks than one in which introspective meditation takes the place of action.

In *The Triumph of Failure* Father Sheehan was sufficiently introspective for the most ardent admirer of the psychological novel ; and it is said that that work is his favourite. Nevertheless, I make bold to say that with all its marvellous eloquence and imaginative spirituality, *The Triumph of Failure* is not a prime favourite with the public. Nor would its high and holy appeal to Irish Catholic laymen be less certain to find an echo in faithful souls if the ideals set forth in the evolution of Charles Travers' mind were more fully translated into act in the development of that noble character.

In another respect, too, *Glenanaar* differs very noticeably from *The Triumph of Failure*, and indeed from *My New Curate*, *Luke Delmege*, and *Under the Cedars and the Stars*. There is a very marked reserve in the use of the author's learning. It must have been a very severe dis-

cipline which a writer of his vast erudition exercised when he succeeded in producing a work of over three hundred pages without a single reference that the most unsophisticated reader could not understand. To the ordinary story-reading public this reserve is a decided advantage. It takes appreciably from the pleasure of a passage if one cannot comprehend some learned allusion, or even if one is compelled to consult an encyclopædia (which the ordinary story-reader has not got). But it piques one's pride beyond endurance if a sentence or passage is quoted (without translation) from a foreign author whose language the reader has not learned, much less mastered. I remember having read some years ago a lengthy article in an English periodical detailing the advantages of the allusive style. The writer of the article declared that it was a tribute to the reader's learning, and therefore astutely pandered to his vanity, to find the author making reference, in the most *nonchalant* fashion, to names, dates, and historical facts which only very well read book-worms were acquainted with. I fancy, however, that the truth is all the other way. What tribute is it to me if I find that I am ignorant of what the author expects all his readers to know? The writer of that article evidently never looked at the matter from the standpoint of 'the man in the street.' He never bethought him of the annoyance caused to readers with but ordinary equipment when they find themselves face to face with allusions which are for them no better than sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

When I sit down to read a novel I do not expect a literary or historical chart laid before me. I want a well-told story, burdened with no recondite historical references or far-fetched literary comparisons. Such things, brilliant and ingenious though they be, too often divert the mind from the logical sequence of the thought, and while adding purple patches to the work, do not conduce to its unity, and certainly not to its intelligibility. If proof were wanted that the allusive style is not essential to the highest reaches of literature what need we do but point to Cardinal Newman! In the whole range of English prose, there is

nothing more clear, more impressive, more finished. His words, as his recent brilliant biographer (whose style is the most highly allusive I know of) happily remarks, are transparencies that let his meaning through. That uninterrupted flow of transparent thought carries its own far-shining splendour into the mind of the reader, and leaves behind an impression as lasting as it is vivid. Yet Newman's style is remarkably free from allusion. He speaks in a language which every reader can understand. Though a writer of real literary resource and real literary brilliance, Newman studiously refrains from literary side-glances.

These remarks do not in any way imply that the allusive in style is to be altogether condemned. There are some subjects which cannot be treated at all without reference to collateral fields of thought, and some again which naturally call for collateral treatment if they are to be dealt with at all adequately. It would be a very truncated estimate of Shakespeare, for instance, which would leave out all reference to the other English poets, omit all mention of the great tragedians of Hellas, and ignore the deep-voiced utterance which human nature found during the nineteenth century in the literatures of Russia, Germany, and France, as well as England. But illustrations from other fields of knowledge which tend to obscure rather than to clear up the matter in hand, allusions that are by no means obvious or necessary, references that could be avoided, seem to be the pet devices of some contemporary writers to render their style original and impart to it a kind of vague, misty beauty.

Take such a work as *Under the Cedars and the Stars*. Therein we are given to understand from the commencement that the author means to indulge in a series of philosophical reveries, literary disquisitions, and comparative views of men and things. We know at once that the book is not meant for the multitude. We are prepared for what is coming, and cannot complain if we find ourselves suddenly borne out beyond our depths. Many of the beautiful passages in that book would be completely out of place in a novel, no matter how dexterously woven into the

plot. In their present setting they are both appropriate and beautiful.

No living Irishman has pleaded so eloquently against emigration from Ireland as the author of *Glenanaar*. One can never forget the glorious passages in *Luke Delmege* wherein he declaims against the spirit of Mammon-worship which is dragging our people from the shores of Ireland in quest of untold wealth beyond the seas. He strikes the same note in his latest work. There is a fond hope expressed that the 'Yank' and his young wife may return before long to their native land, and seek amidst the simple happiness of our island home a recompense, an ample recompense, for the surrender of the strenuous life of America. There is a touching appeal to our brethren abroad to 'come back to Erin.' The dangers that beset the Irishman in the United States are told in thrilling tones by the hero, whose manly voice throbs with agitation as he refers to the sad lot which has befallen some of our exiled fellow-countrymen. The lesson, probably, would have been better preached if the hero were not himself an embodiment of striking material success in the land of his adoption. For, although he represents in himself only the luckier type of Irish emigrant, his prominent figure may easily leave a more lasting image on the reader's mind than the unlucky ones whose careers he describes so graphically. But it would be hypercritical in the last degree to find fault with *Glenanaar* on this account. The exigencies of the plot required that the hero should return in affluence: there would be an utter lack of poetic justice if he did not. And it must be borne in mind that when he does return in affluence he is not 'discreetly silent' about his less fortunate fellow-Irishmen, as are some of his type in real life.

Many of Father Sheehan's admirers will be disappointed with his latest effort, as it lacks the most fascinating characteristics of his earlier works. They will look in vain for that genial happy humour, so racy of the soil, which graced his two clerical novels. And their search for another manifestation of his power to paint the spiritual life of our country will be equally fruitless. Neither one nor the other

feature is visible in this book. The story to be told was rather grim for any exhibition of wit or humour; and the part of narrator played by the priest whom the author introduces left little room for any picture of that religious horizon which surrounds every area of social activity in Ireland.

With this feeling of disappointment it is impossible not to sympathize. If Father Sheehan were not so unique a success as a delineator of the best aspects of our national character the feeling would not be so reasonable. But seeing that he has tapped the purest well-springs of the Celtic heart in his earlier writings we must needs regret his new departure in the present instance. The best of our Irish novelists have dealt too largely with the sombre side of our people's existence,—the tragedy and pathos of our history, the hardships of the peasant's lot at present. Banim's works, so powerful, and in some respects so true, a reflex of the Irish peasant's outlook upon life, are painted in very sombre tints. Gerald Griffin, more powerful still, and more true, has sung the saddest of Jeremiads in his *Collegians*. Even Kickham, as any reader of *Sally Cavanagh* will agree, has left us a gruesome picture indeed in that tragic tale. And not even Kickham, truest of Irish novelists in the strict sense though he be, has given us such genuinely delightful native humour as Father Sheehan has scattered through the pages of his two best-known works. There is none of the 'slap-dash' fun and frolic of Lever, none of the stage Irishman. There is none of the absurd gibberish which is so often set down as Irish *brogue*. Nothing but the purest and sweetest effusion of innocent drollery, flavoured (especially for us priests) by the introduction of the clerical element in a manner that has never hitherto been approached. On the other hand, there is an exaltation of view in his descriptions of our people's all-pervading faith which can come from but one source,—the inspiration of true genius. He has trodden 'the fair hills of holy Ireland,' and the light of the Irish sky has glorified his imagination. May we hope that at some future time, when the author has had some respite

from the exhausting labours of recent years, he will touch the old chords anew and reawaken those strains which only his master-hand can evoke ?

Such a wish does not imply that we are ungrateful for present favours, or insensible to the merits of the present work. On the contrary, we hope it may find its way to every parochial library, every Catholic home, and every presbytery in the country. It is not every day we can make such an addition to our stock. *Glenanaar* contains scenes, especially descriptive scenes, that belong to the highest order of literary painting. It has the glow of enthusiasm in many fine passages, And there is throughout a note of eloquence, subdued for the most part, but rising at times to a high level indeed. It is a most readable book. It is a book which most readers will prefer to the sensational novel we see so much of nowadays, and it supplies in its own measure a counter-attraction to that class of literature.

EDWARD NAGLE.

THE MESSIANIC IDEA—III

JESUS CHRIST THE TRUE MESSIAH

IN the two preceding articles, we have tried to outline the foundations, and extent of the Messianic hope, so far as those might be discovered in the Old Testament, by eyes not illumined by the light of faith ; and so far as our study bore on the assumptions on which Christ based His claim to be the Messiah, it proved their truth—the Scriptures do indeed give testimony that some one was expected, and that his coming was supposed to be repeatedly promised by Jehovah. With eyes still closed to the supernatural light, let us now turn to Jesus Christ, who claims to have fulfilled in Himself all those promises.

Whatever may be said of His claim, His appearance on the world's stage at such a time, and the strange story of His life, shall ever remain the most marvellous fact in the history of humanity. There is a sublime mysteriousness surrounding the personality of that Nazarene ; the equal of which, is sought for in vain amongst the annals of men. His human character is the most noble, and His life's history the most marvellous, that creation has ever known. But let us turn to the central idea of His life. Is He the Messiah ? The lowliness of that life, and the utter want of worldly greatness which characterized it, may first lead us to answer in the negative. Our human nature may at first recoil, from admitting, that He who had not whereon to lay His head, could be identical with the glorious Priest-King of the Psalmists, whose majesty dazzled us, and whose universal sway brought up before our minds, pictures of surpassing glory and inimitable greatness. But then, these are pictures congenial to human nature. Our natural proclivities incline us to entertain such thoughts, and to hide away whatever seems lowly and obscure. Let us study the life of Christ more closely, and see if our first impressions

be not false, even while the Scriptures remain true, and Christ's claim justified. God's ways are not our ways, and perhaps there is with Him a true greatness and magnificence, compatible with lowliness and obscurity, and linked up with them in some way that our poor eyes are loth to see; a greatness, of which worldly splendour is but the shadow, if even that. Across the brightness of the Messianic picture, we have seen those dark shadows that spoke of suffering and of humiliation and of death. Perhaps in the life of Christ we shall discover the meaning of their presence.

Beside the Messianic picture let us place the reality of Christ's life as reflected in the pages of the New Testament, and see if one be not the fact of which the other is a foreshadowing. The reality may not be what our study of the foreshadowing suggested, but let us see whether it be not the unmistakable reality all the same; and whether under the new light from the life of Christ, we may not discern a deeper real meaning in the Old Testament passages, and an explanation of what hitherto was difficult to understand. Linger not for the present over any one fact of Christ's life, let all stand out before your mind, and beside the Messianic picture, in the setting which history has given them—then compare.

The Child, it is said, was born of a virgin, who did not cease to be a virgin when she became a mother. When He was conceived, an angel tells that He was to be the Messiah, and that of His kingdom there was to be no end (Luke ii. 31-33). At his birth in the city of *Bethlehem* (Matt. ii. 1), the music of heavenly choirs is heard on the Galilean hillsides, and the angels singing glory to God, and on earth peace to men of good-will, because *the expected one had come* (Luke ii. 14).

The angels bade the wandering shepherds seek Messiah in His lowly home, and there the shepherds found the Child Jesus lying in a manger, and all who heard their strange story wondered at the *things that were come to pass* (Luke ii.) Nay, stranger still, in far off lands some messengers unknown had told the news, and wise men from the East had come

to seek the new-born King of the Jews, and falling down before that Child they adored Him, and offered Him their precious gifts of gold, and frankincense and myrrh (Matt. ii. 1-11.)

Six months before the birth of Jesus, another child was born, whose duty it was to be the Prophet of the Most High, and to herald the coming of the expected one (Luke i.); and thirty years afterwards we meet that child again by the Jordan's banks, telling all men to do penance that *the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand*; that the time of salvation had come, as well as the time of punishment for sin; that the expected one was in their midst—the Lamb of God who would take away the sins of the world (John i. 29; Matt. iii.) When John meets Jesus he proclaims in public, that He is the Messiah, and Jesus begins His public life amongst His countrymen, with the purpose of accomplishing the promises from the ancient days.

The great object of His life was, to establish on earth the Messianic kingdom. His first public sermon was to do penance for the *Kingdom of Heaven was at hand*¹ (Matt. iv. 17). He went about Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching that same kingdom (Matt. iv. 23). Its description, and blessings, formed the subject of many a discourse, as He gradually unfolded to His countrymen the nature of His work; and when the Galileans, awe-stricken at His miracles, and wondering at His teaching, sought to detain Him, His answer was, 'To other cities also *must I preach the Kingdom of Heaven, for thereto am I sent*' (Luke iv. 43).

The mission He gives to His apostles is the same. Whether He sends them merely to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. v. 57), or to all nations and to every creature (Mark xvi. 15), the tidings they are charged to bear is, *that the Kingdom of Heaven is now established on earth*. Whoever despises His Apostles as they discharge their appointed work, despises Him who sent them (Luke x. 16); whoever refuses to hear them, shall

¹As already remarked, the Kingdom of Heaven is none other than the expected Messianic Kingdom.

perish, while the obedient shall possess eternal life (Mark xvi. 16.) His kingdom was to be world-wide—Catholic in the true sense (Mark xvi.), and outside it there would be no salvation. Christ's many descriptions of His kingdom may not be here dwelt upon; but we may refer to a few which give us a fuller insight into its nature. He compares it to a grain of mustard seed, that, small in itself, grows into a mighty tree, in the branches of which all the birds of the air come and dwell (Matt. xiii.); or to the sheepfold into which He gathers all the sheep, and provides for them like a true pastor. These sheep are not all from the Judean fold, other sheep He has which are not of that fold, and these also must He bring, that there may be but one fold and one shepherd (John x.). Jew and Gentile are no longer to be separated. In His kingdom they shall dwell together, and the brotherly love which shall characterize their lives shall be the sign whereby all men may know that they are His (John xiii. 25). His kingdom comes not indeed with observation (Luke xvii. 20), it has little of the greatness which the world values, but it has a higher and a truer worth. In it is justice and peace and judgment and the remission of sin (Luke xxiv. 47). It lacks the splendour that is of wealth and worldly power, but it possesses the higher splendour of grace, and sanctity, and union with God. The members shall be united to Christ, as the branch is to the vine, and from Him shall draw their higher life and strength (John xv.) Wonderful, indeed, is to be the dignity of each member, for the least in the Kingdom of Heaven shall be greater than John the Baptist, who was the greatest in the Old Dispensation¹ (Luke iii. 28). Yet amongst the members themselves, greatness is to be regulated by obedience to the law. He who observeth every jot and tittle of the law, and so teacheth men, he shall be called great in the kingdom, but he who violateth the smallest of the precepts, and so teacheth men, he shall be called the least (Matt. v. 19).

¹ It is hardly needful to state the sense in which this is true.

The ideas we may thus gather from the Gospels, about the nature of the new kingdom, are comparatively vague ; for Christ, with a purpose, spoke in parables, and it was only to the Apostles it was given to know the mysteries of the kingdom (Matt. xiii. 11). We shall see afterwards how beautifully the Apostles, under the guidance of the Paraclete, developed these fundamental ideas, but for the present we keep our gaze fixed on Christ.

In moments of admiration, and when their minds were not swayed by the malignity of the Pharisees, the multitudes acknowledged that Christ was the Messiah¹ (Matt. xii. 23 ; xxi. 9-15). All the country was filled with talk about this wonder-worker, who said He was the Christ ; and John sent his disciples to Him to know if He was such (Matt. xi. 1). The credentials which Christ produces are His work,—the fulfilment of the Messianic promises. The blind see, the deaf hear, the lame walk, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them. With truth, indeed, might He give such credentials, for wherever He went grace went out from Him. At His touch the scales of leprosy fell from the ' poor accursed ' (Matt. viii. 2 ; Luke xvii. 12), the blind eyes become sensitive to heaven's light (Matt. ix. 27-30 ; xii. 22 ; xx. 30-43 ; xxi. 14), the paralysed form regained a healthy vigour (Matt. iv. 24 ; viii. 6-13 ; ix. 2-6), the diseased mind its deserted peace (Matt. iv. 24 ; xvii. 14-17). At His voice the demons fled from their victims (Matt. viii. 28-32 ; Matt. ix. 32 ; xii. 22 ; xvii. 17) ; nay, even the departed souls obeyed, and again breathed life into the inanimate body (Matt. ix. 19-25).

Though firm in maintaining His claims, yet wherever He could He avoided contention, for betimes He tells the recipients of His miraculous benefits to tell no man (Luke viii. 56). But, though humble, He makes strong professions of His own greatness. He foretells His rejection by His own people (Matt. xxvi. 31), His death at their hands, and His resurrection victorious over His enemies (Matt. xvii. 9 ; xvii. 21, 22 ; xx. 18, 19 ; xxvi. 32 ; John iii. 14).

¹ 'Son of David,' in the mouth of a Jew, meant the same as Messiah.

He proclaims Himself greater than the greatest of His people's ancestors, greater than Abraham (John viii. 58), or Moses (v. 45 ; vi. 32), or David (Matt. xxii.) ; and, though the claim cost Him His life, He pauses not, to declare that He is the Son of God. He does not ask His hearers to receive these statements on the mere strength of His words. He points to the witnesses who bear testimony to Him, and to the works which He has done, and which place the seal of Divine sanction on His teaching (John v. 36 ; xxxi. 36). For the moment the multitude express their open faith in the fulfilment by Him of their cherished hopes, as they bid him welcome to the Holy City with loud Hosannas, and invoke blessings on Him who cometh in the name of the Lord (Matt. xxi.) Then begins the dark days of His passion. In an upper room in Jerusalem He gathers His chosen ones together, to eat the last Pasch with them. It was in the middle of the seventieth week spoken of by Daniel ; and when the supper was over, He instituted a new sacrificial rite, which they were ever afterwards to perpetuate in commemoration of Him (Matt. xxvi. 12). He foretells the desolation which shall come upon Him in His approaching suffering (Matt. xxvi. 31), and His prediction meets with a fearful verification. One who had eaten sweetmeats with Him betrayed Him (Matt. xxvii.) ; he who said he would die with Him, denied Him with an oath ; and on the day of His sorrow, there was only one of the chosen friends to stand beside His cross (John xix. 25). When the shepherd was struck the sheep were indeed scattered. With vehemence His countrymen demand His death because they had a law whereby he should be put to death who said he was the Son of God,¹—a fearful proof but not less convincing than terrible that Jesus laid claim to such a title (John xix. 7.)

¹ There are some who deny, that when the Jews sought Christ's condemnation because He said He was the Son of God, they understood Him to lay claim to strict Divinity. If we had only the Synoptic Gospels to guide us, perhaps the answer might be doubtful, but from St. John's Gospel it is certain that Christ claimed, and that the Jews understood Him to claim, strict Divinity. (Men like Loisy may of course deny that the Fourth Gospel reflects truly the mind of the Jews who sought Christ's death, but this is not the place to discuss their objections.)

Though the Jewish Scriptures, teaching as they do the superhuman

The Council of the malignant—the Pharisees—procured His condemnation. Beneath His cross they scoff at Him (Matt. xxvii. 40), and the callous soldiers cast lots for His garments (Matt. xxvii. 35) while He speaks the words of the Psalmists' sufferer, 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me.' His death is followed by strange wonders—the sun is darkened, the veil of the temple is rent asunder (Luke xxiii. 45), and nature seems to mourn, as with a conscious grief for some great calamity. Death, however, is swallowed up in victory; for, despite the vigilance of His enemies, who remembered His prophecy, that He would rise again (Matt. xxvii. 63), He leaves the sepulchre, and rises glorious to die no more. During the forty days He appears repeatedly to His Apostles and disciples (1. Cor. xv. 5-8); and speaks to them of the new kingdom which He had come to establish, and in the establishment of which they were to continue to labour. He expounds to them the Scriptures, beginning with Moses, showing them that *Christ should suffer and*

character of Messiah, should prepare the Jews to admit his divinity if he professed such, we believe that the vast majority of the Jews never looked upon the Messiah, with all his greatness, as being more than human. The zeal with which they flocked to the standard of every revolutionist who claimed to be the promised one, and their belief that John the Baptist might be the Messiah, though they knew he was a mere man; as well as the New Testament passages referred to above prove the point to our minds. The conclusion is borne out in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*, in which dialogue the Jew looks upon it as 'paradoxical and silly' to say that Messiah or Christ pre-existed from eternity, and condescended to labour as man. Trypho denies that Christ is 'not man begotten of man;' and he declares that what the Jews expected was, a Messiah who would be 'a man from men' (*i.e.*, born merely of human parents). After the days of Justin Martyr, Origin maintained, against Celsus, that the Jews, while expecting the 'Christ of God,' would not admit that any prophet ever said the Son of God would come.

Why the Jews, in face of their own Scriptures, should be so opposed to the idea of a truly Divine Messiah, may be difficult to explain. The writer of the article, 'Son of God' in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (in which article the facts in this note are fully dealt with), puts forward a plausible explanation. According to him, the Jews, much as they longed for the coming of the Messiah, and much as they loved to dwell on his greatness, were still deeply impressed with the doctrine of the unity of God. Their teachers were ever keeping it before them, and the Babylonian captivity—caused by their idolatry—made them ever afterwards shrink from Polytheism. And so, when Christ claimed equality with Jehovah, they looked upon Him as a blasphemer, deserving the punishments decreed against such in the Mosaic law (Deut. xiii. 1-11).

so enter glory (Luke xxiv.) What further things He told them we do not know, only that He spoke to them of the kingdom (Acts i. 3), and promised to send the Paraclete who would still further instruct them in all things required for their ministry (John xiv. ; xv.) During His life He restricted the mission of the Apostles to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. x. 6), to whom alone He was sent (Matt. xv. 24). But after the Resurrection, the restrictions are removed. They are no longer forbidden to go into the way of the Gentiles, or to enter the houses of the Samaritan. They were sent forth to preach the Gospel of the kingdom to all nations and to every creature (Matt. xxvii. Mark xvi.) Miraculous signs would mark the Divine approval of their work ; and with Divine power they were endowed, for, to them was given the remission of sin (John xx. 22). Obedient to that command the Apostles went forth, and though not recounting the labours of all of them, the *Acts* gives us some idea of their earnestness, and of the success with which their labours were crowned.

From their teaching, as described in the Acts, and the different Epistles of the New Testament, we get a clearer insight into the nature of Christ's kingdom. The veil which Christ cast over it is removed, and we see the sublime mysterious reality. Though a distinct kingdom from the Jewish Church, it is not wholly different, it is the fulfilment rather than the destruction of the Law and the Prophets (Rom. iii. 31). The kingdom is the spiritual Israel, the New Jerusalem (Heb. vii. 22), and the Gentiles who enter it, are as the wild olives engrafted on the vine (Rom xi.) Yet their admission is not by accident. It was destined from all times, as is testified to by Osee,¹ and Moses,² and Isaias³ (Rom. ix. 10). The new kingdom, itself, is most intimately connected with its Founder. It is the object of His dearest love (Eph. v. 25-27), and the mystical body of which He is the head (Eph. i. 22 ; Coll. i. 18). It is the city of the saints, and the household of God (Eph. ii. 19),

¹ Osee i. 10 ; ii. 34.

² Deut. xxxii. 2.

³ Isaias lxx. 1.

built by Christ upon the rock of Peter (Matt. xv. 18 ; John xxv. 26), and upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets ; but with Jesus Christ Himself the chief corner stone, on whom all the Temple being framed together, groweth into one holy temple in the Lord (Eph. ii. 20-22). Sanctity and spiritual blessings are the great gifts of the kingdom ; not alone is there remission for sin (Acts ii. 38 ; v. 31, etc.), and reconciliation with the Father (Rom. v. 11 ; 2 Cor. v. 18), but the members are made, by grace, the sons of God, the coheirs of Christ (Rom. viii. ; Gal. iv. 7), and participators in the Divine nature (2 Peter i. 4).

But, beneath, and running through all this teaching, there is one fundamental idea, *the source of all these blessings is the sufferings of Christ*—His passion and death. The glories of His kingdom, as well as His own glory (Heb. ii. 9), are purchased by His humiliations, and our elevation by His disgrace. In Adam we all fell (Rom. v. 12), and by his disobedience, became outcasts before the face of God, and children of wrath (Eph. ii. 3). But Christ, who died for our sins (1 Cor. xv. 3), took upon Himself our iniquities, and expiated for them on the wood of the cross (1 Peter ii. 24) ; and by His blood we are justified, and saved from wrath, and reconciled to God (Rom. v. 9, 10). He is the Lamb, without blemish and without spot (1 Peter i. 19), offering Himself freely for our transgressions (Heb. x.), and by His offering exhausting the sins of many (Heb. ix. 28). The mediator with the Father (1 Tim. ii. 5), the sinless man who pleaded for the guilty, God made Him who knew no sin to be a sin for us (2 Cor. v. 21) ; aye, to be a curse for us, that the curse which hung over us might be removed (Gal. iii. 13).¹

It is needless to dwell longer on the many passages in which this fundamental doctrine is stated in the New Testament, but every one who has read those sacred books, knows with what persistence the Apostles preached it.

¹ Lest we might seem to be drawing on our imagination in this description of Christ's kingdom, or in anticipation devising any likeness between it and the Messianic kingdom, we have tried as far as possible to describe it in the words of Sacred Scripture.

As a certain writer has said, 'the cross of Christ was never concealed, whether Jews or Greeks or barbarians were the listeners.' Marvellous, indeed, is the proof of love given in that strange self-sacrifice of Jesus, but we must not forget the Scripture teaching, on the sad needs that called forth such a remedy. As the writer¹ just quoted remarks :—

There are those who would see on the page of the Bible only the sunshine of Divine love ; but the muttering thunders of Divine wrath against sin are heard there also, and He who alone was no child of wrath, meets the shock of the thunder-storm ; becomes a curse for us, and a vessel of wrath ; and the rays of Divine love break out of that thunder gloom and shine on the bowed head of Him who hangs on the cross dead for our sins.

In that one sentence are crystallized the relations between God and fallen humanity, as well as the chief dogmas of Christ's kingdom. All the Sacraments of the Church were instituted as so many instruments to apply to the souls of those who believed in Christ the graces which He purchased for them by His death. All the glory, strength, and beauty of the Church have their origin in that fact of Christ's atonement, and in that, too, we find an explanation, as sublime as it is real, of the intimate abiding union between Christ and His Church.

We might in detail state further, the outline of Christ's kingdom as given in the New Testament, but in the allotted space it is impossible. Before asking whether in such a kingdom the Messianic promises are realized, it is well first to see, whether Christ really succeeded in establishing the kingdom ; whether it still exists as He promised it would, and conveys the blessings His Apostles said He purchased for it. Independent of any fulfilment in Him of the Messianic promises, must we believe from the history of His life that He was a Heaven-sent messenger, or ought we to accept Renan's verdict, that He was the victim of delusion ; at the outset a mere kindly poetical enthusiast, and at last an idolizing fanatic, rushing wildly into the arms of death ? A complete answer to this question

¹ See article on 'Saviour' in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*.

would require a treatise in the history and dogmas of the Catholic Church. But there is one fundamental fact which furnishes us with a satisfactory reply in the present connection. Victims of delusion may indeed entertain extravagant notions of their own destiny, but hallucination brings not with it power, and the victim is convicted by his inability to give proof. Was it so with Christ?

There are men who say it was, but with what reason even a tyro in hermeneutics knows well. Have not the works which He did, given testimony to Him, that the Father sent Him? Was not His public life one series of striking miracles? Animate and inanimate nature were under His control, and at His command, gave testimony to their subjection. And were these the works of a 'mere kindly poetical enthusiast,' or did the Almighty lend His aid to favour the dreams of a fanatic? Are not miracles the seal of the Diety; and how say He affixed such a seal to teaching that was not His, though taught as coming from Him? If Christ was a heaven-sent legate, His teaching must be true, and so His kingdom must be what He said it was; if not, then explain, if you can, the miracles which He performed in proof of His claim. There are, of course, men who explain them by denying their existence, and then formulating theories in harmony with their denial! One¹ finds the explanation on the deception which Christ practised upon His countrymen, by accomodating Himself to their prejudices; another² has recourse to Christ's knowledge of medicine,—a knowledge which he is quite certain Christ possessed; while another,³ dissatisfied with such theories, points to the myths which grew up around the name of Jesus, and with which the Gospel narrative is filled! And then these, or theories such as these, are applied, and we are assured that Christ in reality never walked upon the sea but upon the sea-shore; that so far from Lazarus being dead when he was deposited in the family vault, the whole affair was an involuntary deception practised by Jesus on the public, and on the credulous

¹ Semler,² Paul de Hefelberg.³ Strauss.

sisters of Lazarus; at a time when His rôle was becoming more and more difficult every day; and as for His own resurrection—it was the warm imagination of a Magdalen, that has given to the world a resuscitated God !¹

Enough of such absurdities. They are unworthy of serious consideration. Whoever accepts them as rational guides to interpretation may indeed hold that Christ was a fanatic, and His life a dream, but till men's minds become blinded by prejudice or passion, they must see the mockery of it all.

We might cite as further proof, the existence of that kingdom through ages of persecution, its triumph over the fury of emperors, and the subtilty of false philosophy, its history of progress and development, and its wondrous effects on society; how the empires which sought to crush it have perished, and the creeds which sought to disprove it have decayed; while its children are to-day, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom to those who 'sit in darkness and the shadow of the valley of death,' beneath the tropical sun, and by arctic snows, and mid the jungles of the savage, as Paul preaches it in Athens, and Peter in Rome, and Christ beside the sea of Galilee, and in the Temple and on the Mount.

But we can only refer to such argument. It is beyond our power to develop it fully, nor need we. Already the truth is established that Jesus Christ founded a kingdom, and that He was not mistaken in His description of it. Let us now compare. Set His kingdom, as outlined in the New Testament, beside the Messianic kingdom of which the Prophets spoke, and study them in the light of each other. At once we perceive a contrast, and a similitude, yet the similitude is indestructible, while a closer study shows that

¹ Renan, *Vie de Jesu*.

We have in this portion assumed the truth of the Gospel narrative. It would be impossible in this essay to attempt a full proof of such assumption, nor need we. The historical truth of the Gospel is undoubtedly established. For a full treatment see Dr. MacRory's article in I. E. RECORD; Lamy's *Introduction to Scriptures*; Tischendorf's *Origin of the Four Gospels*; Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*.

the contrast is rather between our notions of what the Messianic kingdom was, than between the real description of it in the Scripture. A glance shows the fulfilment, in Christ, of many of the prophecies. He is born in Bethlehem, of David's royal family, and at the time specified by Daniel, and within the limits placed by Malachias. The miracles which He performed agree with what Isaias foretold. His solicitude and care show Him to be a good shepherd, such as Jeremias and Zacharias speak of, while His sublime doctrines prove indeed that He is a prophet, and such as Israel had never seen before.

Nay more, He is a Priest, as was the Psalmists' Lord, but what a strange priesthood His was—mysterious in itself, yet throwing a flood of light on the Old Testament prophecies. His is not the sacrifice of goats and calves (Heb. ix. 12), with the blood of which it is impossible that sins should be remitted (Heb. x. 4). It is the voluntary sacrifice of Himself, on the wood of the tree (1 Peter ii. 24; Eph. v. ii.), and by that oblation we are sanctified (Heb. x. 10). At the end of ages He hath appeared for the destruction of sin, by the sacrifice of Himself (Heb. ix. 26); and by one oblation, He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified (Heb. x. 4). There is no other oblation for sin (Heb. x. 18). The sacrifice which He Himself instituted at the Last Supper, and which He bade His Apostles continue to offer in commemoration of Him, is identical with the sacrifice of Calvary, by which He exhausted the sins of many (Heb. ix. 28) and cleansed our consciences from dead works, to serve the living God (Heb. ix. 14). Therefore, He is the Mediator of the New Testament (Heb. ix. 15). His blood its seal (Heb. xiii. 20), and its shedding the purchase of our redemption, and the source of our blessings (Eph. i. 7).

What a depth of meaning all this reveals in the Old Testament prophecies. All now becomes clear in the light of this sublime mystery. Our conjectures,—for we did not wish to push them farther,—about the connection between the sufferer and the King are proved true. Their identity is here revealed. The King has emptied Himself for our

sake, and has taken the form of a servant (Phil. ii. 7). It is upon *His* shoulders God laid the iniquities of us all, it is by *His* wounds we are healed (Isaias liii. 5 ; 1 Peter ii. 24). Through His own sufferings He Himself enters glory having obtained eternal redemption (Heb. ii. 9; ix. 12), and now, having made purgation of sin, He sits at the right hand of the throne of majesty in heaven (Heb. i. 3), always living to make intercession for us (Heb. vii. 25). Here are blended together most beautifully, the humiliations of the Servant, the glories of the King, and the ministry of the Priest. Here we understand how the sufferings of the 'leprous one' purchased the blessings of the Messianic kingdom, and how the Servant himself enjoys honour as the result of suffering. King, Priest, Prophet, and Servant are identical, and their identity is one of the most sublime facts in the history of God's dealing with men. We can now understand better the prophecy of Daniel about the death of Christ, and about the failing of the Jewish sacrifices ; and know what Malachias meant, when he spoke about purging the sons of Levi, and about the clean oblation that would be offered up, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same. We can now see how the Servant has sprinkled many nations, and how the Prince of Peace was poor and lowly. Nay, more than this may be seen, for this strange identity of King, Priest, Prophet, and Sufferer, throws a new light over all the Messianic promises.

While recognising that the Messianic blessings were chiefly spiritual, men might still be inclined, as were the Jews at the time of Jesus, and even the Apostles till they saw the reality, to associate worldly splendour with the Psalmists' glowing descriptions. But we now see the prophecies in a newer and truer light, and penetrate deeper into their real meaning. Though we may be loth to perceive it, there is a higher and purer and nobler greatness, than that of kings with fleets and garrisons and conquered lands—there is a truer majesty and power, than that which wealth can purchase and swords defend, and far above the splendour that the world adores there is a truer splendour of unfading worth. It was of such splendour the Psalmists

and the Prophets spoke, and when we read them, under the new light that comes from the Cross, and shines out over the world, we find in them a real and sublime foreshadowing of the Church of Christ, of its spiritual beauty, its supernatural majesty, and its divine strength. With what beauty Christ's own description of its Catholicity is foreshadowed. God has given Him the Gentiles for an inheritance, and the uttermost ends of the earth for a possession (Ps. ii.). His kingdom is from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth. Neither the eunuch nor the stranger is excluded, for the gates shall be open continually. And with what grandeur the grafting of the wild olive on the vine—the conversion of the Gentiles to faith in Christ—is described. Jerusalem is told to enlarge the place of her tent, to lengthen the cords, and strengthen the stakes for she shall spread abroad on the right hand, and the left, and her seed shall possess the nations. The glory of Jehovah is risen upon her, and nations shall come to her light, and kings to the brightness of her rising, and the wealth of nations shall come unto her, and strangers shall build up her walls, and Jehovah will gather others unto Him, besides His own that are gathered, and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.

From St. Paul we have already shown the foreshadowing, in the Old Testament, of the election of the Gentiles, and the rejection of the Jews. Nor is the necessity of membership forgotten. He that will not hear you, says Christ, shall be condemned. The nation and the kingdom that will not serve thee, says Iasias, shall perish. The relation of Christ to His Church and the blessings He would bring, are continually referred to—peace, and judgment, and justice, and the remission of sin, and protection to the widow, and the orphan, and the oppressed. Salvation shall possess her walls, and the Lord shall be unto her for an everlasting light, and her God for her glory, and the days of her mourning shall be ended (Isaias lv.)

See again the beauty with which the victory of the Church over her enemies is described. Remember the fate of those who tried to destroy her, then turn to the Old

Testament to hear that history foretold. He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh at them, and the Lord shall deride them. The Messiah shall rule them with a rod of iron, and shall break them in pieces, like the potter's vessel. He shall destroy them by the breath of His mouth, and they shall be made His footstool. Whoever shall gather against that kingdom shall fail, no weapon that is formed against it shall prosper, and every tongue that shall rise against it, it shall condemn.

Nor is the description of the Church's *spiritual* beauty less striking. They have described the beauty of the king's daughter in most glowing language, but all her beauty, they tell us, is *within*. We admit that the Church of Christ lacks the worldly splendours that the Jews of the time of Christ expected would be a characteristic of the Messianic kingdom,¹ but on studying the facts closely, say which is at fault. Did the Jews err in interpreting their Scriptures, or are the prophetic descriptions inapplicable to the Church of Christ? Can any one set the Messianic prophecies and the reality of Christ's kingdom side by side, and after comparing them, maintain that one is the natural outcome of a nation's aspirations, the other the result of a fanatic's enthusiasm? Do not confine your attention to any one part; let both stand out before you in their fulness; then ask yourself the question we have laboured to answer in these articles. Do the Scriptures really bear testimony to Christ?

Our comparison is very imperfect, but we prefer leaving the more detailed study to the reader. We cannot, however, conclude without a brief reference to the confirmation our reasoning receives from the 'types' in the Old Testament. A full treatment of this point would require a separate article, but the nature of the arguments may be here briefly outlined.

See the resemblance between the first *Adam* in whom we all have fallen, and Christ, the second Adam, in whom we are all redeemed; between *Abraham* the first father of

¹ We have already stated what seems to be the cause of that error amongst the Jewish people. See 'Prophecies of Daniel.'

God's chosen people, and Christ the spiritual father of a still more blessed race. See the relation between Him, as He leads men from the bondage of sin, to the richness of grace, and Moses as he leads his people from Egyptian bondage, to a land overflowing with milk and honey; and compare them again, as one gives the law which he received on Sinai, and the other promulgates the law which He received in heaven. See also the relation between Christ and *Solomon*, as one builds an earthly temple to his God, and the other the holy of holies not made by hands; and with *David*, whose likeness to Jesus we need not state. Nay more, turn to the whole Jewish ritual, and see the strange foreshadowing. The *Brazen Serpent* to look upon which was to be healed from the effects of sin; the *Paschal Lamb*, whose blood sprinkled on the door posts was the sign of salvation; and whose bones should remain unbroken even when it was sacrificed; the *Tabernacle*, whose mystic foreshadowing of Christ St. Paul so beautifully describes in his Epistle to the Hebrews; the *Mercy Seat*, from which Jehovah spoke His orders from the midst of two cherubim; and the *Manna*—the miraculous feast supplied by God to His people, in their journey towards the Promised Land—as it typifies the bread from heaven, which Jesus gave men, to sustain them during their exile of life. We might cite other examples but these suffice.

The similarity between each of these and something in Christ's life, might indeed be explained as the result of chance; but take all together, consider them after you have proved that Christ was the true Messiah foretold, then say, how can you deny that there was not some special power regulating these things, and making them also, a sign of what was to come? It was not alone the prophecies, which we have considered, that foreshadowed the coming of Christ, for the Old Dispensation, in its entirety, was a preparation, and a type, of the kingdom of grace.

When the unbeliever sees us connect those types with Christ's kingdom, he thinks he has discovered the secret of our error—we have found some chance similarities, and

looking upon them as preordained signs, we try to read the life of our Master into the Old Testament. This seems plausible to one who does not consider the deeper proofs we have stated ; but take the whole evidence in its entirety ; recognize first the facts which are indestructible, and then you can see the truth of what might otherwise seem fanciful. You shall see the Messianic picture, widening out before you and embracing not merely the writings of the Prophets and the Psalmists, but, in a certain sense, the whole of the Old Dispensation, and once you have clearly discerned the fundamental traits of the picture, it only grows more lovely in its development, and more sublime in the beauty of its mysteriousness.

There are, however, two facts already discussed, which we must consider again under this new light from the existence of types in the Old Testament. We still maintain that the Servant of Jehovah was the Messiah, and He alone, and that the prophecy of the seventy weeks was Messianic, in all its details. But for argument's sake, let us admit that it is of idealized Israel, or effective Israel, the Prophet speaks in one case, and of the time of Epiphanes in the other. Yet, that there is a strange similarity between what they have said, and what really happened in the life of Christ ; and in light of the certain existence of types in the Old Testament, we must admit, that in these prophecies there is at least a mystical foreshadowing of Christ as the great antitype. If He is not directly referred to, in these passages, at least the writer must be so guided by an omniscient being, that in the description of one event, the other is contemplated. This we submit is the only reasonable explanation of the facts, and so no matter which opinion be selected, their real testimony to Christ remains.

And here we pause, though much might still be written. Imperfect as was our treatment of the question, it still was a beautiful study ; to see how the Almighty, from the beginning of the human race, contemplated the establishment of His kingdom on earth ; gradually preparing men for His coming by repeated revelations, that grow more

definite as the world grows old ; to emerge, as it were, from the darkness after the Fall, into the twilight of hope in the Protoevangel, and then come step by step into fuller and stronger light, till at last we stood in the noonday splendour of the Messianic kingdom ; and then to see that the light which led us on was its glory flashed back upon the ages that preceded, and though growing dim as it receded, yet ceasing not, till it sent its farthest ray into the garden of Eden, where it fell upon the face of Eve as she fled from the face of God. We fain would linger still over the endless beauties of that scene, tracing each ray that fell upon our path to its source, and contemplating in all its details the Catholic Church, as the fulfilment of the Messianic hope. But we must conclude. Such work is not needful. Already the truth is established, the Scriptures have given testimony to Christ, and He is the true Messiah, the desired of the eternal hills. In Him we profess our faith, our obedience, and our love. To Him be honour and glory and empire now and for ever.

THOMAS P. F. GALLAGHER, S.T.L., B.C.L.

THE POETRY OF LONGFELLOW

THE noblest tribute that has been paid to the memory of Addison is that his writings were but a preface published on earth to that grander work of his life which was to be read in heaven. We may apply the same to the great strength-giving poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. His poems are the finest and the most Catholic that have yet come from the land of the West ; but his life itself was the greatest and most enduring poem. 'The man was greater and better than the poet.' Longfellow the man, was a truly remarkable personality. As some one has remarked, 'His natural dignity and grace, and the beautiful refinement of his countenance, together with his perfect taste in dress and the exquisite simplicity of his manners, made him the absolute ideal of what a poet should be.' He reminded a noble observer¹ of the ideal representations of early Christian saints and martyrs. As a poet he has not, it is true, the energy and conciseness of Byron, nor the profound feeling and philosophy of Wordsworth, nor the descriptive splendour and finished workmanship of Tennyson ; but he enchants us by a peculiar sweetness, inspires us to a true nobility of character, and, like the immortal balm of the Muses, soothes our wounded spirits. He is tender rather than passionate ; and though wanting in force is yet full of picturesqueness.

Our poet was the second son of a lawyer and member of Congress, who married an excellent New England woman, and lived in Portland, Maine, U.S.A. Here he was born on the 27th February, 1807. The 'sweet singer of the West,' as Holmes called him, was early sent to a private school, and afterwards to Portland Academy, where he exhibited a great aptitude for learning, and won golden opinions from his teachers. His poetical genius developed itself at an early period, for when only thirteen and still

¹ *My Reminiscences*, by Lord R. Gower, vol. i.

at the Academy, he composed his first poem, entitled 'The Battle of Lovell's Pond.' This firstling of his Muse though but a crude production, was yet the tiny bud in which keen eyes might descry the blooming splendour of the full-blown rose. The youthful poet was sent in his fourteenth year to Bowdoin College, Brunswick, where he displayed singular abilities, and at the end of four years graduated with the highest honours. His father destined him for the law, but the drudgery of such a profession was by no means to his liking, and having been offered the Professorship of Modern Languages in his *Alma Mater*, he accepted the post with alacrity. At Bowdoin he taught with brilliant success till 1835, when he was appointed Professor of Modern Languages and Belles-lettres in Harvard University, Cambridge.

All this time he seems to have eagerly aspired after future eminence in literature, for he wrote to his father, under date December 5, 1824: 'My whole soul burns most ardently for it, and every earthly thought centres in it.' For almost half a century Longfellow pursued his bright course in the realms of song, elevating and purifying our grosser nature, and causing consolation and comfort, gladness and delight, to reach the sad heart of humanity, and to stir its inmost recesses as the winds stir the depths of the violet-coloured ocean.

The first collection of our poet's stray pieces, entitled *Voices of the Night*, appeared in 1839. This volume, largely European in character, contains the famous 'Psalm of Life,' 'The Reaper and the Flowers,' and six other poems originally published in the *Knickerbocker Magazine*; seven earlier poems, all of which were written before the poet was nineteen; 'An April Day,' 'Woods in Winter,' 'Hymn of the Moravian Nuns,' 'Sunrise on the Hills,' 'The Spirit of Poetry,' and 'The Burial of the Minnisink.' All these poems are remarkable for a peculiar freshness, an indefinable charm, an inexpressible tenderness, and above all for an exquisite simplicity which made Kenelm Digby compare them to the paintings of Cuypp, tender-hued, and all aglow with a haze of warmth, and 'where things them-

selves most prosaic are flooded with a kind of poetic light from the inner soul. Hawthorne wrote concerning them: 'Nothing equal to some of them was ever written in this world—this western world I mean; and it would not hurt my conscience much to include the other hemisphere.' Truly a new and harmonious note had sounded on the higher slopes of Parnassus, and Longfellow was admitted by common consent into the 'charmed circle' of poets.

Evangeline: A Tale of Arcadia, is the poem by which Longfellow is best known, and though lacking sublimity and passion, and only of average poetical merit, is yet a magnificent work of art. The story upon which this noble poem is founded is very interesting, and is thus related in the poet's memoir by his brother:—

Mr. N. Hawthorne came one day to dine at Craigie House, bringing with him his friend Rev. H. L. Conolly, who had been rector of a church in South Boston. At dinner Conolly said that he had been trying in vain to interest Hawthorne to write a story upon an incident which had been related to him by a parishioner of his, Mrs. Haliburton. It was the story of a young Acadian maiden, who at the dispersion of her people by the English troops had been separated from her betrothed lover; they sought each other for years in their exile; and at last they met in a hospital where the lover lay dying. Mr. Longfellow was touched by the story, especially by the constancy of its heroine, and said to his friend, 'If you really do not want the incident for a tale, let me have it for a poem; and Hawthorne consented. Out of this grew *Evangeline*, whose heroine was at first called Gabrielle.

The opening lines of this touching poem are almost Virgilian in their dignity and sonority. *Evangeline* herself, one of the canonized saints of English poetry, is a gentle, beautiful, and devoted being, endowed with an Arcadian innocence and simplicity, and christened by the simple peasant by the 'Sunshine of St. Eulalie.' The Arcadian peasants were not at all unlike the primitive Christians, who had all things in common, and 'took their meat with gladness and simplicity of heart.' They were free alike from the vices of the tyrant and the republican, and according to the poet were 'remarkable for their industry, their skilful husbandry, their pure morals, and their exemplary

piety.' There was a time in their history when an officer of the Crown, armed with the English king's commission, was sent to confiscate their property, and to make a Cromwellian transplantation of the population. Four hundred and eighteen farmers who, like our own poor Irish, boasted hearts richer than all the wealth of the classic Inca races, were ensnared one day within the church of Grand Pré; the mandate of the king was read by Colonel Winslow from the altar steps; and when the people heard their fate pronounced they grew justly indignant and even turbulent; and honest Basil, the blacksmith, the father of Gabriel, invoked death on the English tryants who would rob them of their homes and their harvests. In the midst of the strife and angry contention the village curé, Father Felician, entered the church, and in words as telling, if not as eloquent as those with which Chrysostom appeased the furious multitude who were clamouring for the death of Eutropius, he rebuked his little flock until nothing was heard throughout the length and breadth of the sacred building but sobs of contrition and prayers of forgiveness for the persecutors. The description of the scenery of Lake Atchafalaya is a piece of rare beauty :—

. and before them

Lay, in the golden sun, the lakes of the Atchafalaya.
 Water-lilies in myriads rocked on the slight undulations
 Made by the passing oars, and, resplendent in beauty, the
 lotus
 Lifted her golden crown above the heads of the boatmen.
 Faint was the air with the odorous breath of magnolia blossoms,
 And with the heat of noon; and numberless sylvan islands,
 Fragrant and thickly embowered with blossoming hedges of
 roses,
 Near to whose shores they glided along, invited to slumber.
 Soon by the fairest of these their weary oars were suspended.
 Under the boughs of Wachita willows, that grew by the margin,
 Safely their boat was moored; and scattered about on the
 green sward,
 Tired with their midnight toil, the weary travellers slumbered.
 Over them vast and high extended the cope of a cedar.
 Swinging from its great arms, the trumpet-flower and the
 grape-vine,
 Hung their ladder of ropes aloft like the ladder of Jacob,

On whose pendulous stairs the angels ascending, descending,
Were the swift humming-birds that flitted from blossom to
blossom.

Under the magical glow of a southern sunset the gentle
Evangeline and her companions continue their journey
when suddenly an irregular and unexpected gush of song,
with all its infinite variations, thrills out upon the evening
silence. It is the song of the nightingale of the West, pouring
out its 'mazy-running soul of melody' into the ears of its
listeners :—

Then from a neighbouring thicket the mocking-bird, wildest
of singers,

Swinging aloft on a willow spray that hung o'er the water,
Shook from his little throat such floods of delirious music,
That the whole air and the woods and the waves seemed
silent to listen.

Plaintive at first were the notes and sad ; then soaring to
madness

Seemed they to follow or guide the revel of frenzied Bacchantes.
Single notes were then heard, in sorrowful, low lamentation ;
Till, having gathered them all, he flung them abroad in
derision.

Travellers through the limitless prairie, especially in
Texas, may have often noticed growing on their track a
strange perennial plant of the osier tribe, the planes of
whose leaves almost at every step point out the meridian.
It is the polar or compass plant (*Sulphium laciniatum*), and
Longfellow makes use of this fine botanical figure to illus-
trate the action of faith in the soul of man :—

'Patience !' the priest would say ; 'have faith, and thy prayer
will be answered !

Look at this delicate plant that lifts its head from the meadow,
See how its leaves are turned to the north, as true as the magnet ;
This is the compass-flower, that the finger of God has planted
Here in the houseless wild, to direct the traveller's journey
Over the sea-like, pathless, limitless waste of the desert.
Such in the soul of man is faith. The blossoms of passion,
Gay and luxuriant flowers, are brighter and fuller of fragrance,
But they beguile us, and lead us astray, and their odour is
deadly.

Only this humble plant can guide us here, and hereafter
Crown us with asphodel flowers, that are wet with the dews
of nepenthe.'

The love of Evangeline for Gabriel is the deathless affection of Imogen ; and a life of trial and sorrow had taught her

Patience and abnegation of self, and devotion to others,

So was her love diffused, but, like to some odorous spices,¹
Suffered no waste nor loss, though filling the air with aroma.
Other hope had she none, nor wish in life, but to follow
Meekly, with reverent steps, the sacred feet of her Saviour.

She became a Sister of Mercy in Philadelphia, and entering one morning the city alms-house she saw stretched on a pallet an old man with long thin grey hair, who was dying of fever. It was her long-lost Gabriel. The lovers recognized each other ; Evangeline knelt by the death-bed, kissed the pallid lips, rested his head on her bosom, used all her endeavours to ward off the death that was coming so quickly. But it was all in vain ; ere many moments had gone the noble and patient life passed out for ever.

We are inclined to agree with Philarète Charles² that *Evangeline* is by no means a masterpiece. Yet it is a poem, grand as a *Te Deum*, full of the richest imagery of the West. Moreover, it is a poem abounding in the most exquisite descriptions, and bearing the hall-mark of a distinctive nationality. The employment of the foreign hexameter,³ instead of the plain heroic measure would seem at first sight rather unfortunate ; but we believe with the poet that the latter metre would be much less effective for his purpose. In spite, however, of the metre and of certain incongruities from which the immortal bard⁴ himself is not wholly free, *Evangeline* achieved, and still achieves, a phenomenal success.

The extracts that we have given above will enable our readers to appreciate, in some degree at least, the beauties

¹ Cf. Bacon on *Adversity*.

² 'Il y a loin d' *Evangeline* à un chef d'œuvre.'

³ Cf. 'God is ascended with jubilee, and the Lord with the sound of the trumpet,' etc.—Ps. xlv. 6 ; and Goethe's *Hermann Dorothea*.

⁴ Cf. 'Antony and Cleopatra,' Act II. sc. 5 ; 'The Winter's Tale,' Act III. sc. 3 ; 'King John,' Act II. sc. 1.

of this fine idyl, of which Dr. Holmes writes: 'From the first line . . . from the first words, we read as we would float down a broad and placid river murmuring softly against its banks, heaven over it, and the glory of the unspoiled wilderness all around.'

The historic melodrama entitled *The Golden Legend*, is the next poem in the order of time, and is in Longfellow's most artistic and elegant manner.

It exhibits [says the poet], amid the corruption of the Middle Ages, the virtues of disinterestedness and self-sacrifice, and the power of Faith, Hope, and Charity, sufficient for all the exigencies of life and death. The story is told, and perhaps invented, by Hartmann von der Aue, a Mennesinger of the twelfth century. The original may be found in Mailäth's *Alt Deutsche Gedichte*, with a modern German version. There is another in Marbach's *Volksbucher*.

It is the story of a Prince Henry of Hoheneck, who has fallen into a mysterious disease, and can be cured only by the blood 'that flows from a maiden's veins.' The disease is thus described by the Prince to Lucifer:—

It has no name.
A smouldering, dull, perpetual flame,
As in a kiln, burns in my veins,
Sending up vapours to the head;
My heart has become a dull lagoon
Which a kind of leprosy drinks and drains;
I am accounted as one who is dead,
And, indeed, I think that I shall be soon.

The doctors of Salerno inform the Prince that his only cure lies in the life-blood of a maiden. He believes in the prescription, and he hides himself in a peasant's cottage in the Odenwald. Elsie, the daughter of the house, an innocent girl, somehow takes it into her head that she must die for the Prince, and prays to God for guidance. Prince Henry, Elsie, and their attendants proceed to Salerno, and thence to the Convent of Hirschau in the Black Forest, where they lodge. Longfellow introduces us to the convent wine-cellar, and round ruddy-faced Friar Claus entering it with a basket of empty flagons—to Friar

Pacificus transcribing and illuminating the New Testament—to the Abbot Ernestus pacing the familiar cloisters to and fro—to the Vespers in the chapel—to the Gaudiolum of the monks at midnight—to a neighbouring nunnery, where the Abbess Irmingard is sitting with Elsie in the moonlight, and telling her of her own sorrow.

All these scenes are painted in our poet's most beautiful manner ; but he uses the words monk and friar indiscriminately ; and we confess that we find it hard to conceive how men who should be models of piety and virtue were ever so intemperate and irreverent. In our opinion Longfellow would have done well to have suppressed the seventh dialogue of the Miracle Play, and to have painted the monastic life in a manner less offensive to good Catholics. Readers of Ruskin will remember that he refers to this portion of the drama when he writes : ' Longfellow in the *Golden Legend* has entered more closely into the temper of the monk for good and for evil, than ever yet theological writer or historian, though they may have given their life's labour to the analysis.'¹

The Prince and Elsie set out for Italy, the ' Land of the Madonna,' by way of Lucerne and the St. Gothard Pass. There is a tribute to our Blessed Lady which, though not so fine as Byron's or Wordsworth's, is yet full of a sweet Catholicity :—

This is indeed the blessed Mary's land,
 Virgin and Mother of our dear Redeemer !
 All hearts are touched and softened at her name ;
 Alike the bandit, with the bloody hand,
 The priest, the prince, the scholar, and the peasant,
 The man of deeds, the visionary dreamer,
 Pay homage to her as one ever present !
 And even as children, who have much offended
 A too indulgent father, in great shame,
 Penitent, and yet not daring unattended
 To go into his presence, at the gate
 Speak with their sister, and confiding wait
 Till she goes in before and intercedes ;
 So men, repenting of their evil deeds,

¹ *Modern Painters*, vol. v. chap. 20.

And yet not venturing rashly to draw near
 With their requests an angry Father's ear,
 Offer to her their prayers and their confession.
 And she for them in heaven makes intercession.
 And if our Faith had given us nothing more
 Than this example of all womanhood,
 So mild, so merciful, so strong, so good,
 So patient, peaceful, loyal, loving, pure,
 This were enough to prove it higher and truer
 Than all the creeds the world had known before.

The description of the series of paintings on the wood-work of the old covered bridge of Lucerne, 'with the pure deep and blue water of the Reuss eddying down between its piers,' is worthy of our poet's best style.

From Italy the romantic couple go to Salerno, where Elsie is to fulfil her sacrifice; but the Prince nobly forbids it. The mysterious disease is cured by the application of St. Matthew's relics; and the exquisite drama winds up with the marriage of the good Prince and Elsie, the 'child of God and grace.'

The *Song of Hiawatha* beams all over with the richest lights of American fancy. It is as joyous and airy as 'The Tempest'; as sweet and wholesome as maize; and contains a rich store of native imagery. It has further the merit of an intense nationality. The poetry of Joaquin Miller is not more national. It is a marvellous poem, but *το δε θαυατον ηδυν*, and certainly all the sweetness of Longfellow's music is contained in it.

Its merit [says Nichol] is that it is *sui generis* a transparent allegory, a sheaf of ballads, a child's story-book, and a poem full of morning breezes. Though apparently written *currenti calamo*, it really yields to none of its author's works in artistic finish. The verse is indeed somewhat monotonous, and painfully open to parody; but within the limits of the volume it preserves with its few notes the freshness of a linnet's song.

Hiawatha was a miraculous prophet and teacher, the son of the West-Wind, by Wenonah, the daughter of old Nokomis. He was sent among the North American Indians 'to clear their rivers, forests, and fishing-grounds, and to teach them the arts of peace.' The scene of the poem is

laid on the southern shore of Lake Superior, between the Pictured Rocks and the Grand Sable. More than one poet had previously aimed at presenting Indian life, which is always a wide field for poetical composition. Campbell tried his hand in 'Gertrude of Wyoming,' and succeeded to a great extent; Southey failed in 'Madoc.' Longfellow fully succeeded in 'Hiawatha,' because he sang the song of the melancholy marshes as the gentle Chibiabos himself would sing it.

The poem has considerable beauties. The description of Minnehaha (Laughing Waters), the daughter of the ancient arrow maker, is very fine, as is also Hiawatha's wooing, and the death of the gentle Chibiabos, 'best of all musicians.' The reception of Père Marquette, the great Jesuit missionary and intrepid explorer of North America, is also very beautifully described. All these passages are very sweet and touching, but scarcely so sweet and touching as the end of the epic where the people, the dark and lonely forests, the waves upon the margin, and the heron unite in bidding the noble Hiawatha farewell on his departure to the 'Islands of the Blessed,' to the 'land of the Hereafter.'

The deeds and perils of the descendants of the historical and gallant 'Mayflower,' are beautifully embodied by Longfellow in *The Courtship of Miles Standish*. The poet himself was descended from the heroine Priscilla Mullens.

The Spanish Student, though a disjointed piece and devoid of dramatic interest, abounds in soft and tender scenes, and contains not a few passages of great interest and beauty. The main incident of the poem is taken from the beautiful tale of *La Gitanilla*, by Cervantes; but the poet differs from the Spaniard in his treatment of the subject. The third act contains, perhaps, the most poetical and brilliantly written passage. The Spanish Student, Victorian, and his companion, Hypolito, are sitting under a tree near the village of Guadarrama, and both have guitars. Hypolito plays and sings a pretty song of Lopez Maldonado. Victorian, believing that he is deceived by the lady of his love, the gipsy lass, Preciosa, resolves to forget her, and wishes that he were dead:—

Yet I fain would die !

To go through life, unloving and unloved ;
To feel that thirst and hunger of the soul
We cannot still ; that longing, that wild impulse,
And struggle after something we have not
And cannot have ; the effort to be strong ;
And, like the Spartan boy, to smile, and smile,
While secret wounds do bleed beneath our cloaks ;
All this the dead feel not,—the dead alone !
Would I were with them !

‘ This poem,’ says Nichol, ‘ contains the highest flights of the author’s imagination, his mellowest music, his richest humour, and some of his most impressive passages.’

Longfellow’s shorter poems are very sweet and touching ; but ‘ Excelsior ’ is the gracefulest gem of them all. His sonnets are of a tender and delicate nature ; and are almost perfect in idea and expression. They are like a stream of the purest crystal, which never ceases to flow ; they are like diamonds of the purest water ; they are as odoriferous as the perfume of the violet, and we should be tempted, if we had room, to extract the most of them.

The ‘ Footsteps of the Angels,’ written in memory of his first wife, possesses much of the intoxicating sweetness of Catullus, with not a little of the inexpressible tenderness of Propertius. In the following lines the poet gave expression to his feelings about the tragic death of his second wife (1861) in the old classic home at Cambridge. It is an exquisite sonnet :—

In the long sleepless watches of the night,
A gentle face—the face of one long dead—
Looks at me from the wall, where round its head
The night-lamp casts a halo of pale light.
Here in this room she died ; and soul more white
Never through martyrdom of fire was led
To its repose ; nor can in books be read
The legend of a life more benedight.

There is a mountain in the distant west
That, sun-defying, in its deep ravines
Displays a cross of snow upon its side.
Such is the cross I wear upon my breast
These eighteen years, through all the changing scenes
And seasons changeless since that day she died.

Longfellow has achieved a remarkable success in the realms of lyric poetry. Indeed, as George Gilfillan says, his genius is essentially lyrical. 'The Village Blacksmith,' 'The Reaper and the Flowers,' 'The Beleagured City,' 'The Light of Stars,' 'The Bridge,' 'The Rainy Day,' 'The Wreck of the Hesperus,' and several others are regular sunburst of melody, and are not many degrees inferior to the 'Tears, idle Tears,' of Tennyson, or the songs of Béranger, or Burns, or even our own Moore. In 'Santa Filomena,' that excellent woman and benefactor of her species, Florence Nightingale, is immortalised; and whenever she reads that little poem in the seclusion of her Buckinghamshire home she surely must remember in a special manner those other days when she tended the wounded on Crimean battle-fields, and when the grateful soldiers kissed her shadow as it fell upon the 'darkening walls' of the hospital of Scutari.

The 'Psalm of Life' has been to many an angel in disguise—like that little flower in the story, which sprang up through the hard stones of the poor prisoner's cell, diffusing sweetness and content about the living tomb.

The spirit of the following lines on 'Weariness' is very cordial, and worthy of the poet who declared that the world would be nothing to us without the children:—

O little feet ! that such long years
Must wander on through hopes and fears,
Must ache and bleed beneath your load ;
I, nearer to the Wayside Inn,
Where toil shall cease and rest begin,
Am weary, thinking of your load !

O little hands ! that, weak or strong,
Have still to serve or rule so long,
Have still so long to give or ask ;
I, who so much with book and pen
Have toiled among my fellow-men,
Am weary thinking of your task.

O little hearts ! that throb and beat,
With such impatient, feverish heat,
Such limitless and strong desires ;

Mine that so long has glowed and burned,
With passions into ashes turned.
Now covers and conceals its fires.

O little souls ! as pure and white
And crystalline as rays of light
Direct from heaven, their source divine ;
Refracted through the mist of years,
How red my setting sun appears,
How lurid looks this soul of mine !

The later poems of Longfellow, though not as fine as those of the 'lovely April of his prime,' are yet full of a sweet music, and will be read no doubt with pleasure by generations yet unborn.

In estimating the poetical rank of Longfellow it is no small thing to remember that he is not only one of the sweetest but also one of the most popular poets of the English tongue. Indeed his sweetness is never alone, but always combined with the useful to make life beautiful and happy ; and his popularity is always at the flow. Although the man was greater than the poet, still he has written many poems of excellence, and not a few which entitle him to rank among the immortals. His poetry, according to George Gilfillan, a critic of no mean rate, 'is inspirited with poetic life, decorated with chaste image, and shadowed with pensive sentiment like the hand of manhood laid gently on the billowy head of childhood.'

Unlike Burns and other poets, whose minds were full of the scorpions of hatred and revenge, and who exhibited these mean passions in their verse, Longfellow has not a hard word for even the arch-enemy of mankind. There was no gall in his ink ; but always from his pen flowed forth mellifluous streams of gladness and delight, comfort and consolation, which watered all the earth. If Longfellow is not a poet of the first rank we are inclined to place him very high, if not the very highest among poets of the second order. But he is easily the first of American poets. And though he lacks the variety and brilliancy of Lowell, the philosophy and discursiveness of Emerson,

and the splendid imaginativeness and melodious cadences of Poe—yet, in exquisite tenderness and simplicity of expression, in inextinguishable delicacy of sentiment, in picturesque beauty, but above all, in the divine gift of soothing the griefs and gladdening and inspiring the lives of the friendless sons of men, he clearly surpasses them all.

J. A. DOWLING.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

ABOUT SCAPULARS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In reply to a query about the method of enrolment in the Contraternity of the Scapular of Mount Carmel, it is stated in the July issue of the I. E. RECORD that entry of the names in a Register kept in some canonically erected branch of the Society is necessary for the validity of the indulgences. Now, it is a matter of common knowledge that this condition is not complied with always. For instance, at missions and retreats conducted by members of some Religious Orders and Congregations the investment in this very Scapular takes place often without any record of the names. May I ask, then, what is to be thought of the validity of such receptions?

An answer in an early number will oblige,

ANXIOUS.

Looking at the facts presented by our correspondent from an exclusively *apriori* standpoint, we would be inclined at once to presume the existence of a special privilege in virtue of which the ordinary regulations about the inscription of the names was dispensed with in the cases mentioned. On the one hand, retreats and missions are occasions when very extensive privileges are in vogue, and, on the other, we should be very slow to suspect that the good Fathers—who are the dispensers of so many and so great spiritual gifts and favours during these seasons of grace—would omit anything that could detract from the fulness and fruitfulness of their truly Apostolic labours. Then, too, the large numbers of the faithful, who are enrolled in the various Scapulars during a mission or retreat, would afford a very good reason for obtaining, from the proper source, exemption in regard to a condition that is very often, in the instances indicated, impossible of observance.

In the July number of the I. E. RECORD we stated

that none of these special Faculties had come under our notice. Since then our attention has been called to a Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Relics and Indulgences,¹ dated 19th September, 1850, in which certain privileges, in reference to the *blessing* and *imposition* of Scapulars and *reception* into the Confraternity, have been granted to the Redemptorists, to be exercised during the missions and retreats conducted by the members of the Order.

The privileges granted in this Decree are :—

1°. In regard to the *blessing*, to invest in the Scapulars of the Holy Trinity, the Passion, the Dolours, and the Immaculate Conception under one form. (Until the Decree of 27th April, 1887, the Scapular of Mount Carmel was also included with the four just mentioned. Now this Scapular must be blessed with its own distinct form.)

2°. As to the *imposition* of the Scapulars, where a large number was being enrolled, each person might put on the Scapulars without receiving it from the hands of the priest.

3°. In reference to the *reception* into the Confraternity, the formality of inscribing the names in the Register of some duly erected branch is dispensed with. At the same time, while this privilege runs so that the substantial indulgences may be gained without any record of the names, there would seem to be some advantage in having them recorded. In answer to a question, whether the Decree of 1887, annulled the privilege previously granted, of dispensing with the registering of the names, the Congregation of Indulgences on 26th September, 1892,¹ replied :—‘*Negative : admoneantur tamen . . . ut nomina receptorum in albo . . . inscribere non omitant, ne in eorum obitu suffragiis priventur.*’ As we remarked before, this entry is a proof and pledge of membership in the Association to which the privileges of the indulgence are attached, and it is only for the very gravest reasons that it may be dispensed with.

¹ Cf. Decr. Auth., S.C.Ind., n. 350.

² Cf. *Acta Sanctæ Sedis*, xxv., p. 319.

There may be, of course, and we presume there are, other Orders and Congregations that have similar privileges to those of the Redemptorists, so that there is no need for uneasiness or misgivings if, on occasions duly sanctioned, some of the details ordinarily prescribed are not minutely observed.

We have been asked if the Religious Habit takes the place of all the Scapulars, so that persons wearing it need not carry about them in addition the pieces of cloth called *parva scapularia*?

In its origin and institution, the Scapulars are meant to substitute and represent the particular portion of the Religious dress that covers the shoulders. By a figure of speech they symbolize the whole dress. Thus the Brown Scapular typifies the habit worn by the Carmelites, the Blue that worn by the Theatines, etc. Now, Religious need not wear the Scapular which typifies the dress they wear, as is evident, but their habit will not serve as substitute for the other Scapulars. The reason is quite obvious.

P. MORRISROE.

CORRESPONDENCE

A HOME FOR INVALID PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—A few priests, who feel convinced that a comfortable home for invalided *confrères* is very much needed, are desirous of ascertaining whether there are others who share their views. They think this can best be accomplished through the medium of the I. E. RECORD, and, accordingly, request the insertion of this appeal for an expression of opinion from all who sympathise with the movement they have inaugurated for the providing of such a home.

A letter addressed to you for the Invalid Priests' Home would reach its destination, and in due time would be acknowledged and, if desired, all necessary information concerning the project would be imparted.

In the healthiest and most picturesque part of Ireland, situated at a convenient distance from Dublin, a fine commodious house with perfect sanitation and all modern conveniences is available. The grounds, gardens, etc., are all that could be desired. Sea, river, mountain and woodland scenery lend their charms, and not many minutes walking take one to the railway station. If sufficient encouragement be forthcoming this will be acquired and placed at the service of any priest broken down or enfeebled from overwork in the sacred ministry, at a cost easily within his modest income.

A WELLWISHER.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X TO THE BISHOPS
OF AUSTRIA

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

PIUS X HORTATUR EOS AUSTRIAE AD FIDEM IN SUBDITIS TUENDAM

ET AMPLIFICANDAM

PIUS PP. X.

*Dilecte Fili noster et Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam
Benedictionem,*

Austriam catholico caram nomini caussamque sane per-
nobilem, unde assidue caperet christiana respublica decus,
dolemus non ita, ut antea, communem praebere in praesens
laetitiam professioni catholicae. Tuendae amplificandaeque
fidei a Christo Iesu praepositis, nihil est Nobis antiquius quam
ut catholicae doctrinae disciplinaeque germen non modo in filiis
custodiatur Nostris, sed iis etiam in mediis florescat, quos non
eadem Nobiscum communio devincit. At lacrymabili nimium
fortuna, quos Nostra institutio aluit, eos ipsos quandoque
adspicimus abire prodige a Nobis, ac sanctissima praecepta et
documenta vitae, hausta ex illibato Christi fonte, dissentiendo
publice propulsare, et nova placita infenso animo amplecti.
Nostra quo spectet maxime oratio, perspicuum profecto vobis
est, qui Nobiscum una satis nunquam censetis posse impie
factum defleri, cuius adspexit, non multos ante dies, horruit
Austriacae religio: quod quidem factum ideo certe molestissime
tulimus, quod addicti studiis adolescentes complures, in quibus
spes tanta erat suavissime posita, a catholica publice sententia
recesserint. Solutos scilicet se ab imperio et potestate reli-
giosa volunt, atque e sacris legitimis propterea sese expediunt,
quia vim multam fortitudinemque animi in explendis divinae
legis operibus catholica religio quaerit, dissidentium coetus non
quaerit. Hac fieri de ratione comperimus non paucis in Austria
fidelibus funestissimam illam perniciem animi inferri, catholicum
ut deponant nomen atque haereticæ sese pravitati dedant.
Calamitatem nostis, dilecte Fili et Venerabiles Fratres, omnium
hanc aestimari iure tristissimam, animas interire misere, quae

tanti valent, quanti perfusus a Christo sanguis. Vos quidem Praesules, quos in excelso ecclesiarum munere ad curam populi divina mens posuit, scimus non immemores officii esse, sollicitaque sollertia discrimini obsistere creditarum ovium. Verum quo instant praesentiora pericula, eo debent Episcopi maiora adhibere ad praecavendum studia tantoque debent alacrius in pastoralibus curis eniti. Hanc vero ad rem industriam vestram contendere exploratum est iamdiu, habemusque non sine voluptate compertum vobis esse vertendum laudi, si maiora christianus grex detrimenta non cepit. Hortamur tamen in Christo vos, Dilecte Fili et venerabiles Fratres, animosiores ut bello repugnetis in dies, nullumque patiamini abesse a vobis, sive privatim sive publice, studium, unde sarta tecta filiorum fides permaneat, habeatque in vobis communio Nostra ab infestis armis praesidium. Perillustis ista natio, cuius nobilissimae sunt in catholica historia laudes, catholica, Deo opitulante, persistet, vestra si sedulitas navabit divinae Providentiae operam : clara etiam et opibus et concordia et quiete manebit, si de religione patrum, in qua salus potissimum Imperii et fortitudo consistunt, invidia aut dissensio aut omnis religiosarum simultatum causa prohibeantur. Caeterum vestrae ultro navitati, divinaeque desiderio gloriae, quo praecellitis, fidimus, coelestiumque gratiarum auspiciis ac Nostrae benevolentiae pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis populisque vestris peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 6 Martii anno 1905, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

PIUS PP. X.

**INDULGENCE FOR VISITING CARMELITE CHURCH ON THE
FEAST OF ST. FRANCIS**

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM
CONCEDITUR INDULG. PLEN. VISITANTIBUS ECCLESIAS
CARMELITARUM DIE FESTO B. FRANCI.

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Ad augendam fidelium religionem animarumque salutem coelestibus Ecclesiae thesauris pia charitate intenti, omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus vere poenitentibus et confessis ac S. Communionem refectis, qui quamlibet Ecclesiam vel pub-

licum Oratorium Fratrum Ord. B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo tum primi Instituti, tum Excalceatorum die festo B. Franci, Conf. Carmelit., a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis diei huiusmodi quotannis devote visitaverint, ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione, pias ad Deum preces effuderint, plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem, quam etiam animabus fidelium in Purgatorio detentis per modum suffragii applicari posse, misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris. Volumus autem ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die XI Februarii MDCCCXV, Pontificatus Nostri anno secundo.

Pro Dno. Card. MACCHI.

N. MARINI.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS ARE CONDEMNED

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

UTINEN

NONNULLAE CONSUETUDINES IMPROBANTUR

Hodiernus Rmus. Archiepiscopus Utinensis Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequentia Dubia pro opportuna declaratione humillime exposuit :

I. In duabus paroeciis Archidioceseos Utinensis extat consuetudo immemorialis, qua, in Dominica Palmarum, peractis Benedictione Palmarum et Processione, canitur Passio D.N.I.C. lingua slavica vulgari: quaeritur utrum huiusmodi cantus Dominicae Passionis tolerari possit in casu, aut saltem permitti ante Benedictionem Palmarum, vel immediate post Missam lectam?

II. In aliis duabus Paroeciis consuetudo etiam immemorialis viget, qua in communione administranda extra Missam verba '*Domine non sum dignus*' recitantur lingua vulgari; et coram SSmo. Sacramento exposito eadem vulgari lingua canuntur litaniae lauretanae; quaeritur an, attenta vigente consuetudine, utrumque liceat?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, respondendum censuit :

Ad I. ' *Quoad primam partem, negative et servetur Rubrica Missalis, quae talem interruptionem non concedit et post Benedictionem Palmarum praescribit : deinde celebratur Missa ; et quoad secundam partem, affirmative, accedente consensu Ordinarii.*'

Ad II. ' *Negative et servantur Rubricae et Decreta.*'

Atque ita rescripsit, die 1 Iulii 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

THE CANOPY OF THE TABERNACLE

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM DUBIUM

CONSUETUDO NON ADHIBENDI CONOPEUM ANTE TABERNACULUM
SSMI. SACRAMENTI SERVARI NEQUIT

Ab hodierno caeremoniarum magistro cuiusdam Ecclesiae cathedralis expostulatum fuit : An servari possit consuetudo non adhibendi conopeum quo tegi debet tabernaculum ubi asservatur SSmm. Eucharistiae Sacramentum ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, respondendum censuit : *Negative et servantur Rituale Romanum et Decreta.*¹

Atque ita rescripsit, die 1 Iulii 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

¹ Rituale Romanum, Tit. IV, cap. I, *De SSmo. Eucharistiae Sacramento*, n. 6, habet : 'Hoc autem tabernaculum (SSmi. Sacramenti) conopeo decenter opertum . . . sit collocatum.' Decreta autem S.R.C. quae maxime ad rem faciunt, sunt *Briocen.*, diei 21 Iulii 1855, n. 3035 ad 10 : (a) 'Num Tabernaculum, in quo reconditur SSmm. Sacramentum conopeo cooperiri debeat, ut fert Rituale' responsum prodiit '*Affirmative*'; necnon *Sancti Iacobi de Cile*, diei 28 Aprilis 1866, n. 3150 quo omnino reprobatur usus ab antiquo tempore vigens non cooperiendi conopeo Tabernaculum, in quo asservatur SSmm. Eucharistiae Sacramentum. Ex Decreto *Vicariatus Apostolici utriusque Guineae*, diei 27 Iulii 1878, n. 3456 tantummodo regionibus Guinearum, quoad sciamus, permittitur sub prudenti arbitrio Ordinarii Tabernaculum Sacramenti absque conopeo, quia hoc insectis varii generis indecenter pollutum saepe saepius reperitur.

THE BENEDICTINES OF BRAZIL.

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR BREVIVM
 HODIERNUS ABBAS GEN. CONGREGATIONIS BENEDICTINAE BRASI-
 LIENSIS, PRO HAC VICE TRANSFERTUR AB ABBATIA S. MARIAE
 DE MONTESERRATO, FLUMINIS IANUARI, AD ABBATIAM S.
 SEBASTIANI, BAHIAE

*Dilecto Filio Dominico a Transfiguratione Machado Abbati Gen.
 Congregationis Brasiliensis O.S.B.*

PIUS PP. X

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Tempora, dum volvuntur, res quaeque terrenae mutari ita solent, ut Providentiae Divinae munus sit, variis auxiliis tempestivisque humanam gentem munire, ut ipsa tuto pede fausta inter et sinistra ad patriam tandem deveniat. Cuius Providentiae Divinae minister atque aemulus etiam Romanus Pontifex ita variis rerum adiunctis providere debet, ut omnia, sapienter a Sapiente ordinata, ad animarum conspirent salutem. Eo motus consilio Decessor Noster, fel. nem. Leo Papa XIII, pluries iam ad instaurandam Brasiliensem Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Congregationem leges atque ordinationes pro rerum opportunitate stabilivit, cuius vestigia prementes proprioque amore in insignem Patriarchae Cassinensis Ordinem pulsi. Nos nunc temporis necessaria providere decernenda duximus. Quum enim te, dilecte fili, de excogitando et perficiendo praclaudo opere optime meritum intelligamus, dignum te habemus qui paternae Nostrae benevolentiae testimonio augeraris. Auctis iam in civitate Fluminis Ianuarii de rebus monasticis stabiliendis laboribus, decreascentibus vero ob bonam tuam senectutem viribus tuis, libenter petitioni tuae obsecundantes, te, titulo munereque Abbatis Generalis Congregationis Brasiliensis servatis, relicto autem officio Abbatis perpetui S. Mariae de Monteserrato Fluminis Ianuarii, ad dies vitae Abbatis Sancti Sebastiani Bahiae civitatis titulo condecoratum volumus. Quare Litteris Apostolicis 'Singulare studium' eodem hac forma, die XXVIII Novembris anni MDCCCII, datis pro hac vice tantum derogantes, quae munus Abbatis Generalis Congregationis Brasiliensis cum Sede Abbatiali Fluminis Ianuarii coniunctum statuunt, te ab omni vinculo, quatenus opus sit, solventes, pariterque a quibusvis excommunicationis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis

sententiis, censuris ac poenis, si quas forte incurreris, huius tantum rei gratia absolventes et absolutum fore censes, de Aplica Nostrae potestatis plenitudine, praesentium vi, a praefata Sede Abbatiali S. Mariae de Monteserrato civitatis Fluminis Ianuarii, ad Abbatiam S. Sebastiani Bahiae ad dies vitae transferimus, ita ut paterna auctoritate et charitate familiam monasticam ibidem commorantem ad omnia, quae sive aeternam salutem sive civilis consorti emolumentum spectant, pie ac sapienter dirigas. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXVIII Februarii MCMV, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Secundo.

L. ✠ S.

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

THE BENEDICTINES OF BRAZIL

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

R. P. GERARDUS VAN CALOEN ABBAS S. BENECTI APUD OLINDAM,
NOMINATUR ABBAS S. MARIAE, FLUMINIS IANUARIII ETC.

*Dilecto Filio Gerardo van Caloen Abbati S. Mariae
Fluminis Ianuarii.*

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Prudentiae tuae, dilecte Fili, nec non zeli tui optimi haud obscuras significationes quum in melius instauranda Congregatione Brasiliensi Ordinis S. Benedicti, plurimis abhinc annis multiplicaveris feliciter, Nos sane decet te maioribus cumulare honoribus, ut, potiore dignitate auctoritateque munitus, ad gloriam Dei Ordinisque tui emolumentum maiora iam in dies complere valeas. Quod sane magis a Nobis requirunt rerum adiuncta, quum dilectus filius Dominicus a Transfiguratione Machado, Congregationis Brasiliensis Praeses, annorum meritumque pondere aequae cumulatus, Nos rogaverit a Sede Abbatiali Fluminis Ianuarii ad Abbatiam Sancti Sebastiani transferri; nec ob huius optimi viri merita votis ipsius beneplacitum Nostrum denegare potuerimus. Ita factum est, ut Abbatiae Sanctae Mariae civitatis Fluminis Ianuarii, viduatae Sedi, novum Titularem providere deceat, eo maxime quum sive ob necessarias huius Abbatis cum auctoritatibus cum ecclesiasticis tum saecularibus relationes, sive ob summi momenti negotia

nunc temporis obeunda, Venerabilis Fratre Noster et Apostolicae Sedis in Brasilia Nuntius censuerit in providendo huic rei dilationem minime opportunam. Quae cum ita sint, te, dilecte fili, a Decessore Nostro fel. rec. Leone PP. XIII Abbatem Sancti Benedicti apud Olindam, nec non Vicarium Generalem Praesidis Congregationis Brasiliensis nominatum, ab omni vinculo de Apostolicae potestatis plenitudine solventes et . . . censentes, hisce Litteris, Nostra auctoritate Abbatem Sanctae Mariae Fluminis Ianuarii renuntiamus ac nominamus, retenta in administratione Abbatia Sancti Benedicti apud Olindam. Statuimus insuper ut etiam Abbatiam Beatae Mariae apud Sanctum Paulum, usque dum proprium Abbatem habeat in administrationem accipias, nec non ut, servato Vicarii Generalis Congregationis munere, quum sive de facto sive de iure munus Praesidis Congregationis Brasiliensis vacabit, tamquam Abbas Fluminis Ianuarii ad dies vitae huiusmodi officii haeres continuo existas. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXVIII Februarii MDCCCXCV, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Secundo.

ALOIS. CARD. MACCHI.

L. ✠ S.

DECISION OF THE PONTIFICAL COMMISSION ON BIBLICAL STUDIES

E COMMISSIONE PONTIFICIA PRO STUDIIS S. SCRIPTURAE PROVEHENDIS

NORMAE PRO EXEGETIS CATHOLICIS CIRCA CITATIONES IMPLICITAS IN S. SCRIPTURA CONTENTAS

Cum ad normam directivam habendam pro studiosis S. Scripturae proposita fuerit Commissioni Pontificiae de re biblica sequens quaestio, vid. :

‘Utrum ad enondandas difficultates quae occurrunt in nonnullis S. Scripturae textibus, qui facta historica referre videntur, liceat exegetae catholico asserere agi in his de citatione tacita vel implicita documenti ab auctore non inspirato conscripti, cuius adserta omnia auctor inspiratus minime adprobare aut sua facere intendit, quaeque ideo ab errore immunia haberi non possunt?’

Prohibita Commissio respondendum censuit :

‘Negative, excepto casu in quo, salvis sensu ac iudicio Ecclesiae, solidis argumentis probetur : 1° hagiographum alterius dicta vel documenta revera citare ; et 2° eadem nec probare nec sua facere, ita ut iure censeatur non proprio nomine loqui.’

Die autem 13^a Februarii an. 1905, SANCTISSIMUS, referente me infrascripto consultore ab Actis, praedictum responsum adprobavit atque publici iuris fieri mandavit.

F. DAVID FLEMING, O.F.M., *Consultor ab actis*.

FEAST OF THE DEDICATION OF A CHURCH

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

MISSIONARIUM AFRICAE

DUBIA CIRCA CELEBRATIONEM FESTI DEDICATIONIS ECCLESIAE

Hodiernus Moderator Generalis Societatis Missionariorum Africae (Peres Blancs), Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequentia dubia circa festum Dedicationis pro opportuna solutione humiliter exposuit, nimirum :

I. Utrum obligatio celebrandi festum Dedicationis Ecclesiarum, Dominica post Octavam Omnium Sanctorum, per Decretum Cardinalis Caprara imposita *omnibus Ecclesiis Gallianis*, extendatur ad omnes regiones decursu temporis Galliae subiectas, v.g. Sahara, Sudan, sine ulla praevia concessione Sanctae Sedis, vel expressa declaratione Praelati ecclesiastici, sive ibi sint Ecclesiae consecratae, sive tantum benedictae.

II. Utrum obligatio persolvendi Officium Dedicationis, de qua agitur in decreto, n. 3752, *Vicariatus Apostolici Senegambiae*, d. d. 28 Novembris 1891, pro Missionariis dicti Vicariatus, extendatur etiam ad eos Missionarios qui Calendario proprio gaudent, diverso scilicet a Calendario Vicariatus, vel Dioeceseos.

III. Et quatenus *Negative*, utrum tamen isti Missionarii in dioecesi ubi festum celebratur commorantes, in Oratorio proprio (semipublico), extra civitatem posito, celebrare debeant solemnitatem Dedicationis in praefata Dominica, ex eo quod nulla dies pro tali festo in Calendario Societatis designatur.

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque sedulo perpensa, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. Affirmative, iuxta Decretum Cardinalis Legati Caprara pro reductione festorum d. d. 9 Aprilis 1802, et alterum Generale

S.R.C., n. 3863, *Celebrationis Festorum Patroni loci, Dedicationis ac Tituli Ecclesiae*, 9 Iulii 1895, ad III.

Ad II. Affirmative, nisi indultum obtentum fuerit a Sancta Sede celebrandi Anniversarium Dedicationis omnium Ecclesiarum Ordinis sive Societatis die diversa ab illa in qua Clerus saecularis celebrat Dedicationem omnium Ecclesiarum, iuxta Decretum, n. 3861, *Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum Provinciae Hollandicae*, 22 Iunii 1895, ad I, et n. 3925, *Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, 10 Iulii 1896, ad V.

Ad III. Provisum in praecedenti.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 1 Aprilis 1905.

✠ A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret*.

ALTAR OF THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF ST. VINCENT DE
PAUL PRIVILEGED

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

PUELLARUM CHARITATIS S. VINCENTII A PAULO

ALTARE SODALITII EST PRIVILEGIATUM PRO OMNIBUS MISSIS
INIBI CELEBRATIS

Augustinus Veneziani Procuratoris Generalis munere fungens in Congne. Missionis, Sacrae Indulgentiarum Congni. humiliter exponit Pium IX s. m. Puellis a Charitate S. Vincentii a Paulo, per Breve diei 23 Iulii 1857 indulsisse, ut 'quandocumque ad altare Sodalitii ubicumque existenti, quod apostolico privilegio decoratum quidem non fuerit, Sacrosanctum Missae sacrificium *celebrare faciant* per quemcumque sacerdotem. . . . Missae sacrificium huiusmodi animae seu animabus pro qua seu pro quibus celebratum fuerit aequae suffragetur, ac si ad altare privilegium fuisset celebratum.' Cum autem ex verbis *celebrare faciant*, oriatur dubium: 'An praefatum altare senseri possit privilegium pro omnibus Missis, quae inibi celebrantur, an pro iis tantum Missis, quas Sorores, oblata ab ipsis elemosyna, celebrandas committant,' a S. Congne. eiusdem dubii solutio humiliter expostulatur. S. Congtio. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita declarat in casu verba illa *celebrare faciant* late esse intelligenda, ita ut altaria intelligi debeant privilegia pro omnibus Missis, quae in illis celebrantur.

Datum Romae ex Secrta. eiusdem S. C. die 1 Febr. 1905.

L. ✠ S.

IOSEPHUS M. Cancus. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERATED URSULINES

EX ACTIS SUMMI PONTIFICIS ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

PIUS X DENUO APPROBAT CONSTITUTIONES INSTITUTI URSULINARUM CONFOEDERATARUM, VEHEMENTERQUE ADHORTATUR FAMILIAS QUAE ADHUC EXTRA INSTITUTUM VERSANTUR, UT SESE EIDEM ADSCISCERE VELINT

PIVS PP. X

MOTU-PROPRIO

Apostolicae Sedi id semper in votis fuit, ut religiosa Instituta, nominatim ea, quae inventuti imbuendae dant operam, sese mutatis temporum et rerum adiunctis, immutato manente spiritu, congruenter aptare studerent. Quod si opportunum hoc fuit quolibet tempore, aetate hac nostra esse necessarium res ipsae plane demonstrant.

Quamobrem, quum Decessor Noster f. r. Leo XIII compertum perspectumque haberet, Ursularum Ordinem, cui vil illud praecipuae laudi vertendum, quod nobile munus instituendi adolescentulas maturime suscepit, novis rerum necessitatibus non perfecte ex omni parte respondere, eo praesertim quod moenia quibus coalescit, quum sui quaeque iuris essent, nec se invicem adiuvare et praesidio esse, nec mutua virtutis aemulatione ad meliora et maiora se excitare valerent; idcirco huic rerum conditio opportuna atque salutaria afferenda censuit remedia. Et re quidem ver a cunctis Ursularum domibus, ubique terrarum existentibus, litteris die 21 Iulii 1899 datis, exquiri mandavit num scilicet Instituto universas domos complectenti habentique sedem principem in Urbe, si quando per auctoritatem S. Sedis exsurget, libenter accederent; et quum supra sexaginta ex illis sese id libentissime velle repondissent, idem Pontifex primum pro temporum natura vivae vocis oraculo, die 28 Novembris 1900, deinceps per decretum a Sacra Congregatione Episcoporum et Regularium, die 17 Iulii 1903 editum, praedictam Unionem adprobavit.

Quod ad Nos attinet, iam a primordiis pontificatus Nostri dicti Instituti Constitutiones, item per decretum a S. Congregatione Episcoporum et Regularium die 14 Septembris 1903 datum, ratas habuimus; nec ullam praetermisimus occasionem, singularem, qua illud prosequimur, benevolentiam Nostram

testificandi, laetissimo etiam cernentes animo alias atque alias domos paullatim ad illud convenire.

Nunc vero, quum uberes fructus, quos Ursularum conjunctio peperit, per Nos Ipsos perspexerimus, quumque uberiores, quos in tutum est paritura, prospiciamus; Nos non solum unionem hanc feliciter initam, sed et Constitutiones eidem Instituto datas, auctoritate Nostra iterum plenissime approbamus et confirmamus, illisque perpetuae et inviolabilis Apostolicae firmitatis robur adiicimus.

Volentes insuper specialibus favoribus dictum Ursularum Institutum augere, omnibus et singulis eiusdem Instituti Sodalibus redeunte anniversaria die, qua Ursularum unio ab Apostolica Sede approbata fuit, videlicet die 28 Novembris, in perpetuum plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino impertimus. Quam indulgentiam etiam animabus fidelium Purgatorio detentis per modum suffragii applicari posse concedimus.

Ex his sponte elucet quantum Nos optemus, ut Institutum tam fauste incoeptum, aucto in dies adhaerentium numero, in maius provehatur, latiusque pateat. Quapropter vehementer adhortamur illas, quae adhuc extra Institutum versantur, familias, ut sese eidem adsciscere velint. Neque dubitamus quin Venerabiles Fratres Nostri Apiscopi, in quorum dioecesibus huiusmodi Ursularum domus existunt, non solum earumdem votis obsecudent, verum etiam cunctantes, si quae fuerint, ad optatam consociationem suaviter flectant, persuasum plane habentes quod dicti Instituti Constitutiones ita sint concinnatae, ut quarumlibet nationum consuetudinibus atque indoli aptissime congruant.

Volumus autem ut praesentes Litterae ad singulos, de quibus supra, Episcopos mittantur, eorumque cura, in linguam vernaculam ad verbum diligenter versae, in qualibet Ursularum domo, speciali ad id indicto conventu, legantur.

Haec ad maius Ursularum Instituti bonum atque incrementum edicimus, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, die VIII Maii an. MDCCCV, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

Pius PP. X.

PRIVILEGES OF THE CAPUCHIN FRIARS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM
ORDINIS MINORUM CAPUCCINORUM
SUPERIOR IMPERTIENS SUBDITIS ABSOLUTIONEM GENERALEM,
IPSEMET EIUS BENEFICIO GAUDET

Fr. Iucundus a Montonio, Ord. Min. Capuccinorum Procurator Genlis., Sacrae Congregationi Indulgentiarum sequentia dubia solvenda proposuit :

1. Quaenam sit formula adhibenda ad impertiendam Absolutionem generalem Regularibus modo privato, id est, immediate post sacramentalem Confessionem ?

2. Utrum Superior regularis, aut eius delegatus, cum Absolutionem generalem propriae Communitati impertit, et ipsemet recipiat, an alius Sacerdos ei impertire debeat ?

S. Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, respondendum censuit :

Ad 1^{um}. Ad S. Rituum Congregationem.

Ad 2^{um}. Affirmative ad 1^{am} partem ; Negative ad 2^{am}.

Datum Romae e Secret. eiusdem S. Congr. die 1 Februarii 1905.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✕ S.

IOSEPHUS M. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*

BEATIFICATION OF DOMINICAN MARTYRS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

TUNQUINEN.—DECRETUM

BEATIFICATIONIS SEU DECLARATIONIS MARTYRII VV. SERVORUM
DEI ORD. PRAEDICATORUM HIERONYMI HERMOSILLA, EPISCOPI
MILETOPOLITANI VIC. AP. TUNQUINI ORIENTALIS, VALENTINI
BERRIO-UCHOA, EPISCOPI CENTURIENSIS VIC. AP. TUNQUINI
CENTRALIS, PETRI ALMATO, SACERDOTIS MISSIONARII ET VEN.
SERVI DEI IOSEPHI KHANG INDIGENAE.

SUPER DUBIO

‘An constet de martyrio eiusque causa, itemque de signis seu miraculis martyrium ipsum illustrantibus, in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur.’

In teterrima illa contra catholicam Fidem insectatione, quae medio saeculo XIX per Tunquinum desaeviit, complures ex

omni hominum conditione *pro testamento Dei sua corpora tradiderunt et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine Agni*. Strenuos inter huiusmodi pugiles virtute ac dignitate sua emicuerunt ex inclyta Dominiciana Familia, iis palmis iamdudum assueta, evangelii praecones tres, iidemque praenobilis Hispanorum gentis Filii dignissimi, Hieronymus Hermosilla, Episcopus Miletopolitanus, Valentinus Berrio-Ochoa, Episcopus Centuriensis, et Petrus Almato, sacerdos eiusdem Ordinis; quibus adiunctus est Hermosillae Famulus, Iosephus Khang, Tunquinensis.

Hieronymus Hermosilla, natus pridie Cal. Octobr. an. MDCCC in civitate S. Dominici Calciatensis, primum studiorum causa ad Philippinas insulas transmigravit; deinde, sacerdotio. auctus in Tunquinum missus est, ubi aspera multa sustinuit, ut nequissimi illius regis furorem et satellitum insidias vitaret Vicarius Apostolicus Tunquini orientalis, ac deinceps Miletopolitanus Episcopus, post apostolicos labores plurimos, quum ad naviculas quasdam piscatorum fidelium confugisset, per proditorem comprehensus est una cum alumno famuloque suo Iosepho Khang, et in provinciae orientalis principem urbem traductus. Cuius ad limina distentam Christi cruci adfixi imaginem conspicatus, ultra progredi, nisi illa, ne profanaretur, sublata, recusavit. Tum cavea inclusus, ac non ita multo post capite caesus est Calendis Novembr. anno MDCCCLXI, aetatis suae sexagesimo primo.

Eodem die, haud absimili martyrio iisdemque fere adiunctis vitam nitide actam nobilitarunt Valentinus Berrio-Ochoa et Petrus Almato. Horum prior natus XVI Cal. Mart. an. MDCCCXXVII in oppido Elorrio Cantabriae provinciae, et ipse Philippinis ab insulis in Tunquinum centralem transmeavit, ubi, eius cognita sanctitate, Centuriensis Episcopus universaeque missionis moderator est enuntiatus. Recrudescente vero in eius Vicariatu persecutione, ita ut ibi iam nullus refugii locus superesset ad orientalem Tunquini partem appulsus, in horrido antro delituit, ubi pro viribus ministerio suo functus est. Inde, pagum petiturus Van-Dinh, quum se ad eas naviculas recepisset, ubi quadriduo ante memorati sodales eius fuerant comprehensi, ethnici cuiusdam proditorem in satellitum incidit manus una cum Petro Almato. Uterque, canga et catenis onusti, ad urbem provinciae caput deducuntur, cui non succedunt, nisi adorata prius ac deinde remota Cruce ad calendum proiecta. Prope

caveam Hermosillae, Valentinus inclusus, eodem, quo ille, die trahitur ad supplicii locum, ubi, stipiti alligatus, capitalem pro Christo poenam fortiter subiit. Eidem neci datus est Petrus Almato, sacerdos, ortus in pago Saserra Cal. Novembr. an. MDCCCXXX, vitae intemeratae et apostolici ministerii laude plane dignus, qui suas cum sociis palmas intexeret anno aetatis suae XXXI.

Quartus in gloriosum certamen venit Iosephus Khang e pago Tra-Vi provinciae Nam-Dinh, christianis parentibus editus, anno MDCCCXXXII. Hic, Hermosillae alumnus et famulus, quum in fidelium piscatorum cymbis cum suo praesule delitesceret, a militibus, tres ictus ensis accepit, cum eoque ad provinciae principem urbem traductus est. Ac primum quaestius de apostolicis viris, reticuit; iteratis deinde verberibus compulsus, interrogantibus prudenter satisfecit. Mox ad Crucem proterendam, proposita libertate, invitatus, maluit viginti supra centum perferre vulnera, quam a Fide desciscere. Quare et ipse ad supplicium raptus est et optatam coronam, una cum tribus Dominicanis athleticis est consequutus, annum agens vicesimum nonum.

Splendidum hunc fortissimorum virorum exitum quum vulgata etiam prodigia illustrassent, agitata causa est de ipsorum martyrio et institutae de more inquisitiones, quum ordinaria tum apostolica auctoritate. Quibus accurate perpensis validisque recognitis fel. rec. Pontifex Leo XIII causae introductionis Commissionem sua manu signavit Kal. Maii anno MDCCCII. Denuo causa instaurata est, ac de SSmi. Domini Nostri Pii Papae X venia, peculiari Emorum. Patrum ordini commissa cum voto quoque Consultorum Officialium, qui de ipsa iudicarent. Quo in conventu, habito pridie Nonas Iunias labentis anni, proposito a Rmo. Cardinali Dominico Ferrata dubio: *An constet de martyrio eiusque casu, itemque de signis seu miraculis martyrium ipsum illustrantibus in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur*; Rmi. Cardinales et Officiales Consultores suffragio suo constare censuerunt. Nihilominus SSmus. Pater a supremo edendo iudicio abstinuit, ad coeleste lumen in tam gravi negotio impetrandum.

Hodierno autem die, dum nativitatem Ioannis Baptistae recolimus, qui virtutis iura fuso etiam sanguine invicte affirmavit, idem SSmus. Dominus Eucharistico Sacrificio religiosissime

litato nobiliorem aulam Vaticanam ingressus est, ac pontificio solio assidens, ad Se accivit Rmum. Cardinalem Aloysium Tripepi S. R. Congregationi Pro-Praefectum, loco etiam et vice Rmi. Card. Seraphini Cretoni causae Relatoris, una cum R. P. Alexandro Verde S. Fidei Promotore meque infrascripto Secretario, iisque adstantibus edixit: *Constare de martyrio eiusque causa, VV. Servorum Dei Hieronymi Hermosilla, Episcopi Miletopolitani, Valentini Berrio-Ochoa, Episcopi Centuriensis Petri Almato, Sacerdotis Missionarii et Iosephi Khang indigenae, itemque de signis seu miraculis horum quatuor Servorum Dei martyrium illustrantibus in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur.*

Hoc vero Decretum publici iuris fieri et in Acta Sacror. Rituum Congregationis referri iussit octavo Kal. Iulias anno MDCCCCV.

ALOYSIUS Card. TRIPEPI, S.R.C. Pro-Praef.

L. ✠ S.

✠ DIOMEDES PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., S.R.C. Secret.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE DIOCESE OF OSSORY.
By the Rev. William Carrigan, C.C., M.R.I.A. With
a Preface by the Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg, Lord
Bishop of Ossory. Dublin : Sealy, Bryers, and Walker,
1905. IV. Vols. Price £1 10s.

ALTHOUGH these volumes have reached us during the summer holidays and late in the month we feel that we ought not to allow even a single issue to appear without bringing them under the notice of the Irish clergy. They would gain by delay as far as we are concerned ; for they would have the advantage of being treated in our pages by an expert in Irish history and in Irish archæological learning, but in truth we think that the merits of the work are so great and so evident that we need not fear undertaking the task of noticing them ourselves. Indeed it has seldom fallen to our lot to welcome any work with such unmixed pleasure as we do these four splendid volumes. Father Carrigan has taken his place with Cogan, Comerford and O'Laverty amongst the chief ecclesiastical historians of Ireland. If he has preserved many names from oblivion he has ensured to his own a high place in the roll of fame in his native land.

His work is introduced to us by a valuable preface prefixed to the first volume by the Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg, Bishop of Ossory, and on one could express with greater authority than His Lordship the claims of Father Carrigan to our admiration and gratitude.

‘ When we look over the list of MSS. and books prefixed to the first volume, which the author has drawn upon for his materials,’ writes Dr. Brownrigg, ‘ and bear in mind how scattered they are, how difficult of access, and in what a chaotic state many of them were found, it will be little short of a marvel that one man, even in a whole life-time, could have utilized them to the extent he has, and woven out of them such a goodly narrative. His labour has gone on silently, industriously, and unflaggingly for twenty-one years, and concurrently with all this he has never for a single day shirked or dropped one of the sacred duties he owed the people to whom he was appointed to minister.’

In his Introduction Father Carrigan sketches the civil history of the kingdom of Ossory, giving us the list of its kings and some account of their doings down to the days of the present representative of the line. Next comes the history of its Bishops from St. Kieran to Dr. Brownrigg. The account of the Norman bishops—Fitz-John, de Ledrede, de Tatenhall, de Balscot, and de Appelby—is full of interest. In the seventeenth century the venerable figure of David Rothe is presented to us in all his grandeur, whilst the not less noble figure of Thomas de Burgo sheds lustre on the eighteenth.

After the Bishops the colleges, religious institutions, and distinguished ecclesiastics who were born in the diocese are dealt with; and finally each parish is taken separately and a summary of its history given, with its religious and secular monuments, leading families, parish priests, etc.

The illustrations, which are very numerous, are extremely fine, and many of the old documents and inscriptions are admirably reproduced in facsimile.

We congratulate Father Carrigan most cordially on the success of his great undertaking. He has raised a splendid monument to the old faith of St. Kieran and St. Canice, a monument which reflects credit not only on the diocese and clergy of Ossory, but on the whole Irish Church. Praise of such a work is almost needless. It carries with it its own recommendation. We can only express a hope that it will find its way into the library of every priest in Ireland at home and in the greater Ireland beyond the Seas.

J. F. H.

APOLOGETICA : Elementary Apologetics for Pulpit and Pew.

By Rev. P. A. Halpin. New York : Joseph W. Wagner.

THIS little volume contains 'a course of fifty-two sketches for short sermons on popular topics and questions maintaining, explaining, and defending the Catholic position.' The sketches are necessarily brief; they are mere 'skeletons in the literal sense of the word,' without 'flesh upon the bones' or 'blood in the veins,' as the author admits in the preface; and they possess all the imperfections implied in such a description. Such fundamental subjects as Reason and Faith, Religious

Indifferentism, God, Miracles, Divine Providence, the Hereafter, the Divinity of Christ, Eternal Punishment are touched upon; but notwithstanding a certain vigour and conciseness of style, the treatment is altogether too 'sketchy' to admit of justice being done to such subjects. We fear the treatment is defective even as a suggestion, inclining too much to bald assertion, and lacking in persuasive argument and illustration. But we must not expect too much from an author who professedly limits his scope so as to exclude, perhaps, those very things which we miss. We may adopt the words of the preface, that 'the compilation is only a suggestion, but as such not entirely valueless;' and we can honestly recommend the little volume as helpful to those whose duty it is to instruct the people on those subjects.

P. J. T.

AGREEMENT OF EVOLUTION AND CHRISTIANITY. By Samuel Louis Phillips. Washington, D.C.: The Phillips Company, 1904.

'THE underlying purpose of this treatise is to advance Christianity by showing it to be a phase of the great law of Evolution applicable to the development of the moral nature of man, and incidentally to his physical and mental development; and ranking in its sphere of influence as importantly as the physical adaptation of organisms to their environment, or the transmission of acquired characteristics to progeny.'

In these words the author introduces his book to his readers, and his statement of purpose would not unnaturally suggest to the believer in supernatural Christianity that he is being introduced to a veiled attack on his religion. For how, he may ask, can Christianity be reduced to 'a phase of the great [natural] law of Evolution' without losing its supernatural character, and becoming at best an evolutionary product of rational theism? It will, therefore, be a relief to discover that no such malign purpose is intended, but that the author, who is evidently a sincere Christian (apparently a Presbyterian), is one of those well-meaning apologists whose equipment for his task is by no means equal to his zeal. The looseness of thought betrayed in the opening sentence of the preface is characteristic

of the book as a whole. On a cursory reading we have marked a great number of passages, which it would be tedious to indicate. What kind of psychology is implied in statements like the following : ' Evolution of animal life is based primarily on Free Will—a free will to make efforts to avoid dangers and to pursue the advantageous ' (pages 73, 74) ; ' They [animals] are also endowed with Memory and Free Will to give effect to these [emotional] faculties ' (page 88) ; ' It follows that man's mentality may likewise be the product of the same processes which have evolved mentality among beasts ' ? (pages 89, 90). Then the ' soul,' which is regarded as entirely distinct from the ' mind,' is nevertheless an evolution of the latter : ' Why may not the birth and growth of the soul in man have been, under the guidance of God, the result of mental development, the same as the mind may have been the product of organized matter ? ' (page 97). Yet this seems to be contradicted on page 111 : ' This very fact has led many to confound the existences of mind and soul, and to conclude spirituality was the offspring of mentality.'

The author's acquaintance with the scientific problem of evolution does not seem to be more than superficial, and his exegetical and theological information is hardly more accurate than his psychological. He seems to be unaware that any advance has been made on the old Concordist theory for interpreting the Mosaic narrative of creation, and it is somewhat surprising to find ourselves naïvely assured in regard to the Holy Scriptures as ' the inspired word of God,' that ' the Christian may look without the slightest solicitude upon the attacks of Materialists to prove their recorded events myths, and regard with indifference the efforts of infidel scholars to show discrepancies and interpolations, knowing full well that if their character is allegorical in places, and their statements sometimes hard to be reconciled, *they were made so for the express purpose by the Supreme Being to promote study of their mysteries and revelations, and to develop Faith and thus advance soul evolution* ' (page 121).

On the nature of faith itself we get sidelights such as these : ' Why should he [the Christian evolutionist] not have *faith* in the evidences of his senses ? ' (page 96) ; ' Faith is inconsistent with absolute knowledge. A thing known, as said before, is

no longer investigated ; . . . just enough has been unfolded [regarding the personal appearance of the Saviour] to increase the desire for further knowledge ; enough to call for the exercise of the highest development of faith, and therefore of the imagination. Imagination is a metaphysical reality, powerfully affecting the will power, and the will controls the acts ' (pages 159, 160). There have been few subjects so fruitful of controversies among Christians since the Reformation as the Holy Eucharist ; yet our author writes : ' Take the sacrament of the Lord's Supper—a sacrament as to which entire Christendom is agreed ' ! But we have already taken up too much space with this well-meaning but worthless attempt to ' advance Christianity.'

P. J. T.

THE CELT ABOVE THE SAXON. Or a Comparative Sketch of the Irish and English People in War, in Peace, and in Character. By Rev. C. J. Herlihy. Boston, Mass. : Angel Guardian Press.

THE assumption of race superiority is a well known trait of British or Anglo-Saxon character. And this assumption is made so persistently and so much as a matter of course, that not only do Englishmen themselves accept it as unquestioned, but in the United States there is a disposition, which has been systematically fostered in recent years, to represent the American nation as a mere branch of the great Anglo-Saxon family, and American greatness as the natural outcome of Anglo-Saxon genius. This disposition is known as Anglo-mania. What is surprising is that it should exist at all in a composite nation in which the strictly English element is comparatively insignificant and is gradually disappearing ; but what is more surprising still is that it should find sympathisers—or shall we say victims ?—among the Irish-American element, and even—a veritable *reductio ad absurdum*—among the negroes. But the explanation is after all simple enough : persistent telling will give life and currency to any lie, and all the more easily if there be just a little colouring of truth in it.

Now, the book before us is a timely and effective protest against this Anglo-mania in America, and against the assump-

tion of Anglo-Saxon superiority on which it thrives. The book is addressed primarily to the Irish in America, and aims at inspiring in them an intelligent national self-respect by showing the real superiority of their own race over the Anglo-Saxon in war, in peace, and in general character, wherever, that is, in spite of unequal fortunes, comparison on anything like equal terms may be attempted. Under each of the three heads mentioned, Father Herlihy gives us six or seven well written and informing chapters. A critic might, perhaps, find fault with some of his generalizations on history, and accuse him of failing occasionally to hold the balance with strict impartiality. But even the severest judgment of impartial criticism, however it may qualify some of his statements, cannot deny the substantial justice of his verdict on English rule in Ireland. We sincerely wish many readers for this book, not only among our exiled countrymen, but among Irishmen at home. We have been fighting against an Anglo-mania as well as an Anglo domination here at home, and this book is calculated to help us in that fight. The publishers have done their work admirably and have produced a volume whose very appearance is attractive.

P. J. T.

JESUS CHRIST, THE WORD INCARNATE: Considerations gathered from the Works of the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas. By Roger Freddi, S.J. Translated from the Italian by F. J. Sullivan, S.J. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder.

THE author of this volume has not attempted a complete treatment of the great subject of the Incarnation, either from the viewpoint of theology or of devotion. He has confined himself to reproducing in a manner that aims at being popular the teaching of St. Thomas on the Person of Christ. This choice of scope is, in our opinion and in view of present day needs, open to objection on the double ground of admitting too much on the one hand and excluding too much on the other. This is especially true from the point of view of theology; for, however high we may rate St. Thomas, there is no denying that the theology of the Incarnation has in some respects

advanced since his day, and (what is more important still) that it has encountered new enemies who fight with new weapons and has accordingly modified its own manner of defence. But if we understand the author's purpose aright, it is not his intention to offer us a theological treatise, and it would be unfair to find fault with him on that score. His purpose we understand to be mainly devotional; but why in that case does he retain such theological or technical subjects as the Predestination of Christ (chap. xxxvii.) and speak of the *fomes peccati*? (page 160). We should prefer to see those who are able to read and understand St. Thomas going directly to his own works; but for those who are unable or unwilling to do so we certainly recommend the reading of this volume, in which they will find both information and edification. We shall be prepared to find many readers ready to find fault with ourselves for making any reservations in our eulogy.

P. J. T.

PRAYERS FOR THE FAITHFUL DEPARTED. A candid consideration of the Doctrine and Practice from the standpoints of Holy Scripture, Primitive Antiquity the Reformation Period, and Present Day Experience. By Canon Courtenay Moore, M.A., R.D. Cork: Guy & Co.

WE extend a hearty welcome to this little pamphlet by the well known Rector of Brigown. Canon Courtenay Moore is a courteous and genial author, representing what is best and most enlightened in the Protestant Church of Ireland, and we are not surprised to receive from his pen this plea for a revival among his co-religionists of an undoubted point of primitive Christian teaching and practice. What surprises us is that the plea should be advanced so timidly and cautiously, seeing the advances that have been made on old-time Reformation orthodoxy regarding this and many other points by the most enlightened representatives of the Canon's own Church in the sister isle. It is some years since we read with pleasure and profit Dean Lucock's scholarly work, *After Death*, to which the Canon refers, and we have been told that the High Church teaching and practice in England regarding prayers for the

dead is to all intents and purposes a revival of what was discarded at the Reformation. But we are aware of how little progress High Church teaching and practice has made among Irish Protestants, and we can understand and sympathise with the Canon's timidity in addressing his co-religionists on such a topic. If our commendation can have any effect we do not hesitate to recommend them in the strongest terms to read this little essay.

One incidental point deserves a passing notice. The Canon appeals to the practice of St. Patrick and of the early Irish Church. 'We claim,' he adds, 'to be the children of St. Patrick, and that we are his true successors, both in doctrine and orders. On main and fundamental lines we believe our claim to be valid; we hold the three ancient Creeds of the Church, and have our Apostolic succession in unbroken descent. But in respect of this particular doctrine and practice of the primitive Church . . . we may well ask how and where we stand?' (page 21). If we are inclined to smile at this claim so naively made of succession from St. Patrick, we ought, nevertheless, gladly welcome every such recognition of the principle of tradition by our Protestant fellow-Christians, however halting and inconsistent their application of the principle may be.

P. J. T.

A CRITICISM OF SYSTEMS OF HEBREW METRE. By
W. H. Cobb. Clarendon Press, 1905.

THE question of what constitutes Hebrew poetry has engaged the attention of scholars for generations. Almost every conceivable theory has been put forward. Mr. Cobb wisely begins with facts, and is equally prudent in taking the best critical text (Ginsburg's) as sufficiently certified, instead of altering the received text to suit the theory as Bickell and others have often done. Indeed his moderation and fairness are conspicuous throughout the discussion of a complicated subject. One feature of Mr. Cobb's method is especially pleasing. He lays stress on the merits of a theory rather than on its defects, and he takes considerable pains to show what has been achieved by the many successive efforts. While it is by no means easy to apportion the meed of approval that each of the rival theories

deserves, a work which enables the student to perceive the strong and the weak points of the theories propounded in turn by Bellermann, Ewald, Ley, Grimme, Sievers, and others, cannot fail to be both useful and interesting. That metre and strophe occur in some of the psalms, etc., is obvious; the disputed question is whether, how far, and in what forms, they exist elsewhere? The work before us contains abundant examples of passages relied on, and discusses fully and fairly the endeavours to point out iambics, trochees—trimeters, hexameters—etc. There is no other work in English on this subject. To all students that take an interest in the important problems connected with Hebrew metre this work may be warmly recommended. Mr. Cobb is more hopeful regarding the ultimate discovery of the fundamental principle than is Dr. Ecker in his recent work on the Psalter, *Lauda Sion*, Trier, 1903. The German work describes more systems than the English one, but it does not analyse any one of them so fully.

R. W.

CURSUS PHILOSOPHIAE THOMISTICAE. Vol. I. Logica. By Rev. E. Hugon, O.P. Lethielleux, 1904.

THE author intends to publish a series of volumes that will be a text book of Philosophy, and serve as a complete introduction to the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas. The present volume treats of Logic, and does so in admirable fashion. The nature of universals and of categories, the laws of syllogisms, the criteria of truth, etc., are all explained with the thoroughness characteristic of scholastic philosophy. Convinced as he is of the necessity of an accurate knowledge of Logic on the part of the future theologian, the author reduces every question to its first principles. We are glad to note the special respect he pays to the opinions of John of St. Thomas, who is one of the greatest commentators on the works of the Angelic Doctor. And also that the Saint's own words are quoted so frequently. It is, in our opinion, of the greatest advantage to a student to be thus introduced from the beginning of his course to what has been said on Logic by the greatest of all Christian philosophers. The commands of Leo XIII and Pius X that all students should be imbued with the scientific knowledge of the

highest natural truths have guided the author of this valuable work. It should be in the hands of every professor, and be made a text-book in our seminaries.

J. M.

NEO-CONFESSARIUS. Fr. Reuter, S.J. Herder, 1905.

THIS new edition, by Lehmkuhl, of a well-known work, will be found very useful to priests on the mission. They need only to have a clear, concise manual that reminds them of what they learned in college, and they cannot always find time to read through large works filled with details. What they want is not a speculative treatise, but practical information for the confessional. Reuter's book is admirably suited for this purpose. It deals with questions of every-day life. To the young confessor such a manual is almost indispensable. For it explains the special obligations of persons in all states of life, the remedies against sin, various sacramental penances, etc., so that he can find in a few moments what he wishes to know.

J. M.

RETREAT CONFERENCES FOR CONVENTS. A Series of Exhortations addressed to Religious. By Rev. Charles Cox, O.M.I. Third Series. London: R. and T. Washbourne, Paternoster Row, 1904. Price, 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book will be found very useful by priests who have to give retreats or addresses in convents. It is particularly well suited for its purpose, both in the choice of subjects and in the method of treatment. It is full of Scriptural illustrations and texts, and of references to the works of spiritual writers which bear on the subjects dealt with. It bears the *Imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Westminster, and may be regarded as a safe and useful model to follow.

ST. CATHERINE DE RICCI. Her Life, her Letters, her Community. By F. M. Capes. Burns & Oates. Price 7s. 6d.

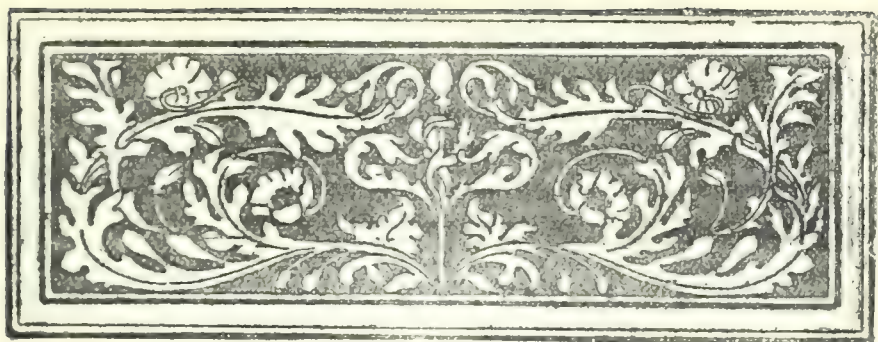
THIS is a work that will be read with much profit and pleasure. It describes the heroic virtues of a nun who while

she lived in the cloister ever kept in mind the spiritual and temporal needs of those exposed to the many trials and temptations of the world. The sympathy and affection of which her letters are full show us that she was a most lovable saint. We can readily understand how it was that crowds came to see her, and that no one ever went away disappointed.

While thus attentive to others, whose every concern she regarded as her own, Sister Catherine was one of the greatest ecstasies that ever adorned the Church. Our Lord impressed on her the stigmata, and the marks of the crown of thorns, besides giving her a ring when He mystically espoused her. For years she had a weekly ecstasy during which she accompanied Him through all the stages of His Passion. One of the greatest favours He bestowed on her was the new heart modelled on that of His Blessed Mother. For the forty years during which the gentle Saint of Prato presided over the community, it had a foretaste of the joys of heaven. Among her own special friends were St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi and St. Philip Neri with both of whom she conversed miraculously. We may be sure that her intimate relations with the 'Apostle of Rome' were in no small measure due to the devotion they both had to Savonarola. St. Catherine got several graces through his intercession.

From this brief sketch, our readers will be able to form an idea of the first life of this Dominican Saint that has appeared in English. Its value is enhanced by the introductory treatise on the mystical life from the pen of the late Father Bertrand Wilberforce, O.P.

D. P.



A PIONEER IN THE CODIFICATION OF CANON LAW

NOW that our Holy Father, Pius X, has instituted a commission for the codification of Canon Law, a brief sketch of the life and the work accomplished, over six hundred years ago, by St. Raymond of Pennafort, at the instance of Gregory IX, will not be uninteresting to readers of the I. E. RECORD. It is true that in the work which he accomplished, he had not the same difficulties to face, as shall confront the Commission. The complicated legislation of the last six hundred years has to be gone through, and examined and rearranged and codified, but nevertheless there is immense credit due to the man who faced single-handed, and who, after three years of incessant toil, reduced to unity the accumulated documents of seven or eight centuries.

To the ordinary reader Raymond of Pennafort is better known as a great saint than as a great canonist, but his claims to a very high rank—if not to the rank of a pioneer—in canonical science is indisputable. He was a great man and a profound scholar, unrivalled in the science of law in that age of intellectual giants, when the names of Albert the Great, Alexander Hales, St. Thomas, and St. Bonaventure, were on every tongue.

A few miles from Barcelona, in the neighbourhood of the little town of Vilafranca de Benadis, stood the ancient

castle of Pennafort where St. Raymond was born about the year 1175.¹ His youth was grave and studious, we are told, and at the age of twenty he had completed his liberal studies.² In accordance with the teaching of wisdom, Raymond wished freely to communicate to others what he himself had acquired. He became professor in 1195, and taught for fifteen years. His lectures and the example of his saintly life drew numerous disciples around his chair, and they regarded him as an oracle of wisdom. Raymond, however, was not satisfied with the knowledge he possessed. He must perfect himself in the science of civil and ecclesiastical law, and accordingly in 1210, he set out for Bologna, then one of the most celebrated universities in Europe. He obtained his degrees in law, and taught for three years with great distinction, as a master of the University. He would accept no remuneration from his pupils for his lectures, but the magistrates of Bologna secretly decided to insist on his receiving a stipend from the revenues of the city. He kept little of their liberal allowance, however, for himself, the greater part was given in charity and to the parish clergy.³ We learn from a manuscript life of the saint, which still exists in the library of the University of Barcelona,⁴ that the magistrates gave him this salary lest the University should be deprived of so great a master. Many nobles and literary men flocked around his chair, and drank of the wisdom that fell from his lips.⁵

St. Raymond left as a memorial of his sojourn in Bologna, a treatise on Law, composed at the repeated instances of his friends.⁶ This treatise has never been published but the MS. exists in the Vatican Library.⁷

¹ The date of his birth is not certain but he died in 1275, and, as his chroniclers tells us, he was then a centenarian.

² C. 7, v. 13.

³ *Monumenta Historica Ord. Praed.*, vol. iv. *Raymundiana*, fac. i., p. 20.

⁴ This MS. belongs to a period anterior to 1351. Cf. *Raymundiana*, fac. i., p. 19.

⁵ 'Quod plurimi praecipue nobiles et litterati ad ejus scholas libentissime confluabant.'—*Monumenta Ord. Praed.*, vol. iv., fac. i, p. 20.

⁶ Cf. *Raymundiana*, fac. ii., p. 5.

⁷ Bib. Vat. fond. Borg., MS. 261, in fol. (xiii. sec.) The compilers

The preface that the saint has written to his work bears the stamp of the thirteenth century, and breathes the profound humility of the writer. In it he explains his method and the division of the work.¹ In the first part he treats of the various kinds of laws and the differences between them; in the second part he treats of prelates and their several offices; in the third part he discusses judicial procedure; in the fourth he gives an exposition of ecclesiastical contracts; in the fifth he treats of crimes and the penalties attached to their commission; in the sixth the Sacraments are discussed; and in the seventh the saint expounds the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit:—

Such [writes St. Raymond] shall be my method of exposition. Under each heading I will treat the matter rubrically (rubrice), and as clearly as I can, discussing useful and necessary matter, and omitting all that is superfluous. Secondly, I will put the questions briefly, and shall give their solutions, in accordance with decisions already accepted, or those that shall be suggested by the questions themselves. Thirdly, I will add notes proper to each heading with all the simplicity and clearness I can command. Fourthly, for the sake of the unskilled in juridical science, who should not, even after diligent study, be able to find what they require, I will so arrange the matter that all they need shall be ready to hand.²

In this preface, written sixteen years before he finished the great work entrusted to him by Gregory IX, we find manifest proofs that Raymond possessed the gifts and qualifications requisite for the compilation and ordering of the *Corpus Juris*, which he finished in 1234. The saint saw clearly the difficulties he had to face, and the confusion that existed in the mass of documents he should have to codify and correct, and if his work was to be of any service to those who so eagerly desired it, the utmost care and the most accurate judgment should be exercised, and the

of the *Raymundiana* have promised a critical edition of this interesting work, which we may justly regard as the first scientific exposition of Canon Law ever attempted.

¹ 'Distinguo ergo hoc opus per vii. particulas propter Sancti Spiritus gratiam septiformem.'—*Raymundiana*, fac. ii., p. 8.

² Cf. *Raymundiana*, fac. ii., p. 5.

greatest possible clearness and brevity, that was consistent with the due treatment of the subject, had always to be kept in view.

The reputation that Raymond enjoyed at Bologna brought him a popularity that he himself would have been slow to covet. The renown of his learning and wisdom came to the knowledge of the Bishop of Barcelona, who determined to secure him for his own diocese. Passing through Bologna on his way from Rome, he begged Raymond to return with him to Spain. At first Raymond refused, and was supported by the magistrates of the city, and the masters and scholars of the University who were anxious to retain such a distinguished canonist among them. The Bishop, however, was insistent in his demand, and Raymond had to yield. About this time the Dominicans had established themselves in Bologna, and the preaching of Reginald of Orleans had stirred the citizens to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm. Raymond felt the influence of the vigorous young Order, and the seeds of a Dominican vocation were sown in his soul. At Viterbo, where Honorius III then held his court, Raymond met the founder of the Friar Preachers, and the Bishop requested St. Dominic to send a colony of religious to Barcelona, where they founded a convent the same year, 1219.

Raymond arrived in Barcelona about the end of November, and the Bishop made him a canon of the cathedral. In his new office he manifested the same humility and simplicity of character for which he was conspicuous in the professor's chair. His knowledge of canon law was often called into requisition, and he had to settle many canonical disputes which arose in the diocese and among the canons themselves.¹

Raymond did not long enjoy his dignity of canon and provost of the cathedral chapter. The memory of Dominic Gusman and Reginald of Orleans haunted his spirit, and he determined forthwith to lay aside his canonical robes

¹ Cf. *Raymundiana*, fac. ii., p. 7.

for the habit of a Dominican Friar. The biographers of the saint are not agreed as to the motives which induced him to take this step.¹ We are inclined to think that the same Providence, which did so much for the scholastic life of the Friar Preachers, in the beginning, by giving them such men as Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, gave also to the young Order, for its intellectual advancement, the first canonist of the age. On Good Friday, 1222, Raymond knocked at the door of the Dominican convent and humbly asked to receive the habit. He was then in his forty-sixth year. The first work that claimed his attention, as a Dominican, was the foundation of a new Order for the redemption of captives taken by the Moors. In conjunction with James of Aragon and Peter Nolasco he founded the Order of Mercy for the redemption of captives, in 1223, and drew up the first constitution for its government.² Peter Nolasco, himself a penitent of Raymond, was persuaded to undertake the government of the new Order, as its first General. A heated dispute subsequently arose as to who should bear the title of Founder of the Order of Mercy. The matter was eventually brought to Rome for decision, and in 1687, the Congregation of Rites issued a decree, declaring St. Raymond of Pennafort, the Founder of the Order of Mercy.³

We find no particular incident in the life of Raymond from 1223 to 1228. He devoted himself to the works of the sacred ministry with ever increasing zeal, and whatever time he could call his own, was given to the study of canon law and theology. The Provincial of Spain, Father Gomez, determined to turn to the profit of the younger members of the Order, the canonical and moral science in which, at that time, Raymond had no rival. Books were scarce in the early part of the thirteenth century, and especially handbooks suited for the instruction and direction of young clerics. Raymond was commanded to supply the want,

¹ Cf. Mortier, *Les Maîtres Généraux*, vol. i., p. 261.

² Cf., *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 267.

³ Cf. *Bullarium Ord. Praed.*, i., p. 522, note; cf. Mortier, *Les Maîtres Généraux*, vol. i., p. 268.

and to compose a practical treatise on Moral Theology. The saint, in obedience to his superior, began the work and produced what we may justly consider the first manual of Moral Theology, and its appearance created an epoch in the history of moral and juridical science. We find the same simplicity in his preface to the *Summa Casuum* that was manifest in the preface to his first work :—

I, Brother Raymond [he says], the least among the Friar Preachers, in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Virgin Mother and Blessed Catherine,¹ have compiled with great care this little *Summa* from different sources, and from the opinions of my predecessors, so that when the Brothers of our Order or others shall have any doubts, in the guidance of souls, in the tribunal of penance, they may be able, whether in the confessional or in the schools, to solve the difficult and complex cases that come under their notice.²

The *Summa* is divided into three parts. In the first part the saint treats of sins committed against God ; in the second of sins committed against our neighbour ; and in the third part he discusses the ministers of the Sacraments and their duties, irregularities, impediments, etc. The method of treatment of these different parts is the same that he adopted in the treatise on canon law written in Bologna.

The *Summa* of St. Raymond had an immediate success. It was widely and extensively used, not only in Spain but in France, Italy, and Germany, and we are justified in assuming that it was used as a text-book by Dominican professors and students till it was superseded by the more perfect works of Albert the Great and St. Thomas. It is called by an old writer,³ whom Echard cites, ‘ A work entirely new, and attempted hitherto by no one. This book Benedict XIII had always with him, as appears from an old MS. in the Barberini Library.’⁴ Several

¹ St. Catherine of Alexandria was Patron of the convent of Barcelona, and her mention in the preface would go to show that the *Summa* was composed in that city.

² Cf. *Raymundiana*, fac. ii., p. 9.

³ Antonius, *Bib. Hisp. Veter.*, lib. 8, c. 4, p. 48, n. 125, et seqq.

⁴ Cf. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis*, vol. i., p. 108.

editions of the work appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,¹ and during the lifetime of St. Raymond, a compendium of the *Summa* appeared, but whether it is by himself or some other writer has never been definitely ascertained. It was published at Cologne, in 1502. Clement VIII speaks of the *Summa* in the Bull of the canonization of St. Raymond, in the following terms: 'He wrote a *Summa* of cases of conscience that usually occur in the tribunal of penance, sound in doctrine and of great authority, which is most necessary and useful to confessors.'²

About the beginning of the year 1229, an event occurred which tried the humility of Raymond sorely. John of Abbeville, Cardinal Archbishop of Sabina,³ arrived in Barcelona, as the Legate of Gregory IX. He had a difficult mission to perform, and three things claimed very special attention—the enforcing of ecclesiastical discipline in accordance with the prescription of the Lateran Council,⁴ the war against the Moors,⁵ and the divorce of the King of Aragon and Eleanor of Castile.⁶ These delicate matters required no small amount of learning and prudence, and when the Legate cast around him for assistance in his difficult undertaking, it was but natural his choice should fall on the Dominican Friar, who was unquestionably the most learned ecclesiastic in Spain. The Cardinal Archbishop, a Doctor of Paris himself,⁷ was able to appreciate the gifts that Raymond possessed, and to appraise the abilities of the Friar for the difficult mission he should be called upon to perform. The Legate summoned Raymond to his presence and appointed him his Theologian

¹ Louvain, 1480, in fol. ; Paris, 1500, in 4° ; Rome, 1603 ; Rome, 1619. Cf. Echard, *ibidem*, p. 106.

² Cf. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.*, sec. xiii.-xv., vol. viii., p. 112 Venet., 1778.

³ John Algrin born at Abbeville, Dean of the Cathedral of Amiens, afterwards Archbishop of Besançon, was created Cardinal Archbishop of Sabina in 1227. He died at Rome in 1233.

⁴ Bull of Greg. IX., *Non esset*, Feb., 1229. Reg. Greg. IX, f. 93.

⁵ *Ibidem* Bull, *Fiducialiter*, Feb., 1229.

⁶ *Ibidem* Bull, *Cum Generale*, Sept., 1229.

⁷ *Hist. Litteraire de la France*, xviii., p. 169.

and Penitentiary. No one had a greater love for ecclesiastical discipline than Raymond. To the study of it he had given the best years of his life. It is not hard, then, to believe that he entered on his new labours with the zeal of an apostle, and the confidence that his great learning gave him.

Although the Penitentiary was attached to the person of the Cardinal, he studiously avoided all the pomp and splendour that was customary, at the time, in ecclesiastical visitations.¹ Leaving the Cardinal and his suite, he went on before to prepare the way. In the cities which the Legate was to visit he preached to the citizens, heard their confessions, absolved those who had incurred excommunication, and prepared their minds and hearts for the reforms the Cardinal Legate had been sent to enforce. Thus the representative of the Pope, and the Friar, visited the principal cities of Castile and Aragon, establishing ecclesiastical discipline everywhere, and reconciling souls to God and His Church. They were not unmindful of the second object of their mission,—the preaching of a crusade against the Moors. The victory of Tolosa, won by the Spaniards in 1212, had buoyed up the desponding hopes of the people, but the unfortunate discord that existed between Alphonsus, King of Leon, and his son, Ferdinand, King of Castile, stayed the tide of victory. The utmost efforts of Raymond were directed to the reconciling of these two monarchs. His intervention was ultimately successful. The father and son agreed to take the field against the infidel foe, and success attended their arms everywhere. Alphonsus took Badajoz, Merida, and several other strongholds of the Moors, and returned laden with booty, blessing God and St. James for his victory.²

Having accomplished this important part of his mission, the Legate turned his attention to the more delicate question of the divorce of James of Aragon and Eleanor of Castile.³ The King and Queen were married in February, 1221, and

¹ 'Eumdem assumpsit in suae legationis strenuum adiutorem humilem servum.'—*Penia. Vita. S. Ray.*, p. 14.

² Schott, *Hispania Illustrata*, iv.

³ Cf. *Raymundiana*, fas. ii., p. 10, note.

a son was born to them of the marriage. James discovered, after six years, that their union was null and void, as they were related in the fourth degree, and applied to Gregory IX for a dissolution of the marriage. The Pope commanded the Legate to examine the case and decide the issue. Raymond was of special assistance in this delicate undertaking, and if we are to judge by the documents that remain to us, he was the principal canonist consulted in the matter. His science and judgment were held in the highest esteem by the King and the Legate, and the declarations of James and Eleanor, by which they bind themselves to abide by whatever decision the Legate may arrive at, are signed in the presence of the Archbishop of Tarragona, the Prior of Saragossa and St. Raymond.¹ The Legate called a council of Bishops, and after long discussion, in which we are justified in supposing that Raymond took a leading part, the marriage was declared null and void. As, however, the marriage was contracted in good faith, and its nullity was not discovered till long after the birth of his son, James gave him the right of succession to the throne, and petitioned the Legate and the Council to confirm his decision. It was confirmed and ratified by the whole council.

Having accomplished his mission in Spain, the Legate left Catalonia in September, 1229, and set out for Perugia where Gregory IX then held his court. He arrived in Perugia early in November, and was able to give the Pope a satisfactory report of the success of his mission in Spain. We may be sure that he spoke in the highest terms of Raymond, and of his valuable assistance in preaching the crusade, and of his great learning and proficiency in Canon Law. The expedition against Majorca had already departed before the Legate left Spain, but the Pope was of opinion that a further crusade should be preached, and the envoy suggested the names of Raymond of Pennafort and the

¹ 'Actum est hoc in presentia venerabilis patris S. Terraconensis archiepiscopi et fratris P. Prioris praedicatorum caesaraugusti et fratris R. penitentiarii domini legati, anno D. mcccxxix, xiii., Kalendas Aprilis.' —Arch. Vat., Greg. IX., fol. 83, 84. Cf. *Raymundiana*, fac. ii., p. 10.

Prior of Barcelona.¹ In a Bull, dated from Perugia, 28th November, 1229, Gregory commands the Prior of Barcelona and Brother Raymond to preach the crusade in the provinces of Narbonne and Arles, that the faithful may help, with men and money, 'James of Aragon who is warring against the Moors in Majorca.'² The commission given to Raymond was but the first step towards Rome, and in fact, in 1230, while he was preaching in the south of France, he received a command from Gregory to join the Roman court.³

While preaching the crusade Raymond discovered that several heretics fled from France and took refuge in Spain, and were disseminating their false doctrines among the people. Raymond approached James I on the subject and begged of him to have a tribunal instituted for the defence of the faith and the suppression of heresy. The King sent a letter to the Pope, begging his Holiness to establish the Inquisition in Spain. The Pope addressed a Bull to the Archbishop of Tarragona on the 26th May, 1232, establishing the tribunal of the Inquisition in the Spanish dominions. As Raymond was instrumental in procuring the Inquisition for Spain, we may fairly suppose, that the Bull of institution⁴ and the laws for its guidance⁵ were drawn up by him, as at that time he had no equal at the Papal court.

Raymond arrived in Rome about the end of the year 1230, or the beginning of 1231. The Pope received him with great kindness, made him his Chaplain⁶ and appointed him:

¹ Probably Father Peter Cendra, *cf. Raymundiana*, fac. ii., p. 12, note.

² *Bullarium Ord. Praed.*, t. i., p. 38.

³ Penia, *Vita S. Raymundi*, p. 19.

⁴ *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, t. i., p. 38 and t. v., p. 581; *cf. Raymundiana*, fac ii., p. 14.

⁵ In all probability these laws are embodied in the *Capitula contra Patavenos*. Arch. Vat. Reg. xvi., fo. 49. *Cf. Raymundiana*, fac. ii., p. 16.

⁶ The functions which the Papal Chaplain was called upon to perform were very different from those exercised by chaplains in our own day. The Pope's chaplain, in the thirteenth century, was a distinguished canonist, called upon to discuss privately with the Pope and to decide all questions that came through the Apostolic Chancery, relating to ecclesiastical benefices, disputes of all kinds between seculars and regulars and even high matters of State that princes had handed over to the Pope for discussion. *Capellanus Papae*, according to Marini, became a title

Grand Penitentiary. At the present time this office is confined to Cardinals, and even in the time of Gregory IX it was only conferred on men of the greatest ability and learning. The Pope also made Raymond his confessor. Gregory, in a very short time, discovered the wonderful sanctity and science of the humble Dominican. The praises the Legate had bestowed upon him were even less than he deserved, and the Pope determined so use his knowledge in the re-arranging and codifying of the canons of the Church. It was no easy task that Raymond had set him by the Pontiff. He had to re-arrange and codify, to re-write and condense, decrees that had been multiplying for centuries, and which were contained in some twelve or fourteen collections already existing. As we learn from the Bull of Gregory IX to the Universities of Paris and Bologna, recommending the *Corpus Juris* compiled by Raymond, many of the decrees in the collections were but repetitions of ones that had been issued before, many contradicted what had been determined in previous decrees, and many, on account of their great length, led to endless confusion, while others had never been embodied in any collection and were of uncertain authority.¹

The earliest collection of canons belongs to the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth, and was known as the collection of Apostolic Canons and Constitutions.² The second collection was compiled by Stephen, Bishop of Ephesus, about the year 450, and was approved by the Council of Chalcedon. The third collection, which was divided into fifty titles, is attributed to John the Scholastic. A fourth was compiled towards the end of the fifth century, and to it were afterwards added the canons of the seventh and eight Œcumenical Councils. The next and most important collection was compiled by the Abbot Dionysius Exiguus, and was afterwards approved by the Church. Another collection, which was sanctioned in 571 by the

of honour. The Papal chaplains were the Monsignori of the middle ages. Cf. *Dizionario Ecclesiastico*, t. lxxx.

¹ Cf. *Raymundiana*, fac. ii., p. 23.

² Cf. Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Ecc.*, sec. 1^o, diss. xviii. and xix.

Council of Lugo, was compiled by Martin, Bishop of Braga. It is frequently mentioned by Gratian. The collection of Isidorus Mercator was published about the year 836, and was followed by the collection of Regino, the Abbot, in 906, compiled at the instance of the Archbishop of Treves. These were again followed, in 1020, by the collection of Burchard and Anselm of Lugo, and subsequently, in 1100, by that of Ivo. Gratian, the Benedictine monk, published his collection, which was called *Concordia discordantium Canonum*, in 1151. It contained, as Natalis Alexander tells us,¹ almost innumerable errors against 'the laws of history, sound criticism, and the principles of theology.' The work was corrected and improved by Roman canonists appointed by Pius IV, Pius V, and Gregory XIII. In 1170, Bernard, Bishop of Faenza, rearranged the work of Gratian, and brought it up to date. Though only a private collection, and without any official sanction, the work was so ably compiled that it gained universal respect: it was called the *Breviarium Extravagantium*. Some years afterwards another compiler brought the work to the pontificate of Innocent III (1198). And this was followed by a new edition, edited by Bernard of Compostella; but as it was wanting in sound scholarship and critical value, Innocent III charged Peter of Benevento to compile the *Corpus Juris*, which was afterwards approved and became the authorized collection of Papal decrees. By order of the same Pontiff the decrees issued after its publication, and especially those of the Lateran Council, were added in 1215.² Vincent of Beauvais, himself a Dominican and contemporary of St. Raymond, mentions another collection made by Honorius III, which was called the first collection or the *Compilatio Honoriana*.³

Such was the state in which Gregory IX found the Canons of the Church when he ascended the throne of

¹ *Hist. Ecc.*, sec. 1°, diss. xxi. ; Appendix x.

² Cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. Doctrinale*, l. vii., c. xlix., who calls the collections of Innocent III the *tertia* and *quarta*.

³ *Ibidem*.

Peter. All these collections were gathered into five volumes,¹ as we learn from Vincent of Beauvais. They were compiled at different periods, and required the most careful study and revision. Many decrees of more recent date had to be included, and a more precise and simple method was demanded. In his work Raymond followed the method of Bernard, Bishop of Faenza, whom Vincent of Beauvais calls a 'Subtilissimus Ordinator,' and reduced the number of distinctions from twenty-five to five, and the number of titles from five hundred and twenty to one hundred and eighty. The chapters in Raymond's work were almost numerically the same, as in the preceding collections. He embodied the Constitutions of Gregory IX, and some other decrees that had not hitherto been codified. Raymond began his work in 1231 and completed it in 1234 after three years of incessant toil. The Pope announced the new publication in a Bull² directed to the doctors and students of Paris and Bologna, and commanded that the work of St. Raymond alone should be considered as authoritative, and should alone be used in the schools.³ It takes up a considerable part of the *Corpus Juris*, and though it was added to in subsequent years, it still retains its form and authority. The work was divided into five books. The first book treats of the offices of clerics, and the conditions for the institution of judicial procedure; the second treats of judicial procedure itself; the third discusses the life and duties of the clergy; the fourth treats of matrimony, and the fifth of crimes and their punishments. A sixth book was added to the Decretales of Gregory IX, by Boniface VIII, which contains

¹ John of Columna, a contemporary of St. Raymond, says, in his *Mare Historicum*, that the collections of decrees were contained in four volumes, cf. *Raymundiana*, fac. i., p. 5, and *passim*. We need, I think, have no hesitation in accepting the statement of Vincent of Beauvais, as he was one of the most distinguished scholars of the thirteenth century.

² 'Rex Pacificus,' Denifle. *Chart Univ. Paris* t. i., p. 154; *Raymundiana*, fac. i., p. 23.

³ 'Volentes igitur ut hac tantum compilatione universi utantur iudiciis et in scholis districtius, prohibemus, ne quis praesumat aliam facere absque Sedis Apostolicæ speciali. Datum Spoleti, nonis Septembris Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.'

the decrees issued by the fourteen Popes who reigned between Gregory and Boniface. The *Clementinae*, or the Constitutions of Clement V, issued in the Council of Venice, were added subsequently in 1313, and the *Extravagantes* of John XXII, and the *Communes*, were afterwards embodied in the *Corpus Juris*.

When Raymond had completed the difficult task set him, the Pope wished to give the saint a public testimony of his esteem, and appointed him Archbishop of Tarragona. Raymond, says one of his biographers, undertook without a murmur to edit the Decretals, though it was a work that few would have had courage to face, but when the honour of an archbishopric was conferred upon him, he absolutely refused, and neither the prayers of the Pontiff nor the threat of censures could move him. The Pope had to yield, but compelled him to name a candidate for the position. Raymond selected William of Mongriu, who was a man of great sanctity and no mean soldier, for, we are told, that while awaiting his Bulls he attacked and captured the island of Iviça from the Moors, and annexed its spiritual charge to the archdiocese.

The work of editing the Decretals was too much for Raymond's failing strength. His health broke down, and the Papal physician ordered his return to Spain. The Pope was intensely grieved at losing this wise counsellor, but said, 'I prefer to know that he is living, though far away from me, than to see him die near me, or reduced to inactivity.' Raymond came to Rome, the humble friar, and though he was the first living canonist, he left it as he came. The members of the papal household said to one another when they saw him depart with his humble belongings, 'This man is leaving us as he came,—as poor and as modest as on his arrival. He takes with him, neither gold, nor dignities, nor honours.'¹

Raymond arrived in Spain in the autumn of 1235, to seek the repose which his shattered constitution needed

¹ *Raymundiana*, fac. i., p. 25.

so much. His peace, however, was soon disturbed. The arrival of the Grand Penitentiary was noised abroad, and ecclesiastics and laymen flocked to him with their difficulties from the south of France and all parts of Spain. Through motives of delicacy towards the Holy See, and on account of his declining health, he sent his resignation to the Pope. It was accepted, but Gregory IX and his successors made use of the great canonist in all kinds of difficult undertakings to the end of his life. At Barcelona, as at Rome, he still retained the supreme confidence of the sovereign Pontiffs.¹

Raymond was elected Master-General of the Order in 1238. Another important work claimed his attention,—a new and revised edition of the Constitutions of the Order. In 1228, B. Jordan of Saxony had a compilation of the laws, enacted in previous chapters, confirmed at the General Chapter held that year in Paris. It was called the *Liber Consuetudinum*.² But as new laws were made, in course of time, which either abrogated or modified preceding enactments, great confusion arose and a new edition was demanded, especially as B. Jordan's work was deficient in that order which logical method requires. No man was better fitted for the task than the General himself. He set to work at once, and the new edition was confirmed in the General Chapters of 1239 and 1240. The form in which Raymond left the Constitutions remains to the present day. The modifications which other times demanded were added to the text without suppressing it, and form a commentary on the text itself. A great canonist³ once said that the Dominican Constitutions, as drawn up by St. Raymond, are one of the most perfect pieces of legislation in the Church, and it is now a matter of history that they served as a basis on which to model the Constitution of the United States, and the Code Napoleon.

Raymond ruled the Order as General for only two years. His failing health and his deep humility disposed

¹ Cf. *Raymundiana II.*, *passim*. Bull. Ord. I. *passim* from 1236-1275.

² *Acta. Cap.*, vol. i., pp. 11, 13. Reichert.

³ Cardinal Bartolini.

him to resign an office for which he considered himself unfit. In the Chapter held at Bologna in 1240, the assembled Provincials had to yield to his solicitations, and allow him to retire to his convent in Barcelona. The entire Order expressed its indignation at the weakness of the Definitors in accepting the resignation of the General, and insisted that a law should be made in the following Chapter that no General should be allowed to resign except for the very gravest reason.¹

During his two years of office Raymond did much to advance the intellectual life of the Order. We owe the *Summa contra Gentes*, that masterpiece of the Angelic Doctor, to him, as he commanded the saint to write a treatise against the errors of the infidels, especially the Arabs and Jews.² He established schools in Spain for the study of Oriental languages, that the Fathers might be better equipped for their missions among the Moors. Raymond was the author of several other works on ecclesiastical legislation, which have never been published, but the manuscripts of which still exist in continental libraries.³ He died in 1275, and was canonized by Clement VIII.

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¹ *Act. Cap. General*, vol. i., p. 20. Reichert.

² *Cf. Raymundiana*, fac. i., p. 12.

³ *Cf. Echard, Scrip. Ord.*, t. i., p. 109.

THE PARSEES AND ZOROASTER

THE name Parsee denotes an inhabitant of Persia, and is also used to designate those followers of the teaching and religion of Zoroaster, who fled from the fanatical fury of the Mahommedan invader, and found a refuge and a home in India. Pars and Fars were the names of the chief district in Persia, and Farsi is the name by which the Persian language is known. To instance one or two elementary examples: the Persian sentence, *Man astam Farsi*, means 'I am a Persian.' *Tu asti Farsi adam* means 'Thou art a Persian man.' Parsee, then, means Persian. In so far as they are called Irani or Iranians, they are designated as a people belonging to that part of Asia called Iran, comprising Persia, and some contiguous countries. The Mahommedan conquerors of India called the Parsees, 'Guebres,' pronounced *Goobras*, meaning fire-worshippers, and used the term mostly in derision and contempt.

The descendants of Parsees who formerly settled down and intermarried in Afghanistan, are known in that country as Duránis, and are considered a low caste by the Afghans. Many of them to this day, retain their original Persian family names. The Parsee refugees in India have been obliged to make their home in a foreign land owing to the rise of Mahommedanism. The first Mahommedan invasion having for its object their subjugation to Islamism, took place by order of the Caliph Omar in A.D. 633. This was only six years after the celebrated victory of the Emperor Heraclius over the Persians, when he recovered from them the true Cross, which the Persian King Chosroes had carried away when he became master of Jerusalem three years previously. Fortunately for us Christians, the true Cross was recovered before the Mahommedan invasions of Persia. Had it not been, the Mahommedans would to a certainty have destroyed it, for their reputation for the spirit of iconoclasm is well established.

The old Persian dynasty and religion were finally overthrown at the battle of Nahavand, in A.D. 641. The Persian king, Yazdezard, the last of the Sassanian dynasty, took to flight, and was afterwards treacherously murdered. The bulk of the population were forced to adopt the Mahomedan faith, but a number fled from the fanatical fury of their persecutors, and took refuge in Khorassan, where, for about a century, they remained unmolested. At length, however, persecution reached these, and as many as could fled again, and made their home in India, where they arrived on the west coast in the eighth century. The Parsees exist now mostly in India ; but some are in China. They number in all not quite one hundred thousand persons.

In India the Parsees are divided into two classes, viz., Shehenshais and Kadmis. The word *Shehenshais* means 'imperials,' and the word *Kadmis* means those 'walking in the footsteps of their ancestors'—the term *Kadmi* being derived either from *qadam*, 'ancient,' or from *qadim*, 'a step.' This distinction of classes, which is by no means a religious one, arose under the following circumstances:—The old Persians used to reckon in a year, twelve months of thirty days each, and at the end of each year they added five days. In order to take into account the few extra hours and to adjust the time approximately with the full solar year, they made what is called the Kabisa, or intercalation, by adding a month to their calendar every one hundred and twenty years. Whilst the Parsee refugees were in Khorassan, they once made the intercalation ; but after this, the Parsees who settled in India took no notice of the extra hours required for the full solar year. Consequently, when, in 1746 A.D., a celebrated Irani priest came from Persia to visit his co-religionists in India, he discovered, to his horror and amazement, that the brethren were considerably behind the time. Together with a fierce controversy, great trouble arose. The majority adhered to the old date, and are called Shehenshais ; whilst the Kadmis adopted the amended computation of time, thus walking in the footsteps of their ancestors. Such, in sub-

stance, is the origin of the two classes according to the Parsees themselves, and according to the teaching of Dosabhai Framji Karaka, C.S.I., a great authority on their history and teachings.

It should be borne in mind that, with a pre-eminent business people, such as are the Parsees, the changing of old dates and records would, in many instances, have led to serious trouble and confusion; and this explains the antipathy displayed by the Shehenshais towards the amended calendar. The difference between the two classes is no longer a source of friction. They are very friendly, and even intermarry.

A Parsee believes in one God—the suspected dualism of their system will be briefly touched on later. He believes in angels, good and bad. He likewise believes in heaven, in hell, in a last day, and in a general judgment. Asked as to whether they looked for the resurrection of the body, a Parsee friend informed the writer that they know nothing about it. They say that after death a man has to cross a bridge that leads from heaven to hell, and if he has led a wicked life he will grow dizzy on the bridge and fall into hell. They regard fire with great veneration, and particularly the sun, which is to a Parsee the greatest manifestation of the power of the God of Nature. A religious Parsee will not smoke. They are not fire worshippers; but they have fire temples, where their fire priests or 'Atarevakshos' keeps the sacred fire perpetually burning. To them God is the light of the world, and the true light that enlighteneth every man in the world. Fire represents God and they venerate it as a symbol of the one only eternal light whom they adore as their Creator.

The Parsees are not alone in their veneration of fire as a symbol. The Jews were notably familiar with the idea of fire connected with God and worship. Did not God appear to Moses in the burning bush? And do we not read that 'all Mount Sinai was on a smoke because the Lord was come down upon it in fire'? The Israelites were conducted through the desert by a pillar of fire by night. Furthermore, we read in Leviticus the following: 'And

the Lord spoke to Moses, saying: The fire on the altar shall always burn and the priest shall feed it. . . . This is the perpetual fire which shall never go out on the altar.¹

A Parsee will tell you that another chief reason with them for venerating fire is, that when Zoroaster, their prophet, was challenged to prove his heavenly mission by the evidence of a miracle, he held in one hand fire that did not burn him. The late Bishop Meurin, S.J., has pointed out that Zoroaster restored not only the idea of the unity of God, but also the most ancient and characteristic Aryan form of divine service, the worship of fire, as the most suitable representation of God, corresponding to their idea of God as Eternal Light.

An interesting question, however, is this:—‘In re-introducing among the Persians the proper idea of fire worship, was Zoroaster possibly influenced by his knowledge of the Israelites?’ The supposition is by no means impossible. There is nothing to prove that Zoroaster was not a contemporary of Moses, although the tendency is to assign him a somewhat later date. In either case he could have known of a religious people with whom the veneration of fire was not exaggerated, though connected with their ideas and service of the one true God. Dosabhai, already cited, quotes Dr. Haug as saying, ‘Under no circumstances can we assign him, Zoroaster, a later date than B.C. 1000, and one may find even reasons for placing his era much earlier.’ Dosabhai then proceeds to state that Mr. Kharshedji Restamji Kama, a well-known Oriental scholar among the Parsees, has, on the authority of Greek and Jewish writers and on that of the cuneiform inscriptions, clearly shown in his *Zarthusht Nama*, or Life of Zoroaster, that their prophet lived at least 1,300 years before Christ. Dosabhai admits that, even among Parsees, there is doubt as to which of the six philosophers who at different times bore the name of Zoroaster, should be singled out as the Persian law-giver. The one usually acknowledged was born at Rae, in Media.

¹ Levit. vi. 12.

Taking all these considerations together, it need not be regarded as an impossible supposition, that Zoroaster, either through hearsay or by actual sight, knew of the perpetual fire among the Hebrews, knew also of God's manifestations to them in fire, and was thus influenced in reintroducing among the Persians the proper and non-idolatrous meaning of their fire worship, as it is so commonly called.

In his learned, but all too short treatise, entitled *Zoroaster and Christ*, the late Archbishop Meurin, S.J., has pointed out how general this religious idea of perpetual fire was among the ancients, and how it has been accentuated by Christianity and perpetuated in the Catholic Church, as the following examples will show.

The Romans had their Flamines, or fire priests. At Albalonga there existed a federal altar from which thirty Latin towns received their sacred fire. The hearth of Vesta in Rome was the centre for the Roman state. At Olympia the Greeks had an altar of Pan, where the fire was never suffered to die out.

The old Germans kept an ever-burning lamp before the god Thor. The Lithuanians, in Wilna, kept a perpetual fire, and punished with death any priest who allowed it to go out. The ancient Irish, at Kildare, kept a perpetual fire in honour of the old pagan 'Bridgit'—the bright or shining one.

Coming down to Christian times, we find St. John the Baptist referring to Christ as the One who should 'baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' Christ Himself said: 'I came to cast fire on the earth and what will I but that it be enkindled?' On the day of Pentecost the Holy Ghost came down on the Apostles, and 'there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon every one of them.' St. John teaches that God is Light, and that in Him there is no darkness. Our Lord said to Nicodemus: 'The Light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than the light.' He likewise said openly to the Pharisees: 'I am the Light of the world.' And St. Paul tells his disciples: 'You were heretofore darkness, but now

light in the Lord.' Many other passages could be cited to the same purpose.

We, Catholics, have our blessed lights, and in our temples we have the perpetual light shining in the sanctuary lamp, before and in the presence of the sacramental presence of Him Who is the true Light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. On Holy Saturday, too, our priests bless, with all possible solemnity, the new fire. All these considerations show us that fire as a religious symbol is very ancient and very general, and that in this matter the Parsees do not stand alone. Those who know the Parsees will never accuse him of being a fire worshipper. He venerates fire as reminding him of God, the Eternal Light.

Zoroaster is called in the *Avesta*, Spitama Zarathustra, i.e., Zoroaster of the (royal) family of Spitama. He is believed to have come forward at the age of about thirty, bearing the sacred fire and teaching religion. It is related of him that he was killed one morning whilst at prayer, by a general of King Arjasp, who detested the new monotheistic teaching. When wounded, Zoroaster is said to have flung his rosary at the general, killing him on the spot.

The Parsees dispose of their dead in what are called 'towers of silence.' The dead are conveyed there with all due reverence, and are left on the tower of silence until the vultures have devoured all the flesh from their bones. The Parsee idea is that the earth should not be polluted with dead bodies. According to a leading Indian newspaper, in a recent issue, 'there will shortly be erected in Bombay a crematorium for the disposal of the Parsee dead. The movement to substitute cremation as a clean and attractive system of disposal for the present system of exposing the bodies in the towers of silence, to be devoured by vultures, is set on foot by an influential section of the educated Parsees, who is dissatisfied with the present primitive method.' It is probable that this movement will be a source of much trouble—in fact the trouble has already begun—and the orthodox Parsee will hold out against such

an innovation on the religious plea that cremation of dead bodies is nothing short of desecration of fire, their sacred symbol.

It would be strange, and perhaps disappointing, not to find among a people cradled in that part of the vast continent of Asia which is in proximity to the Asia of Abraham and Melchisedec, some vestige of solemn and sacred functions in which use is made of bread and wine. Melchisedec is generally dismissed with a reference. The great number of writers and readers are content to know that the verse in the psalm, *Dixit Dominus*, takes its meaning from the latter part of the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Genesis. Now, it is most probable that when Melchisedec offered up his sacrifice of bread and wine, he was not inaugurating a new rite which nobody understood; but was performing one understood by the people and even by Abraham. It would, then, seem disappointing if we did not find some remnant of such a religious rite amongst the descendants of a contiguous people.

There is amongst the Parsees a most solemn and extraordinary religious rite known as the Daroon of the Yasnas, i.e., a certain part of their scriptures. The Daroon consists in this, that, first of all, a priest is necessary for the function. On the third night and before the fourth morning after the death of a Parsee, the priest solemnly blesses or consecrates six large round unleavened breads or hosts, and six small ones. Each host has three marks, denoting good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. The priest likewise blesses wine and the pomegranate. He consumes all these blessed elements himself, and nothing is distributed. The whole ceremony is most solemn, and is supposed to afford strength and assistance to the departed one, whose soul, according to the Parsee doctrine, does not leave this earth for the first three days after death, and on the morning of the fourth day, takes its journey into the next world, across the bridge whereon so many grow dizzy.

It is possible these people have retained the idea of their priests offering bread and wine, from primitive times. It is not impossible from another point of view, to suppose

that if the primitive idea had been lost, it was easy to revive it from contact with or knowledge of the Jews, amongst whose unbloody sacrifices, were offerings of bread and fruits, and amongst whom wine was one of the recognised sacrificial liquids. We know that in the fulness of time, He our Redeemer has come and instituted the Christian priesthood according to the order of Melchisedec, and that He vouchsafes to us His presence under the appearances of bread and wine.

The more one knows about Parseeism the more interesting it is. We should know much more only for the lost Nosks or volumes. Much was destroyed by Alexander the Great, and later on by the Mahommedan Caliph Omar. What we do know of the Parsees, certainly throws a great deal of light on the primitive traditions of the human race cradled in that part of the earth.

In this place it will be most fitting to record the tradition of the Cologne Catholics concerning the three Magi or wise men, in whose honour Cologne Cathedral has been erected, and where their skulls are preserved in a precious shrine. The tradition is as follows—The Magi were Zoroastrian priests who knew of Balaam's prophecy. They saw his star in the East. How it must have seemed in keeping with their ideas of fire and of God, that He should by the fiery light of a star, guide them to the Light of the World! They returned to their own country. St. Thomas on his way to India, met them in their own country, and baptized them. The Empress St. Helena brought their relics to Constantinople, and, in 1143, they were transferred to Milan. Afterwards, in 1164, they were transferred to Cologne by Archbishop Reynold, who had received them from the Emperor Frederic. How strange it seems to contemplate our Catholic priests daily offering up Mass at that shrine where repose the relics of three Zoroastrian priests!

The Parsees acknowledge only one God, under the name of Ahura-Mazda. All the same, the Zoroastrian system is open to the charge of having taught a dualism, although we must repeat that the Parsee stoutly believes in one

God. Zoroaster's aim was to save Monotheism, and this was also the aim of the Zervanites, by no means an un-influential or short-lived sect among the Parsees. The Zervanites, in order to save Monotheism, lowered Ormazd from the supreme throne and put him on an equality with Ahriman, the spirit of evil, whom they called Ormazd's twin-brother. They attributed to both a common origin and father in Zarvan akarana, or the deity of 'Boundless time.' Zarvan akarana was not, properly speaking, a deity, but something anterior to Ormazd and Ahriman. Zoroaster blended the two names, Ahura and Mazda, into one; Mazda, the eternal creator, and Ahura, the first of the two created primeval spirits.

It would obviously be outside the scope or limits of this article to describe further the confusion on this point, which is said to found in the system. Sufficient has, however, been advanced to show that although one may read dualism in the system, the aim of Zoroaster and the aim of Zervanites was to uphold that Monotheism which the Parsees of to-day and their priests adhere to. The only dualism that the modern Parsee believes in, broadly speaking, is the dualism we ourselves, as Christians, believe in when we contemplate the angels under the leadership of St. Michael the Archangel, vanquishing their rebellious brother and his host.

A question which is agitating the Parsee mind at present is that of proselytism. There are a few isolated cases, perhaps only one or two, of Europeans having been admitted into the Zoroastrian religion, and one can learn from the Parsees themselves that they would never refuse to receive a case they considered genuine. The controversy relates rather to the question of recognising as Parsees poor children of mixed marriages, and to the advisability of receiving into their fold any poor native who might express a wish to be admitted. Such subjects, if admitted as rightful Parsees, would be entitled to become the recipients of large donations, the sect being very charitable, and large funds having been left by deceased leaders of the community for charitable purposes amongst their own

people. Christianity reckons very few converts from amongst them. Still, there are instances of Parsees having joined the Salvation Army, which is very strong in Bombay. There have also been instances where Parsees have worked as Protestant missionaries. Examples of this kind, however, are few and far between. As a people, nowadays, they are very wealthy, and show a keen aptitude for business and commercial pursuits. Their great opportunity, which they were clever enough not to miss, came with the arrival of the British with whom they have absolutely thrown in their lot. Whether as contractors, lawyers, or merchants they almost invariably succeed in becoming rich.

The Parsee ladies of India walk about or drive through the streets of cities, unmolested and with the greatest freedom. They are even to be seen at nearly all public social functions, and they are undoubtedly a striking object lesson to their Indian sisters, whether Hindoo or Mahommendan, in physique, usefulness, and mental attainments. They stand out in striking contrast with the ordinary native woman. Female education is a matter of great importance with them, and they hope soon to have their own lady doctors. Parsee women, by copying the ways, the habits, and the education of their European sisters, are setting an example to the women of India which they, in their turn, may endeavour to copy, and which will open out to them a new era, in bringing them more closely into touch with the Christian civilization of the West.

Of course if one wishes to study Zoroastrianism more closely, one must endeavour to learn something about the Zend language, the Avesta language, Pahlavi, Persian, and Sanscrit; but it is to be feared that this menu of intellectual pabulum does not commend itself to the appetite of the average student or the ordinary reader. For such as these, who are occupied with other things, it has been the humble aim of the writer to collect all the foregoing facts and observations, in the hope that his brief ethnological sketch may not only interest, but also fill in a very vacant space in our books. Having personal friends and

acquaintances among the Parsees, and having the advantage of conversation with themselves, as well as facilities for finding out what has been written and said about them, the writer was persuaded that it would be a pity to keep back from our Catholic readers and all other interested persons, so many illustrations and facts bearing on the history of one of the most interesting peoples of primitive times.

J. A. CUNNINGHAM.

THE SENTIMENT OF THE BEAUTIFUL

THE more outspoken representatives of the Sensationist school having taught that everything spiritual is a delusion, and that physical enjoyment is the highest aim of human action, necessarily sought to reduce the sentiment of the beautiful either to the mere feeling of satisfaction which we find in the useful, or to the sensuous gratification procured through the medium of the agreeable. The belief that there is a revelation of God even in nature herself, and that such revelation furnishes a conception by which a future life of mankind becomes intelligible, they flippantly repudiated as an idle dream and avowal of want of power. Beauty denotes a pleasure-giving quality, but it is a pleasure, they maintained, which belongs wholly to the feelings, and in which the understanding, if by it we mean a spiritual or supra-sensuous faculty, has no part whatever.

Idealists, on the contrary, who deny that we have a 'sensitive' knowledge of the qualities and powers of things outside the mind, removed all feeling from the faculty of æsthetic appreciation. Clearly the purpose of Catholic philosophy in dealing with æsthetics will be to mediate between these two theories, and to show that appreciation of Beauty exalts the sensitive nature, while at the same time it helps to open the mind to the apprehension of the higher truth and meaning of life.

And first, careful analysis clearly shows that the *utilitarian* theory adopted by the Sensationists, and which looks only to the immediate material well-being⁷ of the individual or the race, is hopelessly inadequate to account for mankind's deeper sense of the beautiful. It is quite true that the element of *utility* is, in many cases, an influential and concomitant circumstance in human enjoyment of beauty. In architecture the mind is gratified by the useful purpose a column is adopted to serve as well as by the splendour of its proportions : prospect of a good

harvest return renders the smiling meadow and golden corn more pleasing to the eye of the thrifty husbandman. If, however, we concentrate our attention on that which properly impresses us in the world of material things, we shall find that those emotions which are styled 'æsthetic' are awakened not by the useful *as such*, but by the evidence of lofty conception, the excellence of noble purpose, or the exquisite skill exhibited in the object presented to our observation; that the useful of itself, that is, apart from any artistic significance it may possess, makes no appeal to our æsthetic judgment, and that beneath the feeling of satisfaction which it produces, either a self-centred interest—which may be ethically either good or bad—or, if relatively considered, a marked poverty of view, is manifest. Æsthetic sentiment is not, then, an egoistic affection, as the Sensationists would have us think; for the objects to which it attaches transcend the atmosphere of our own petty wants and self-centred ambitions, and when properly conceived awaken longings and aspirations which we recognise as our noblest and best, and which had been unattainable by us were there not naturally in man non-selfish impulses. But, further, the intensely personal fact brought home to us by the psychological study of the sentiment of the beautiful is, that apart from his every desire to possess, apart from his every selfish purpose, man needs to worship; that inherent in every human being are religious instincts to love, to revere, and to adore, which can never rest content till the mystery of Divine Power which lies behind and beyond all sensible phenomena, is made known in the clear light of its own intelligibility. And so deeply rooted is this conviction that men will rather worship a false God than no God at all. True, it is only in the unobstructed vision of the Divine nature as enjoyed by the blessed in heaven, that the knowledge and love of God are to be fully realized. Nevertheless, it must have entered into the original designs of the all-wise Creator that man, while he is incapable of being fully satisfied by any finite object, should not remain unappreciative of the things which this wonderful world contains, and which,

in the words of St. Paul, are a revelation of the Divine attributes: 'Invisibilia Dei per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur.' The cedar that crowns the brow of Lebanon as well as the tiniest flower that blooms on Carmel's hallowed mount, speak to us of the love and power and wisdom of Him Who called them forth from the damp cold earth. 'Omnium pulchritudo, vox eorum est confidentium Deum.'¹ And it is in the joyous elation which we experience in the contemplation of the beautiful thus understood, that we realize precisely what is meant by æsthetic sentiment in the highest use of the term—namely, a permanent stimulus to the nobler aspirations of man.

On the other hand, the affinity existing between the feelings aroused by the agreeable and those attached to exercise of the æsthetic faculties, consists in this, that both include acts of sensuous consciousness. It will be observed, however, that while the former imply a wider range of physical sensibility—the five senses, taste, smell, hearing, sight, and touch, are all productive of agreeable feeling—the latter are more akin to the moral sentiment, and involve a more direct appeal to intelligence. A choice perfume is very agreeable to the sense of smell, a bright colour attracts the eye, food tastes sweet, but the gratification afforded in all three cases is mostly of a lower, sensuous, or organic character, the accompanying exercise of the intellect being very faint. Appreciation of beauty, on the contrary, being an essentially intellectual act,—in Scholastic phraseology, *Pulchrum respicit vim cognoscitivam*, the distinctive feature of the sentiment which follows, lies in its rational character. Unity amid variety is a *conditio sine qua non* of all forms of beauty, and this unity it is possible only for intellectual natures to grasp. Hence, in the emotional state aroused by the apprehension of sensible beauty, as, for instance, when we watch the varying glories of dawn, or listen to the perfect harmony of musical sounds, the senses of sight and hearing as well as the imagination have all indeed a part to play, but it is a part, be it observed,

¹ St. Augustine, Enarrat. in Ps. 148.

which is not only in harmony with, but also subservient to the pleasurable consciousness of the higher activity of the cognitive faculties ; and the result is the calming, purifying, and ennobling of the affections. The luxurious feelings of delight produced by the agreeable, being, as the Sensationists maintain, of an absolutely sensuous character, obviously require more to be kept under watchful control and restrained within the limits prescribed by a pure and enlightened conscience, because they pass more rapidly into passion, or induce more readily a restless craving after fresh excitements and new sensations whose tendency is unfavourable to the growth and development of moral well-being. We live in a perpetual illusion when our judgment regarding any pleasures to be attained, is determined solely by the testimony of the senses, or by any standard of artificial culture or conventional refinement that excludes moral discrimination and moral approval.

But, it will be urged, for the self-same reason æsthetic sentiment must likewise be controlled, for the beautiful in art too often flatters the vulgar taste of the wicked and the base, while in literature, the drama, and music, it not less frequently induces an emotionalism which is enfeebling and demoralizing rather than strengthening and elevating. The reality of this evil must be attributed either to the interference of other agencies in the sentient subject, or to the meretricious enrichments and lascivious suggestiveness, whose purpose we are grown quite accustomed to hear, is the fuller and harmless promotion of æsthetic culture, but which have, in fact, degraded some of the best works of a vast number of sculptors and painters as well as those of novelists and dramatists. Not only Catholic moralists, but such thinkers as Plato, Newton, Paley, and Kant, insist that the highest use of the beautiful in its objective phases, is its use as a symbol of moral good. From such testimony, then, it is evident that moral dispositions are a primary condition of æsthetic culture.

The advocates of Associational Psychology identified æsthetic sentiment with a state of reverie or musing wherein the faculties wander, though among kindred impressions,

far away from the immediate object of perception. Thus, a plain of ripe, waving corn is said to produce æsthetic emotion because it suggests, through the power of association, the gentleness and playfulness of human character ; painting and sculpture because they remind us of some likeness to persons from whom fate and distance sever us.

In the contemplation of the beautiful our thoughts are often, indeed, diverted from the enjoyment of the present to the kindred impressions of past experience. Moreover, that pleasing associations conspire to enrich the pleasurable sentiment of admiration attesting the actual presence of the beautiful, we readily admit. But here the argument ends. There is in the æsthetic excellence of the creations of human genius, as well as in the beauties of nature, a secret power, that stirs new impulses within us and thrills us with emotion, apart from, and independently of, the recollection of any impression in our previous life. Beauty gives pleasure and Association gives pleasure, but to assume, therefore, that the notions of Beauty and Association represent what is fundamentally one and the same thing, or that the power of Association is, in final analysis, the one and all-sufficient explanation of æsthetic sentiment, is not only unwarrantable, but leads inevitably to the denial of the objective reality of all forms of beauty.

Another interesting class of feelings closely related to the æsthetic sentiment are those awakened by the apprehension of the true. The intelligence having found truth contemplates it with pleasure, of which the sensitive nature, owing to the union of soul and body, is more or less conscious ; but it is a pleasure enjoyed more often at the expense of prolonged mental effort. In the fair sights and smiling aspects of nature the mind will perceive a thousand charms even though it fail to pierce through the veil of phenomena wherein the true lies hidden. Nor is it difficult to understand how the minds of men will fail to grasp the truth of the teachings of the Catholic Church even though they pause, in unconscious suspense, to admire the purity and excellence of its precepts. The true *qua* true makes no impression on the organs of sense, and consequently conveys

no delightful image that can be pictured by the imagination: it is the intellect only that transcending the world of sense can contemplate it as an object of pure thought. Hence, most of the truths which even come within the scope and power of natural reason, are, in point of fact, attained only with difficulty. Moreover, apprehension of truth, even when unattended with difficulty, is comparatively more often destitute of all emotional warmth. Take, for example, the two first among the primary laws of all science and of all truth, the *principle of contradiction* and the *principle of identity*, viz.: 'It is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be;' and 'What is, is.' Here the truth is so evident that the mind cannot withhold its assent; yet it is a cold state of intellectual perception, leaving us absolutely emotionless. The beautiful, for want of a better word, is said to be more human: along with the delight due to intellectual apprehension, there is also much gratification dependent on the energies of the senses and the exercise of the imagination: hence, its fascination is greater than that of the true considered as an object of abstract thought, or as a reality whose perception is possible only by dint of plodding insistence.

It remains to point out the difference in character between æsthetic sentiment and enjoyment of the good. Will, as St. Thomas explains, is the faculty which has for its object the good as apprehended by reason. As the intellect cannot but assent to first principles, so the will cannot but tend towards the good in general, *bonum commune*. Now the beautiful, whose apprehension cheers the heart and inspires the mind with ennobling ideals, is a particular good comprised as such under the general or universal good proper to a rational being. Hence, all æsthetic emotion, is, in a certain sense, a response to good perceived. It requires little reflection, however, to see that good in general, *bonum commune*, has not for its object the realization of the beautiful;¹ for much that is good

¹ The schoolmen taught that the good, the beautiful, and the true, are but different aspects of what is fundamentally one and the same thing—namely, *ens*. Their meaning is plainly this, that what is beautiful is also, entitatively considered, good and true. Still it is a mistake to

and perfect of its kind may fall far short of the lofty conception and artistic purpose which appeal to our æsthetic judgment. Further, enjoyment of the good, being an act of the appetitive faculty, necessarily implies actual possession of the object : *de ratione boni est quod in eo habito quietetur appetitus*. The joy awakened by the beautiful is due to the unimpeded activity of the cognitive faculties : *Pulchrum est id cujus apprehensio placet*. We strive to possess the good : we are content to admire the beautiful ; the latter is a disinterested affection, the former denotes a desire of personal appropriation. It may be urged, indeed, that admiration begets love, and that the peculiar characteristic of love is to bring about union with the object beloved. This love of beauty, however, is primarily and essentially a love of knowledge, of contemplation, and must be clearly distinguished from all forms of appetency, rational and sensitive, by which the soul tends towards objects outside the mind. Cognition, as St. Thomas observes, goes before appetite, and the nature of the former may be most pleasurable in itself even though desire to secure possession of the object be not actually evoked. The Scholastic principle is inexorable : *Pulchra dicuntur quæ visa placent*. We seek the presence of the beautiful, we love to linger in the contemplation of its charms ; but the desire to appropriate it as a means to ulterior advantage, is a new volitional state quite distinct from the æsthetic sentiment properly so-called.

Goethe affords us a happy illustration of the disinterested character of the æsthetic sentiment in the inspiring impression he received from Raphael's picture of St. Cecilia.¹ The saint, holding a miniature organ, is the centre of a group—St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Augustine—who all exhibit a lifelike individuality as well as an air of perfect devotion and contemplative thought. On the ground before her are

invert the principle, and assume that the phenomenon which partakes of the good and true, partakes in like manner of the beautiful.

¹ Painted, in 1513, at the instance of Cardinal Pucci, for the Church of San Giovanni, in Monte, near Bologna.

strewn various musical instruments,—symbols depicted with such excellent effect that a rising of the sentiments and aspirations from earthly music to the more exquisite melody of divine love, is happily suggested. Her every feature is radiant with serenity and grace ; her steadfast and longing eyes fixed on high ; while in a rift in the clouds a choir of angels appear, celebrating in psalms and hymns the praises of her Divine Lord. ‘Were my entire being to be presently annihilated,’ Goethe exclaimed, ‘I could not desire less earnestly the endless duration of this masterpiece.’

Apart from its disinterested character, the above brief analysis of the sentiment of the beautiful reveals a two-fold element—the one sensuous, the other intellectual. The visual and auditory senses, the imagination, and the intellectual faculties, have all a part to play—something to seek out and assimilate ; but as the mind discerns more than the eye can see, or the ear can hear, or the imagination can represent, it is evident that human appreciation of beauty is essentially an act of intellectual consciousness, and, consequently, that the emotion following thereon, is eminently one of rational delight.

Secondly, if we prescind from the part played by the quality of the organic stimulus accompanying the mental impression, the intensity and duration of æsthetic emotion will be conditioned by the vividness and force of our perception and by the development of our canons of taste.

Finally, and this is the most important consideration of the whole, cultivation of the æsthetic sentiment realizes its completeness in that pure, affective disposition of mind and heart whose primary object is God, the infinite source of all beauty, and whose secondary object is all created things in as far as they flow from God, and inasmuch as they are the mirror that reflects the Divine perfections to our eyes. This was the characteristic of all saints. Possessed though they were by the fire of Divine charity, they could not remain insensible to the beauties of nature around them. In the different degrees of perfection in things which exist, they saw a faint yet real shadow of the Divine

Eternal Beauty whose unutterable splendour fills the regions of the blest. And we, too, if we would secure to ourselves an increase of the happiness attainable here on earth, must imitate the example of the saints in the kindly spirit and lively regard with which we view all things that come before us, according to the measure of the gifts which the Creator has bestowed upon them.

J. L. DOHERTY, O.D.C.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HUMAN LIBERTY—IV

I PURPOSE in this article to treat of the question of scientific freedom, or freedom in the wide field of scientific knowledge. Are Catholics free in the departments of mathematics, the physico-chemical sciences, biology? Are they free to form an independent judgment on the various systems of philosophy? Does the Church permit them the liberty of consulting and interpreting without limitation the original sources of ecclesiastical history? Are they free to apply the critical and historical methods to the questions of the authorship and inspiration of the Bible? And may Catholics propound to the world whatever theories they believe to be true or probably true in these various departments of natural knowledge?

According to recent agnostic critics the scientific method is incompatible with the 'blind faith' of Christians, and particularly of Catholics; and, in modern times, it is their glory, they say, to have effected the emancipation of the human mind from the slavery of authority, evangelical and ecclesiastical, and to have brought it back to processes of intellectual enquiry more congenial to its rational character, in the immediate contemplation of the phenomena and laws of Nature.

The improver of natural knowledge [writes Mr. Huxley] absolutely refuses to acknowledge authority, as such. For him, scepticism is the highest of duties; blind faith the one unpardonable sin. And it cannot be otherwise, for every great advance in natural knowledge has involved the absolute rejection of authority, the cherishing of the keenest scepticism, the annihilation of the spirit of blind faith; and the most ardent votary of science holds his firmest convictions not because the men he most venerates hold them, not because their verity is tested by portents and wonders, but because his experience teaches him that whenever he chooses to bring these convictions into contact with their primary source, Nature—whenever he thinks fit to test them by appealing to experiment and to observation—Nature will confirm them. The man

of science has learned to believe in justification, not by faith, but by verification.¹

And according to the same eminent scientist—not merely is the Catholic system of authority antagonistic to the scientific spirit and the scientific method, but the Catholic Church must, as a matter of life and death, resist the progress of science and modern civilization. In an essay on ‘*Scientific Education*,’ speaking incidentally of the training of the Protestant clergy, he writes²:—‘Our great antagonist—I speak as a man of science—the Roman Catholic Church, the one great organization which is able to resist, *and must, as a matter of life and death resist the progress of science and modern civilization*,³ manages her affairs much better.’

I will explain, then, in the first part of my article, what is meant by Science and the Scientific Method, and state in a general way the Catholic position in relation to scientific liberty; and then I will deal in detail with the freedom of Catholics to employ observation and experiment in the examination of the natural sources of information, and to propound scientific theories and accept the theories propounded by others.

I.

Is it true that Catholics must accept with ‘blind faith,’ and in the measure in which the Church may be pleased to dole them out, the truths of natural science, of philosophy, of history, of religion? Or may Catholics, like all other seekers after truth, knock directly at the door of Nature and pray her and importune her, in the scientific form of prayer, by observation and experiment by deduction and induction, to vouchsafe to grant them a share in the riches of the knowledge of her hidden laws and mysteries? Before I proceed to answer these questions and thereby expose the injustice of the charge levelled against the Catholic Church, that she frowns on and discourages,

¹ *Lay Sermons*, p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³ The *italics* are mine.

if she does not positively condemn, the scientific spirit and the scientific method, and that she must, as a matter of life and death, resist the progress of science and modern civilization, I must premise a brief reply to the preliminary question, What is Science, and what is the Scientific Method?

The Scientific Method is always understood to be opposed to the method of authority, and its nature can best be explained by describing what is meant by Science itself. Agnostics and Positivists, who deny the existence of a spiritual soul in man and regard human nature 'only as the cunningest of all Nature's clocks,' are necessarily driven to advocate an identity in kind, though they admit a vast difference in degree of perfection, between the knowledge of man and the sense-knowledge of the sentient animal, and to reduce all human scientific knowledge to the observation of the individual facts of Nature and the order of their succession. Few, however, if any, adhere consistently to this theory; in their daily actions and in their purely scientific and uncontroversial writings the most militant advocates of monism will be found to suppose or even to admit explicitly not only the power of observing and correlating the individual facts of Nature, but also the existence of immediate intuitive aprioristic truths and general necessary conclusions or laws which are inferred from the observation of the individual phenomena of Nature.

And the Scholastics: how is Science and the Scientific Method understood by them? Science is sometimes understood by the Scholastics to include every species of *certain knowledge*, no matter how acquired; and in this sense the term Science is applied indifferently to intuitive truths, to the objects of immediate observation and experiment, to conclusions demonstrated from evident principles, and to truths learned from the testimony of trustworthy authority. In the strict acceptation of Science the Scholastics adopt the Aristotelic definition: *Scire autem unamquamque rem arbitramur, cum causam, ob quam res est, et illius causam esse et fieri non posse ut res aliter se habeat, cognoscere arbitramur.* We have scientific knowledge of a

truth or body of truths, when we know the principles from which they are deduced, when we demonstrate that the premisses from which they are deduced are really their principles or causes, and that in the circumstances the truths follow necessarily from these premisses. Thus by careful observation and experiment scientists have demonstrated that water rises in a pump, not from Nature's abhorrence of a vacuum, but from the pressure of the atmosphere on the surface of the water. Science supposes, in the subject, not mere hypothesis, nor doubt, nor probability, but *certainty*. It supposes certainty of a truth which is in the circumstances *necessary*, as Professor Tyndall, with Aristotle, well remarks :—

The truly scientific intellect never can attain rest until it reaches the *forces* by which the observed succession is produced . . . In common with the most ignorant, he shares the belief that spring will succeed winter, that summer will succeed spring, that autumn will succeed summer, and that winter will succeed autumn. But he knows still further—and this knowledge is essential to his intellectual repose—that this succession, besides being permanent, is, under the circumstances, *necessary*.¹

And finally, Science supposes certain knowledge not reached by intuition, nor by immediate perception through the senses, but acquired by a process of *reasoning* and *demonstration* from evident general principles or from experiment and the immediate observation of the phenomena of Nature.

All conclusions demonstrated from general principles, which are themselves evident to the scientist, or from immediate personal observation and experiment, come under the designation of a strict science. But what, if the principles themselves in whole or in part, be accepted on authority? The most conscientious and painstaking historian who consults all the original sources and devotes years of patient research to the production of a great historical work yet must accept on the authority of the original writers the facts or principles from which he draws perhaps very evident and very important generalizations; is his

¹ *Fragments of Science*, vol. ii., p. 29.

work strictly scientific? Has he a scientific knowledge of Medicine, who receives on the testimony of others and not by personal observation and experiment the principles of physics, chemistry and biology, on which Medicine depends? Is supernatural theology a science, seeing that the conclusions demonstrated in theology depend ultimately on truths accepted on the authority of the divine testimony? Scotist philosophers and theologians would reply that historical generalizations, though most certain and evident, are not strictly scientific, as they depend on facts which are believed on the authority of the original documents, and which cannot be verified by the historian himself; that supernatural theology is not, in the strict sense, a science, though its conclusions may be quite evident, as the principles from which theological conclusions are demonstrated are the revealed truths, which are believed by faith on the authority of the divine testimony; that Medicine and similar dependent sciences (*scientias subordinatas*) which borrow from the principles established in other sciences (*scientiis subordinantibus*) are not known scientifically, unless both the distinctive principles of the particular science and the principles borrowed from other sciences are cognised by the same mind from their own intrinsic evidence. Thomists, on the other hand, maintain that historical and theological conclusions and generalizations can be truly scientific, as their principles are received on unimpeachable authority; and that students of Medicine and kindred sciences who accept on authority the principles borrowed from the subordinant sciences, are entitled to the honourable title of truly scientific investigators, as they know that these principles are capable of scientific demonstration and are scientifically demonstrated by others in their own respective sciences. In modern times, when there is such specialization of intellectual work, and when investigators in a particular science have not time to examine scientifically the principles borrowed from other sciences, I think the Thomistic view will commend itself to most scientific workers; especially in a science like Medicine, which, besides the principles borrowed from physics and

chemistry, has also its own special and distinctive principles and laws.

Science therefore is, as logicians say, more comprehensive but less extensive than certainty. It includes certainty ; but moreover it supposes the certainty to be acquired in a particular manner, that is, by evident demonstration, and, according to the Scotists, by demonstration from principles which are not accepted on authority but are cognised from their own intrinsic evidence. But certainty is more extensive than science ; we are certain not merely of conclusions scientifically demonstrated, but also of intuitive truths and of the individual facts of our own experience which are perceived immediately in themselves, and we can have certainty of historical facts on the authority of historians, of scientific theories on the authority of scientists, and of revealed truths on the authority of God, irrespective of the conclusions which may be drawn more or less scientifically from these various facts and theories and revealed truths.

Now, in every department of intellectual life, which admits the application of scientific processes, Catholics are free to cultivate the scientific spirit and to employ the scientific method of investigation. It is not from Scripture, nor Tradition, nor ecclesiastical authority that Catholic philosophers and scientists learn the truths, for example, of natural theology, of psychology, of ethics, of mathematics, of the physico-chemical sciences, of biology and the various branches of medical science, but by scientific deduction from evident *a priori* natural principles, or by induction based on experiment and careful personal observation of the individual phenomena of Nature.

But I must deal more in detail and separately with the nature of the evidence accessible to Catholic scientists and the methods of investigation that are permitted to them, and with their freedom in regard to the conclusions demonstrated in the various sciences.

II.

Mr. J. W. Draper, comparing the pagan and Christian parties in the time of Constantine, writes¹:—

It [the pagan party] looked down on its antagonist with contempt. It asserted that knowledge is to be obtained only by the laborious exercise of human observation and human reason. The Christian party asserted that all knowledge is to be found in the Scriptures and in the traditions of the Church; that, in the written revelation, God had not only given a criterion of truth, but had furnished us all that he intended us to know. The Scriptures, therefore, contain the sum, the end of all knowledge.

The same distinguished advocate and exponent of the scientific method gravely informs us that Papal Infallibility means omniscience,² that to the principle of government by law Latin Christianity, in its Papal form, is in absolute contradiction,³ that the doctrine that death entered into *the human race* through the sin of Adam is overthrown by the unquestionable discovery of modern science, that thousands of species of *animals and plants* had died long before Adam appeared on the earth:—

The doctrine declared to be orthodox by ecclesiastical authority is overthrown by the unquestionable discoveries of modern science. Long before a human being had appeared upon earth, millions of individuals—nay, more, thousands of species and even genera—had died; those which remain with us are an insignificant fraction of the vast hosts that have passed away.⁴

Is it then from Scripture or Tradition, or ecclesiastical authority, as Dr. Draper states, that Catholics must learn mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, history, political economy, philosophy? Surely the statement is preposterous! Ask the Catholic mathematician what is the method followed in his science, and he will answer that he proceeds not by way of biblical or ecclesiastical

¹ *The Conflict between Religion and Science*, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 225.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

authority, but by way of scientific deduction, deducing the subtleties of his mathematical conclusions by personal application and labour from the axiomatic first principles of his science. Ask again the Catholic physicist or chemist or biologist, ask, for example, a Pasteur, what are the methods followed in his laboratory, and he will surely answer that he proceeds, not by reading the Scriptures nor consulting the writings of the Fathers, but by direct personal observation and experiment on Nature; that from his observation and experiment he proceeds by induction to formulate tentatively general scientific laws, and that he applies himself next diligently to verify these laws, to satisfy himself that the phenomena which he is studying can be explained by these laws, and that they cannot in the circumstances be attributed to any other causes.

When we pass from the exact sciences we find that the historian cannot get into immediate contact with the facts which form the basis of his science; but this is not peculiar to the Catholic historian.

If history be the subject of study [writes Mr. Huxley¹] the facts are still taken upon the evidence of tradition and authority. You cannot make a boy see the battle of Thermopylæ for himself, or know, of his own knowledge, that Cromwell once ruled England. There is no getting into direct contact with natural fact by this road; there is no dispensing with authority, but rather a resting upon it.

But though historical facts are accepted on authority, historical work may be strictly scientific, by getting into direct contact, by personal examination, with the original documents and monuments, by clearly establishing the trustworthiness of these documents and by the evidence of the generalizations that are made, of the conclusions that are drawn from the facts that are the primary data of scientific history.

In general metaphysics, in cosmology, in psychology, in natural theology and ethics, arguments from Scripture

¹ *L. C.* p. 57.

and Tradition are not admitted, but these various sciences are built up, some according to the synthetic method by deductions from the general to the particular, some according to the analytical method by induction from the particular to the general, and sometimes by the application of both methods. Empiricists no doubt would protest against calling metaphysics a scientific work, and would demand that the term 'scientific' be confined to the field of sensible observation through the senses, through the microscope and telescope. But this is a narrow view of the scope of scientific work, necessitated by acceptance of the erroneous teaching of a particular school of philosophy. We can get into personal direct contact with Nature and with natural facts not only in the external world of bodies through the telescope and microscope, but also in the internal world of our own mental and volitional activities. Thus the psychologist commences by observing the peculiarity of the internal acts of mind and will of which he is conscious, he perceives they are of a spiritual character and that they transcend the capacity of purely corporeal natures, and he arrives at the conclusion that his nature comprises not only a material but also a spiritual substance which is the source of his purely spiritual activities. In natural theology we commence by getting into immediate contact with our own interior consciousness, when we proceed to argue from our observed perception of a distinction between right and wrong, or with the external world where we observe things to be in perpetual movement, things of a contingent mode of existence, adaptation of things to various purposes in Nature; and we arrive at the law that there must be a Legislator, an unmoved and immovable Prime Mover, a Necessary Being, an Intelligent Cause of the universe. And so in every sphere of natural knowledge Catholics are free to go directly to Nature, to examine her phenomena, to employ natural methods of investigation and, as we shall see, to accept every conclusion and law that can be drawn legitimately from the facts of Nature.

And I would observe—though the subject of scientific

liberty scarcely permits the introduction of the question of the act of divine faith—that fidelity to the scientific method in examining the intellectual life of the Catholic Church, direct personal contact with her doctrine and discipline and with the life of her children, would speedily and firmly convince our adversaries not only that Catholics are free to follow the scientific method in all departments of natural knowledge, but also of the grave injustice of the taunt that our assent to the revealed truths and mysteries of religion is a ‘blind’ faith. If we examine, for example, the process of evolution from atheism to Catholicity we shall find that the process begins with an awakened suspicion of the intellectual and moral insufficiency of atheism. This is followed by an examination of the philosophical arguments for the existence of God, and by the acceptance of the fundamental all-important truth of the existence of a supreme infinite Being to whom the world owes allegiance; but the enquirer is not yet prepared for intellectual admission to the Catholic Church. He studies the question of supernatural revelation and supernatural religion, and arrives perhaps at the conclusion that revelation is possible, that very probably God has made such a revelation as the Church teaches, that the Catholic Church is very probably a divinely established Church. He cannot yet be received into the Church; an act of divine faith which may be profitable for salvation cannot be elicited with mere probability of the existence of divine revelation. He examines therefore again the question of revelation and the claims of the Church of Rome, and concludes finally with certainty that God has made a supernatural revelation to the world and established a supernatural religion, and that the Church of Rome is the true Church of Christ. In such circumstances his submission to the Church, his acceptance of her rule, his belief in her doctrines cannot with justice be described as an act of ‘blind’ faith. Even an atheist would admit in its conditional form, that if there be a God, who is omniscient and therefore cannot err, who is all-truthful and therefore cannot deceive, and if He make a revelation to the world, though we cannot demonstrate the revealed

truths scientifically, we can accept them both rationally and inerrantly on the word of the omniscient divine authority who reveals them.

III.

Scientific work is the demonstration of conclusions from evident principles. I have been considering the nature of the sources of information that are accessible to Catholics, and have said that Catholic scientific workers are free to seek direct contact with Nature and study her secrets by the natural methods of direct observation and experiment. I now proceed to consider the conclusions themselves; and in the present section I will confine myself to the physical sciences, reserving for a later section the question of Catholic liberty in relation to philosophical, biblical and historical conclusions and theories.

In the lecture, 'On the Advisableness of Improving Natural Knowledge,' Mr. Huxley describes how that painful and deadly malady, the plague, appeared in the latter months of 1664, and smote the people of England, and especially of her capital, with a violence unknown before, in the course of the following year; and how the great fire, which broke out in the autumn of 1666, did for London what the plague had done for the Londoners, leaving nothing of the glory of five-sixths of the city but a heap of ashes and the indestructible energy of the people. In those days when authority, evangelical and ecclesiastical, held sway, the people believed the plague to be a judgment of God, that it could be cast out only by prayer and fasting, and the fire they ascribed one to one cause and another to another. The plague has not returned since, not that the faith of the people is firmer or their morals purer, but because science has taught them how to prevent the propagation of the plague; and though London contains tenfold the inflammable matter it did in 1666, the city has not been burned down since because science has furnished us with dozens of machines for throwing water on fires, which prevents the danger of such general conflagrations. More

marvellous still has been the growth and influence of science in mathematics, in astronomy, and geology, in physics, chemistry, medicine, and surgery. Nor has science been unfruitful in the department of material civilization: all these great ships, these railways, these telegraphs, these factories, these printing-presses, without which the whole fabric of modern English society would collapse into a mass of stagnant and starving pauperism,—all these pillars of our State are but the ripples and the bubbles upon the surface of the great spiritual stream of science.¹

Writers hostile to Christianity insinuate, if they do not openly assert, that Christianity and especially Catholic Christianity is, somehow or other, in a position of necessary hostility to all these developments of science. It is necessary, therefore, to define what the position of Catholics is in relation to these various conclusions of modern science, speculative and practical. No fact of Nature can be opposed to divine revelation or Catholic doctrine, and Catholic scientists have the most unlimited freedom to study the facts of Nature by observation and experiment, and to propound or to accept, for example, in astronomy, geology and biology every theory which is legitimately demonstrated from the facts of nature. Like all other scientists they may accept or propound as probable theories that are demonstrated to be probable. And, where other scientists legitimately do it, they too may accept or propound as mere hypotheses theories that are in themselves unverified but are useful for a systematic conception or presentation of certain phenomena of Nature.

Ask, for example, the Catholic professor of hygiene is he obliged to believe, as appears to be insinuated, in opposition to modern science, that natural conditions count for nothing in the propagation of disease, that epidemics of influenza and typhus and cholera and the other ills that flesh is heir to, are divine chastisements for the sins of the world, and that not by hygienic or medical methods are they to be prevented or treated, but by penitential pro-

¹ Page 6.

cessions, by prayer and fasting ; and he will answer that epidemics are due to natural causes, and amongst others to unsanitary hygienic surroundings, that they can be averted by careful hygienic precautions, and for the comfort and consolation of the medical profession he will add that, should an epidemic break out, it is not by prayer alone that the afflicted are to be succoured, but by the scientific skill and unremitting care and attention of devoted doctors and nurses.

And if you press him further and ask, do not Catholics believe that it *might* be that a particular epidemic is a divine chastisement, and that God *might* hear the prayers and regard the penitential works of the people and spare His children ? he will probably answer that this is a question for another department. And the other department would answer that it is possible for God to send, through natural causes, an epidemic in punishment for sin, and possible that an epidemic *might* yield to the spiritual influence of prayer. Mr. Tyndall writes :—

The theory that the system of Nature is under the control of a Being who changes phenomena in compliance with the prayers of men, is, in my opinion, a perfectly legitimate one . . . it is no departure from scientific method to place behind natural phenomena a Universal Father, who, in answer to the prayers of His children, alters the currents of those phenomena. Thus far Theology and Science go hand in hand. . . . I therefore urge no *impossibilities* . . . But without *verification* a theoretic conception is a mere figment of the intellect, and I am sorry to find us parting company at this point.¹

The position of theology then is, that the Supreme Being, even without miracle, can alter natural phenomena in response to prayer ; that it is lawful and desirable, on the occasion of epidemics, to appeal to the Universal Father with confidence and resignation to spare His children ; but when alleviation of the epidemic is perceived, we are not warranted scientifically in concluding at once that God has exercised an act of special providence on our behalf, we must *verify* the cause of the alleviation

¹ *Fragments of Science*, vol. ii., pp. 42, 43.

and try to determine by critical and scientific methods whether it was due solely to natural causes or to the exceptional favour of special divine providence.

It is unnecessary to add that Catholics are free to subscribe to all the established conclusions of mathematics, of astronomy and geology, of physics and chemistry, of medicine and surgery ; to accept the invaluable discoveries in practical science made during the last century and to avail themselves, in common with the members of all other communions, of the inestimable benefits conferred by these discoveries on our material civilization. And why should the Church be thought to be hostile to electricity, the steamship, the railway, the telegraph, the factory, the printing house ? Her province is supernatural religion ; her mission to teach the Christian religion. Scientific discoveries and scientific inventions and the improvement of the material condition of mankind in no way conflict with her claims. She is not charged with the material civilization of the world. But as she adapted herself to the imperfect secular civilization and imperfect science of the past, so with mankind generally she now gratefully accepts and avails herself of the higher material civilization created by the discoveries and inventions of modern science.

Finally, the Church has no fear of science ; she teaches that there can be no opposition between the voice of God in revelation and His voice in the works of Nature ; she rather stands to derive considerable assistance in her mission of unfolding the meaning of the obscurer parts of revelation from the continual progress of the natural sciences. Though endowed with infallibility, the Church is not dispensed from the necessity of investigation by the natural methods of scientific, critical and historical investigation. Erroneous views have been held in the Church in the past, because texts of Scripture have been interpreted according to the letter of the word which should have been differently interpreted if true science had delivered judgment, and imperfect science was unable to supply the desired corrective. But progress in the interpretation of the book of Nature sweeps away these erroneous interpretations of the book of Reve-

lation. And as the Church, in the progress of the ages, under the divine guidance of the Holy Spirit, has brought to the full ripeness of infallible definition doctrines that previously had been disputed among her children, so on the other hand, with the progress of science, she has been purifying other beliefs of her children, casting out erroneous views and opinions, and establishing more complete accord and harmony between the book of Nature and the book of Revelation, between the Natural and the Supernatural.

IV.

However, accusations of hostility to science continue to be brought against the Church, the old charges are repeated, alleged instances of grave scientific errors and of oppression of science and scientists are reproached to her and flung in her face. At one time the contention is, that a Church that rests on the rock-bed of authority and recognises and teaches the existence of a supernatural order must necessarily be opposed to free scientific inquiry; at another time, the imperfect state of speculative and practical science during the period of the Church's great predominance in Europe is advanced as a proof of her anti-scientific tendencies; at another, the old views, that the earth is a flat surface and that the Antipodes are not inhabited by the human race, the acceptance of the Mosaic cosmogony and the general opposition to the Higher Criticism, are urged as demonstrative proofs of the Church's opposition to science; but perhaps the palmary, irrefragable, crushing proof, in the estimation of our adversaries, of the opposition of the Church of Rome, as distinct from other Christian bodies, to science and scientists, is the condemnation of Galileo.

1. 'Must not a Church [it is asked] that demands of her adherents belief in a supernatural order and in the truths of a supernatural religion on the faith of divine revelation be opposed necessarily to scientific enquiry and scientific demonstration?' Adherents of the monist

school of science and philosophy, who recognise only one substance in *nature*, sometimes speak of dualism and the dualistic doctrines of the existence of God, the spirituality and immortality of the soul, free-will, extra-empirical or spiritual knowledge, as belonging solely to the *supernatural* order; and as supernatural truths are outside the sphere of scientific demonstration by observation and experiment, they conclude that the whole range of Catholic extra-empirical or spiritual knowledge is arbitrarily determined by the authority of the Church. But all these truths that I have mentioned, belong to the natural order, in as much as they can be demonstrated by the light of our natural reason. They are, however, philosophical, rather than truths of physical science, and I will treat of them in the next section of this article. I will only observe here that, though Catholics accept the truths of revelation on the faith of the divine testimony, they enjoy the fullest measure of scientific liberty in the sphere of the physical sciences. We might say to our adversaries: just apply the scientific method to the study of the Catholic Church, accept no statement about her on the authority of her slanderers, get into direct contact with her doctrine and discipline as contained in her symbols and synodal enactments and interpreted in the writings of her divines and by the daily life and multiform activity of her most representative members, and you will see Catholics struggling perhaps in vain for the redress of their educational grievances, struggling for facilities for higher education and research, but everywhere enjoying liberty to cultivate the scientific spirit and follow the scientific method, to propound scientific theories or accept the theories established by others.

2. 'But, perhaps, the imperfect state of civilization, of speculative and practical science, during the period of the Church's predominance proves her hostility to science?' I am not going, in reply to this objection, to describe at length how much the world owes the Catholic Church for its civilization, but only to show that the relative imperfection of science and civilization in past ages was not due to the hostility or inactivity of the Church. Writers

of the modern scientific-agnostic school write of the Church as if she alone were responsible, in the past, not only for preaching Christianity and administering the Sacraments, but also for teaching mathematics and the physical sciences, for improving the means of transit and locomotion, for providing better houses, better food, and better clothing for the citizens of the world, for preaching the gospel of scientific hygiene and for cleansing the capitals of Europe. Dr. Driver describes¹ the houses, the food, the clothing and the degraded manners of the inhabitants of the British Isles during the period of the Church's predominance, and complains that 'in the twelfth century it was found necessary to pave the streets of Paris, the stench in them was so dreadful,²' and that 'until the beginning of the seventeenth century, the streets of Berlin were never swept. There was a law that every countryman, who came to market with a cart, should carry back a load of dirt !'³ But why should the defective material civilization of Christendom be imputed to the Church? Do we blame the lungs for our defective hearing, or the ears for our feeble digestion, or the feet for our defective vision, or the eyes for our imperfect circulation? Do we reproach the legal profession with the imperfect ages of the theory and practice of medicine, or medicine with the defects of political economy, or literature with defective means of transit and locomotion? And if we recognise and respect 'the physiological division of labour in the organs of the same individual body' and between the various professions in the moral organism of civil society, why should we confound the functions of the Church and of the State and reproach the Spiritual Power with the imperfect secular education and material civilization of the past which fall within the province of the Civil Power? The Church, in the past, as at present, had her own mission and her own duties, to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments; and the temporal Sovereign, with his hierarchy of civil functionaries, was charged with the care of secular civilization and the temporal interests

¹ *L.c.*, pp. 265, 266.² *P.* 314.³ *P.* 315.

of his subjects. It would be unfair and unscientific to judge the civil rulers of the past by modern standards; and the contrast between modern civilization and the civilization of the past demonstrates, not any hostility to science in the past on the part of Church or State, but the natural growth and evolution of science and material civilization in modern times.

3. 'But, has not the Church made the Scriptures the measure of science permissible to Catholics, and enforced erroneous scientific views, for example, that the earth is flat, and that the Antipodes cannot be inhabited by the human race;¹ and does she not, at the present time, in defiance of modern science, adhere to the Mosaic cosmogony, oppose the Higher Criticism and repudiate and condemn its conclusions?'² I would observe that there is a clear difference between the existence of scientific error in the Church and hostility to science or condemnation of scientific liberty. Have not scientists themselves and all categories of non-Catholic peoples held erroneous scientific views, and shall we therefore accuse them of hostility to science and opposition to scientific liberty? In expounding erroneously those passages of Scripture whose correct interpretation can only be determined by collation of the texts with the conclusions of science, theologians have been sinned against by science rather than sinners. If we take, for example, the question discussed by St. Augustine, of the possible existence of human inhabitants at the Antipodes, the theological evidence at hand for the solution of the problem was the certain Catholic truth, that the whole human race upon earth is descended from Adam, and by its descent from Adam under the dominion of original sin. How was it possible to infer from this truth the impossibility of human inhabitants at the Antipodes? The science of the day taught that it is impossible to go from the Old World to the Antipodes or to come from thence here, and that if the Antipodes are inhabited the human race cannot have had a common parentage. Receiving from

¹ Cf. Tyndall, *l.c.* p. 146.

² Draper, pp. 63, 183.

revelation the doctrine of the unity of the human race and the universality of original sin, which presupposes the unity of the race and its descent from one common parent Adam, and accepting from the science of the time the erroneous view that inhabitants of the Antipodes and the inhabitants of the Old World could not have a common parentage, theologians were inevitably led by science into the false position of teaching as a religious truth that the Antipodes are not inhabited.

Again, the Church has never enforced any particular interpretation of the Mosaic account of creation. Long before the dawn of modern science St. Augustine sounded a note of warning against accepting what is called the literal interpretation, lest it might be found in after times to be in conflict with the conclusions of science. Nor does the Church condemn the scientific investigation by the Higher Criticism of the authorship and historical value and meaning of the Sacred Books, but the propounding in opposition to the tradition of ages, of conclusions as demonstrated to certainty which are yet unverified or perhaps manifestly erroneous. Everyone engaged in scientific-theological or biblical studies must heartily welcome further progress in those natural sciences that come into contact with theological and biblical problems. True science cannot be in conflict with true theology; and further progress in science may succeed in weeding out of the field of theology *zizania* sown there during the infancy of science, or on the other hand of demonstrating the certainty of views that, so far, have not emerged from the uncertain stage of greater or less probability.

In this field of scientific error we are not going to confine ourselves to the defensive; we can confidently take the offensive also. Granted that theologians taught as revealed truths a number of scientific errors about the formation of the world and the age of the world, at a time when the imperfect science of the day rendered erroneous interpretations of the sacred text almost inevitable, these errors are attributable to science rather than to religion and are insignificant in relation to human civilization and the

highest interests of mankind compared to the fatal errors subversive of all true civilization propounded by modern agnostic scientists in the meridian splendour of nineteenth-century civilization.

Returning to our English physical expositors before quoted [writes Dr. Mivart¹], we may now sum up the teaching in which they appear to concur, or at least the teaching which is the ultimate and logical outcome of their expositions—the dogmas which can hardly fail to impress themselves upon the minds of their disciples who follow them with so simple and unhesitating a trust. They may be drawn up as follows:—

- i. Temporal happiness is the one rational aim of life.
- ii. A positive belief in God and a future life is an unwarrantable supposition.
- iii. Virtue and pleasure are synonymous, for in root and origin they are identical.
- iv. Men are essentially but brutes, no differences of kind dividing them.
- v. The cause of all things has no personality, and consequently neither feeling, nor intelligence, nor will.
- vi. All who pretend to teach religion are impostors or dupes.
- vii. Our physical-science teachers are the supreme exponents of all truth, and the ultimate arbiters of all actions.
- viii. There is no such thing as real merit or demerit, as all our actions are absolutely determined for us, and free-will is the most baseless of delusions.

4. 'But, the Church stands convicted not merely of ignorance of physical science but also of determined hostility to science in the condemnation and persecution of Galileo.' The condemnation of Galileo is sometimes advanced, but without reason, as an argument against Papal Infallibility. I shall confine myself to the consideration of its relation to scientific freedom; nor shall I enter on the question, somewhat disputed among Catholic apologists, of the sense in which Galileo was condemned. I would observe again that the Inquisition was more sinned against by science than sinning in the condemnation of Galileo. There are certain passages of Scripture which inevitably impose on the mind a particular interpretation if they are considered merely according to the letter of the word. Such are

¹ *Lessons from Nature*, pp. 395, 396.

the passages from which the geocentric theory was inferred ; and the science of the day gave no assistance to discover the true but rather confirmed the false interpretation. Our modern critics seem to forget that we should distinguish in ancient as well as in modern times various classes of men and various duties and occupations in the world, popes, kings, politicians, litterateurs, scientists, commercial and industrial men, etc. ; and they impute to the Church all the shortcomings of the past in religion, civil government, commercial and industrial life, mathematics and the physical sciences. But in science the geocentric theory had neither an ecclesiastical nor biblical origin. It was introduced by Ptolemy and universally accepted by the scientific world down to the time of Copernicus. And coming to confirm what appeared to be the obvious meaning of certain Scriptural texts it rendered it inevitable that the geocentric theory should be the ecclesiastical interpretation of Scripture. And as it was the natural and obvious interpretation considering the language of Scripture and the received scientific views of the time, it was accepted provisionally as the official interpretation of the Congregation and the opposite heliocentric theory was treated in a loose sense as heretical. The heliocentric theory was not regarded as heretical in the sense, for example, that the Nestorian error is heretical ; for the Congregation could not admit the possibility of the Nestorian doctrines ever being accepted by the Church or becoming probable, but Cardinal Bellarmine assured Galileo that if a new and conclusive proof were forthcoming of the heliocentric theory the Church would permit a change in the interpretation of Scripture. But in the absence of arguments sufficient to establish the certainty or probability of this theory the Cardinals and Consultors were obliged to act according to the received ecclesiastical interpretation and the existing evidence, though some of them may have suspected that the Copernican theory would finally be proved to be true. And hence not unnaturally they ordered that the universally received geocentric interpretation should be respected and received, and declared that Galileo had rendered himself

vehemently suspected of heresy by the publication of his *Dialogues*.

But nevertheless, it will be urged, did not the Church prove a barrier to the progress of science by forbidding Galileo to hold, teach, or defend the heliocentric theory in any way whatsoever, verbally or in writing? How could Galileo make a scientific *examen dubitativum* of the received theory if he were obliged to submit to the decree of the Inquisition? I have already distinguished in scientific work the investigation of the data of science and the deduction of theories or conclusions from these data. Galileo was not forbidden to follow the scientific method in relation to the data of science, to get into personal contact with Nature by observation, and study the data from which a certain conclusion favourable to his theory might be deduced; but he was forbidden to advocate the conclusion itself before it was verified. And though it were held that Galileo was bound to accept and assent to the proposition that the heliocentric theory is heretical, yet could he examine scientifically and in a sense dubitatively the merits of the two rival theories. We cannot re-open the question of defined truths *examine dubitativo*; but in the case of truths that are taught provisionally, though we accept them we may labour and hope to render them doubtful and perhaps finally disprove them. The statement of Bellarmine that if a new and conclusive proof were given of the heliocentric theory the Church would allow a change in the interpretation of Scripture, is a clear proof that there was no prohibition against studying still further the data from which a conclusion favourable to the heliocentric theory might be deduced. The position, therefore, of the Church in the Galileo case, in relation to scientific freedom was this, and it was a most reasonable position: the geocentric theory appeared to be obviously taught by Scripture, it had been for ages universally adopted by secular science inside and outside the Church, it had therefore become the ecclesiastical interpretation of Scripture, and it was no wonder then that the Church should regard with disapproval a theory which appeared to be contrary to Scripture and forbid its propagation until it

should be satisfactorily verified. It is worthy of remark that in a letter to Dr. Mivart Mr. Huxley writes in reference to the Galileo case¹ : ' I looked into the matter when I was in Italy, and I arrived at the conclusion that the Pope and the College of Cardinals had rather the best of it.'

The same principle guides the Church's action in relation to Higher Biblical Criticism and similar sciences. Suppose, for example, that a Catholic scholar denies the historical authority of some book of the Old Testament hitherto regarded in the Church as an inspired historical record, on the ground that the inspired writer has only quoted, explicitly or implicitly, some non-inspired document, which moreover he has not covered with the sanction of his own inspired authority, how is the Church likely to receive the opinion? Unless he advances special reasons to prove that this particular book is only a quotation the Church is likely to condemn him, without prejudice, however, to the final triumph of his theory, which in course of time might be proved to be true. What, then, is he to do? Is he not, debarred from the prosecution of his scientific study of Sacred Scripture? He is not; he must respect the natural order of the scientific method. He must not advance, as certain, unverified new theories in opposition to time-honoured accepted views in the Church, but he may continue to apply himself to the study of the data of his science, and finally he can propound his theory as certain or as probable if his data justify such a certain or probable conclusion.

V.

I come finally to deal briefly with freedom to propound philosophical theories, for example in cosmology, psychology, natural theology, ethics. Here at least, it is contended by agnostics, the Church must be admitted to be in a state of irreconcilable hostility to science, for Pius IX condemned in the Syllabus the following proposition : *Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo et cum recenti civilitate sese reconciliare et componere.*

¹ *Life and Letters of T. H. Huxley*, vol. ii., p. 113.

There is, perhaps, no other proposition in the Syllabus whose condemnation has created so much surprise and astonishment as the condemnation of the apparently reasonable proposition that the Pope should come to terms with modern civilization. For what does the expression *modern civilization* convey to the average mind? It will convey a pleasant picture of the improvements in our food and housing and clothing, of our means of locomotion, our improved industrial methods of production and distribution, our knowledge of the causes of propagation of disease and our improved methods of combating them, our progress in literature, in the arts and sciences, the charm of our social life, our parliament, our local government organization, our mutual toleration, and our civil and religious liberty. And people ask in wonder, what *can* the Roman Pontiff mean by refusing to come to terms with modern civilization? I would again say to these, Apply the scientific method to the study of the Catholic Church, bring yourselves into direct contact with her doctrine and discipline as represented in the daily life and actions of her most credited representatives, and you will see that all, from the Pope and Cardinals down to the humblest of the faithful, are on terms of the most affectionate friendship with the civilization that has just been described.

But there have not been wanting those who have had a different conception of modern civilization. To the atheist, the agnostic and the positivist, modern civilization signifies the acceptance of their own particular theories about God, the creation, the soul, merit and demerit, immortality. To the pantheist it will mean the identification of God with the world. To the free-thinker it will mean in greater or less degree, freedom from the Church or from the exercises of religion, and infidelity or doctrinal indifference in matters of religion. And shall we say that the Church should come to terms with all these forms of civilization?

But to come to the question of philosophic freedom: the scientific student of philosophy is free from Church authority in as much as he proves and accepts philosophic

conclusions from intrinsic evidence alone. But he is subject to the directive authority of the Church. He knows there can be no conflict between reason and revelation, that a proposition cannot be philosophically true and false theologically. He has the conviction that if we believe in the existence of God in the Church we cannot deny it in the class-room ; that if we accept the creation in theology we cannot reject it in philosophy ; that we cannot deny the existence of the soul in the class-hall or dissecting-room and pray for the salvation of our souls in the family prayer circle. And, consequently, when the Church defines, he knows that the opposite cannot be true philosophically and he brings his science into harmony with the Church's teaching. But with regard to the large body of truths which belong exclusively to the natural and philosophical order the Catholic philosopher enjoys the most complete liberty to apply himself directly to the first principles of philosophy and propound as certain or probable the conclusions which he believes to be warranted by the evidence.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

[*To be continued.*]

ST. PATRICK : HIS PLACE IN HISTORY¹

THE announcement made in the early part of the year that Professor Bury was engaged upon a work dealing with the beginnings of Christianity in Ireland and the labours of our National Apostle was received with more than ordinary interest. No doubt the subject was one upon which so much has been written in recent years, and so little certain information given, that people might well be pardoned for imagining that nothing definite could be learned. But the well-known ability and scholarship of Professor Bury, the reputation which he has deservedly won in the field of Classical history, his keen, clear, critical methods as displayed in his articles on Irish history, especially those published in the *English Historical Review*, forced men to believe that whether his book put an end to all controversy or not, it would be a work that must be consulted.

We regret that for many reasons we have not been able as yet to devote to the book that attention it deserves, but even from a cursory examination we are convinced that these expectations have not been entirely disappointed. We say so, not because we believe Professor Bury has made any very startling discoveries in his researches upon the history of early Irish Christianity, nor yet that he has substantiated even one of the few novel theories he has put forward, or brought to an end a single controversy connected with the life of St. Patrick ; but because he has begun and carried through his work upon proper lines ; he has raised the subject from the field of polemics to the field of history, and he has pointed the way which others must follow if any satisfactory work is to be done in the field of Irish History.

Professor Bury differs from most of those who have

¹ *The Life of St. Patrick.* By Professor J. A. Bury, M.A. London : Macmillan & Co. 1905.

already written upon the subject in the fact that he brings to his work a thorough knowledge of the social conditions prevailing in the Roman empire at the time, and he utilizes this information so as not only to render his work more attractive for the ordinary reader, but also to throw light upon not a few puzzling problems connected with the subject. Ireland is, after all, only a small portion of the world, and Irish history cannot be treated as a water-tight compartment. It is largely owing to the neglect of this obvious principle—the treatment of the history of Ireland without reference to the great religious and political movements on the Continent—that so many difficulties and dark spots have confronted our historians. Professor Bury has rejected such a lop-sided view of the duties of an historian, and so far he deserves our warmest congratulations.

Again, Professor Bury has approached his subject as a scholar, not as a controversialist, and whatever may be said about certain expressions to which we shall call attention, his impartiality cannot be called in question. This is such a rare qualification of writers on Irish history, whether on the one side or the other, that it deserves particular attention. The story of Ireland has been so long the plaything of bigoted calumniators or equally bigoted apologists, that we are glad to have met even one man who has made a serious effort to preserve the standpoint of independent scholarship.

Yet scattered here and there through the book we find expressions which, for his own sake, the author would have done well to omit, especially as they are for the most part entirely extraneous to his subject. Professor Bury may believe that 'Pelagius was the champion of human nature as such, which the Christian Church in pursuance of his high objects dishonoured and branded as essentially depraved,' and that the theory of the Atonement 'was crudely conceived in dependence on the old Jewish story of the fall of Adam;' he may be convinced that 'the appellate jurisdiction and the decretals were the chief foundations on which the spiritual empire of Rome grew up,' and

that if the presence of Ambrose at Milan had been lasting his Church might have been a serious rival for Rome. He may define relics as 'parcels of matter,' and the Reformation as 'the war of sixteenth-century zealots against medieval superstition,' and we should have no wish to quarrel with him for his private views and definitions. But why should the historian abandon his proper sphere to throw in aimlessly such insulting remarks, and above all when it is painfully evident that he has not taken the trouble to acquire even an elementary knowledge of the points which he so glibly undertakes to settle.

Under another aspect, too, the work is an advance upon anything that has been written on the subject. The author has made a serious effort to study the Sources upon the life of St. Patrick, to discover the founts from which the writers of the earliest extant lives derived their information, to date as nearly as possible the several documents, and finally by comparison to separate what is fabulous from what is history. We congratulate him upon the attempt, but we cannot congratulate him on his success. This part of his work—and it was by far the most important—bears evidence of hasty, ill-considered treatment, imaginative in places rather than historical, and the whole rendered still more unsatisfactory by the useless multiplication of Appendices and constant references to the author's articles in the *Historical Review* and similar magazines. The dependence of our earliest extant documents, the notes of Muirchu and Tirechan upon earlier written records, the value of these records, and the importance of this dependence, are indeed touched upon, but so briefly and in connection with so many accidental questions, that for the ordinary reader they are certain to be lost. Again, why put forward for certain what is the merest speculation? Why, for example, assert that the novel movement in which he (Muirchu in his Prologue to the life of Patrick) designates his father Cogitosus and himself as pioneers, was the writing of hagiography in *Latin*, that before this time the hagiographical literature was composed in Irish, and that it was

not till the age of Cogitosus and Tirechan that a new departure was made, and that men began to write Latin works on Irish saints? We are quite at one with the writer in his opinion that there are evident traces of earlier sources written in the Irish language, but why should that be a reason for attributing dogmatically a certain meaning to Muirchu, which is at best the merest conjecture? Nor again, though from a critical point of view we frankly recognise Professor Bury's difficulty, we do not agree with his unqualified statement that Muirchu erred in his interpretation of the *Confession* regarding the second imprisonment of St. Patrick, especially when, in his table of contents, we find Muirchu introducing the new idea that Patrick was aged (*senis*) at the time when the second imprisonment occurred. Besides, this same want of completeness is only too evident in his treatment of the relations between the writings of Muirchu and Tirechan, his waverings about the *Vita Tripartita*, though we quite agree with him in rejecting W. Stokes' dating of this document; and as for the chapter on the Irish Annals, the author would have been well advised to have entirely omitted it.

Lastly, before we come to the treatment of particular points, we should say that while in thorough agreement with Professor Bury, that many of the medieval lives of saints teem with fabulous stories about miracles and wonders which no serious historian could accept, and that from the point of view of fable some of our Irish Lives should stand high on the list; yet, on the other hand, we cannot reject all such stories as inventions of the imagination. For the ordinary Christian, who wishes to provide an historical basis for Christianity, the possibility of miracles must be accepted, and once their possibility be admitted, the attitude of the man who is prepared without examination to reject all is as illogical, if not more so, as that of the man who will swallow all. 'The business of a historian,' as Professor Bury well remarks in his Preface, 'is to ascertain facts.' 'There is something essentially absurd in his wishing that any alleged fact should turn out to be true or false.

So far as he entertains a wish of the kind, his attitude is not critical.'

It will be interesting to many, especially if they had read the theories of Dr. Zimmer, to learn the results of Professor Bury's careful study. St. Patrick emerges from the ordeal not only as a real personality, but also to a great extent the Apostle of Ireland, as he has been painted for centuries. His connection with the Roman Church, the union of the early Irish Church with Rome and its consequent dependence upon the Successor of St. Peter, the authenticity of the Canon ordering all difficult questions to be referred to the Holy See, the introduction of the diocesan episcopate, the subjection of Columbanus and his contemporaries to the Pope, all these points are so evident to Mr. Bury that he wonders how any serious writer could have called them in question.

We are not surprised at his conclusions, and though frankly admitting the importance of the publication of such views by a man in his position, we are not inclined to go into ecstasies about them as some Catholics seem to do. These facts are so apparent that no man who had made a serious effort to study Irish history at first hand could have thought otherwise. But in view of Professor Bury's admissions, what is to be thought of the boasted scholarship and impartiality of men like Todd, Oldham, Mant, King, G. T. Stokes, etc., who were popularly supposed to have carried the keys of Irish history for the last fifty years?

In connection with these admissions it is not clear why the author is strongly inclined to think that the third dictum of St. Patrick, *Ecclesia Scotorum immo Romanorum ut Christiani ita ut Romani sitis*, is spurious. It cannot be its association with the recitation of the *Kyrie Eleison*, for this custom certainly existed in Rome about the middle of the fifth century, as is fairly evident even from the Canon of the Council of Vaison, which he himself cites, and according to him Patrick was in Rome about the year 441 A.D. While on the other hand, why should the word 'Romanorum' suggest seventh or eighth century? In his

letter to Coroticus Patrick twice uses a similar expression : ' Non dico civibus meis neque civibus Sanctorum Romanorum—consuetudo Romanorum Gallorum Christianorum.' Nor can it be said that in these the expression ' Romanorum ' bears a different signification from what it does in the dictum. By ' Romanorum ' Patrick clearly means the Christians in communion with Rome, nor is there any necessity, especially considering the Latinity of the letter, to give it any other meaning in the *Dicta Patricii*. The words ' Deo Gratias ' at the end, which also seem to create a difficulty for Professor Bury, are just what we should expect to find there, in view of the fact that the earliest authorities inform us that ' Deo Gratias ' or ' Gratias agamus ' were favourite ejaculations of our Apostle.

But, perhaps, the most serious defect of Professor Bury's book is his want of any definite principle in his criticisms, and his consequent rejection of points which might well be considered as thoroughly authentic, and on the contrary, his acceptance of points which are at best doubtful. In illustration of this statement let us take the author's treatment of the place in which Patrick spent his captivity. The common belief has been that Patrick spent his days as captive in Antrim in close proximity to Sliab Mis, while Professor Bury assures us that Croghan Aigli (now Croagh Patrick) was the land of his servitude. In favour of Sliab Mis we have the direct testimony of the two earliest writers on St. Patrick, Muirchu and Tirechan, and of all later writers, if we except the tenth or eleventh-century Probus, who follows the text of Muirchu, but substitutes Croghan Aigli for Sliab Mis ; and in addition we have the weighty authority of an unbroken and unchallenged tradition. For Croghan Aigli we have no direct evidence except Probus, and as far as we know, no tradition.

Let us observe carefully how the author proceeds to build up his theory. The testimony of Tirechan and Muirchu is to be rejected for (1) ' their identification of Patrick's master with Miliucc of Mount Mis, is introduced not in connection with the story of the captivity, but

a propos of visits to that region after he had come as a missionary ; and (2) the notices in both writers are characterised by legends.' Now, even if it be true that Muirchu and Tirechan speak of Sliab Mis in reference to Patrick's visit as missionary, why should that shake the strength of their testimony ? Was it not a natural thing that Patrick, inspired by the promptings of Christianity, should first seek out the master whom he had served, and what more natural that in this connection the place of his captivity should be indicated ?

But is it true, as Professor Bury states, that the identification of Patrick's master with Miliucc of Mount Mis is not introduced by these writers in connection with his captivity ? It is a curious thing that in citing the references of Tirechan to Miliucc and Sliab Mis, he omits the one passage which overturns his whole theory, and this is all the more strange as it happens to be the very opening sentences of Tirechan's work. 'And one of them,' he writes, 'who was named Miliucc Maccu-Boin bought him (Patrick), and he served him seven years in slavery and much labour, and he placed him as swine herd in the mountain districts. Then the Angel visited him on the summits of the Mount of Scirte beside Sliab Mis.' What more direct account of the place of captivity could be desired ?

Professor Bury's second argument against Sliab Mis is, that the notices of both Tirechan and Muirchu with regard to his visit are characterised by legends. We wonder was he serious in putting forward such an argument, especially in view of the attitude he himself takes up in other parts of his book. If he were, why should somebody else not argue thus : St. Patrick was never at Sliab Mis, because the story of his visit is filled with miracles and wonders, therefore St. Patrick was never in Ireland, for his visit there is associated with incredible wonders ? Passing over entirely the constant tradition in favour of Sliab Mis, Professor Bury considers its claims disposed of, and coolly proceeds to *imagine* how it was that such a mistake could ever have been made.

Now, against this and in favour of Crochan Aigli the author bases his whole argument on the vision of St. Patrick, in which he saw a man coming from Ireland and giving him a letter inscribed the 'voice of the Irish,' and whilst reading he heard the voices of those who dwelled by the wood of Foclut which is on the western sea, and they cried out with one voice: 'Rogamus te sancte puer ut venias et adhuc ambulas inter nos.' The wood of Foclut, the author states, extended at that time towards Croagh Patrick, and it is clear from the vision that Patrick must have spent a considerable time there, for the cry of the children means 'come and *continue* (adhuc) to walk amongst us.'

Now, this argument is based partly on supposition and partly on a misinterpretation of the text. In the first place why does the author, relying, as he states, on Tirechan, believe that the wood of Foclut must have stretched southward to Murrisk? We have examined the text of Tirechan and we find nothing in it to warrant such a conclusion; while, on the other hand, his interpretation of the latter portion of the clause, taking 'inter nos' as referring only to children of Foclut, and thus making it necessary for Patrick to have spent a considerable time amongst them, is clearly proved by the context to be a mistake. The whole question in the place is about Ireland and the Irish—the man came from *Ireland*, the letter was inscribed the *voice of the Irish*, and the conclusion naturally would be that the cry which Patrick heard was to come and continue to walk amongst the *Irish*. All that follows from the vision, if indeed even so much, is that our Apostle must have known the wood of Foclut, and if he fled towards a western part, as many old writers suppose him to have done, this would be no serious difficulty. We have dealt at some length with this point, because it will serve to throw light on Professor Bury's methods throughout the entire book.

It is this same system of rejection and acceptance without any fixed principles of criticism that we find scattered throughout the work. The conversion of Miliucc was not the motive, Professor Bury assures us, of Patrick's

visit to Ulster, and having excluded this he proceeds to imagine what the inducement might have been. It seems more probable, he writes, that there were some scattered Christian communities there—and it is possible that this was the ‘land of the Picts where Palladius is said to have died, and it is not unlikely that the second Christian Bishop would also visit at once, and confirm the existing Christian communities.’ The author will pardon us for saying that in spite of his splendid gifts of imagination we prefer to follow the earliest documents.

He accepts the prophecy of the Druids about the coming of the Christian stranger (one of the very things which most historians would naturally reject as a post-Christian adornment), while the story of the preaching at Tara receives merciless treatment at his hands. The reason is, that the Easter festival could never have coincided with the Feast of Beltaine, nor with the time usual for holding such festivals as are contemplated in this legend. Now, where did the author learn that the legend supposes the coincidence of Easter with the Beltaine, or with the fixed high festivals of Tara, more especially as we know that during this period such assemblies were held at irregular times? The visit to Tailtean is accepted, but the felling of the Crom Cruagh on the plains of Mag Slecht is evidently a legend. The reason for this latter will repay study. ‘If he had done so,’ argues the author, ‘the story of the blow struck by Patrick on the plains of Mag Slecht would be as the stroke of Boniface at the oak of Geismor; its fall would have been as illustrious in the story of the spreading of Christianity in the island of the Scots as was the fall of the Irmin pillar on a Westphalian hill in the advance of Christendom from the Rhine to the Elbe,’ etc. This reads well, but we wonder the author did not see that he was playing into the hands of Professor Zimmer, whom he dismisses so contemptuously. ‘If St. Patrick’s work in Ireland had been so wonderful,’ writes Zimmer, ‘as people nowadays paint it, such a work would naturally have called forth a biographer, and Western Europe would have rung

with the praises of the Apostle of the Irish.' We regret that space does not permit us to continue this examination, but we have given examples enough to indicate Professor Bury's style of criticism.

Again, the author has been entirely too partial to imaginary speculations. We fully admit the value of hypotheses, especially in dealing with such a difficult subject. But when we find them scattered up and down in almost every page in the narrative portion as well as in the strictly scientific, we think the principle has been over-worked. It is impossible for us to cite examples, but the reader can see for himself if our criticism is unwarranted.

In his attempts at reconstructing the chronology of St. Patrick's life, we must dissent from nearly all his conclusions. In determining, for example, the date of Patrick's birth, much use has generally been made of a sentence occurring in the *Confession*, which we cite fully below.¹ Assuming, therefore, that 432 A.D. was the year of his consecration (and this is now generally admitted), it would follow since the fault was committed at the age of fifteen, and the publication of this fault (on the occasion of his consecration) thirty years after its confession, that in the year 432 Patrick was at least forty-five years of age, and therefore born, roughly speaking, about the year 387 A.D. Professor Bury objects to this interpretation on the ground that the thirty years should not be reckoned from the *confession* of the fault but from *its committal*; and, secondly, because the publication of it took place not at his consecration, but years after he had begun his work as *bishop* in Ireland. Now, the words themselves and the context are clearly against this view. From the use of 'et' in the clause it is clear that Patrick complains of the accusation for two reasons, first, because it referred to a crime committed so long ago while he was yet a boy; and, second, because it was made by an intimate friend to whom he

¹ 'Occasionem post annos triginta invenerunt ET adversus verbum quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus. Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantes senioribus meis qui venerunt et peccata mea contra laboriosum episcopatum meum utique en die illo . . . sed dominus perpercit proselito et peregrino.'

himself in his anxiety had confessed it. This conclusion is borne out by the following sentence. On the other hand, it is pretty clear from the *Confession* that the accusation had reference to his consecration as Bishop, for it is placed immediately before his account of his labours in Ireland, and the expression 'laboriosus episcopatus' of Patrick can equally well signify, especially in Patrick's Latinity, the onerous burden of bishop which he was about to undertake, or had already undertaken. The term 'proselitus' and 'peregrines,' considering the story of his life, was as applicable to him at his consecration in Gaul, as after he had wrought for years in Ireland.

Again, we do not see why the author, in defiance of all early testimony, selects Germanus as the consecrator of St. Patrick, except his own arbitrary interpretation of the text of Muirchu. On the other hand, we are rather inclined to agree with the author in his date for the death of St. Patrick, though it has against it very strong evidence.

As another illustration of Professor Bury's style we might select his dissertation on the birthplace of St. Patrick. He selects as his favourite some spot near the Severn. We have no fault to find with his choice. It is as good as any place else, but we naturally ask for the proofs. Unfortunately there are none to be found. Bonnavem Taberniae of the *Confession* and the Lives is, as we are assured, a false reading for 'Bonnaventa bernie,' and the discovery of places named Banwen, in Glamorganshire, opens the prospect of a speedy solution. Now, what is the advantage of statements like the above, especially in a work which pretends to be strictly scientific. Why should 'Bonnaventa bernie' be the correct reading? Professor Bury knows well that from the point of view of palaeography 'Bonnavem Taberniae' is just as probable as 'Bonnaventa bernie,' and seeing that all the early writers so understood the name of the place, and seeing also that 'Taberniae' might give some intelligible meaning while the author admits that so far 'bernie' is meaningless we cannot understand how he can state that there 'can be no doubt that Bonnaventa is the name.'

Finally, in his treatment of the Palladius-Patrick question, as urged so strongly by Professor Zimmer, the author is particularly weak. We have no leaning to the theory that Palladius and Patrick are but different names for the same individual, but at the same time justice should be done to the arguments of opponents. Mr. Bury states that this opinion is based upon a paragraph found in the *Book of Armagh*, in which it is asserted that Palladius is also called Patrick. Now, if there had never been such a statement found the main argument for the identification of Palladius and Patrick would have been equally strong. Surely to anyone who has studied the controversy the real difficulty lies in the fact, that in all writers outside of Ireland the conversion of the country seems to be attributed to Palladius without any reference to Patrick, while in the Irish writers the man Patrick is the hero, and Palladius mentioned only for his failure; in other words, the man who disappeared into Ireland bearing the name of Palladius seems to turn up in Ireland after a few years bearing the name Patrick. This is the real argument to be met in the case, and Professor Bury makes very little attempt to meet it.

With many other points in this most interesting book, for example, with the author's views on the Easter and Tonsure controversy, we should have liked to deal, but it is impossible to do so within the limits prescribed for the present article. We have only to add, in conclusion, that Professor Bury's book, however we may differ from his conclusions, is far above the ordinary works published on St. Patrick and the early Irish Church. It is the work of a scholar who has made a serious effort to arrive at the truth, and if in some respects he has failed the failure is due to the difficulty of the task and the impossibility of arriving at definite conclusions with the present data.

We thank the author for his work, and we hope that he may long be spared to continue his researches in the field of Irish history.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CASE OF RESERVATION

REV. DEAR SIR,—In this diocese (in Greater Britain) the Bishop withholds from his priests the power of absolving parents who, in any district where there is a Catholic school, send their children to a Government school, and, moreover, of absolving children who attend such Government school, even when they do so under parental compulsion. Such parents and children are thus denied the Sacraments, even at Easter time. Passing over the case of the parents, I venture to inquire with regard to the children, if the Church, apart from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, comes in any way to the relief of those among them who wish to receive the Sacraments so as to permit of their doing so? It is to be feared that, seeing themselves through the action of their Bishop denied the benefit of the Holy Sacraments until they reach the age of fifteen years (when they leave school), they may not avail themselves of them in after years. Since the reservation deals with persons, withdrawing these persons from the confessor's delegated jurisdiction, it will be seen that he is powerless except to advise the children to approach the Sacraments in another diocese, which would in most cases be impossible for them to do. Regretting the sad deprivation and its consequences, the confessor asks what is to be done; and he wonders if the fulfilment of the divine precept of receiving the Holy Eucharist, as well as the Church's injunction of doing so, may rightly be prevented under such circumstances, seeing that the children, acting under the command and compulsion of their parents, commit no sin by attending the Government school.

Will the Editor of the I. E. RECORD kindly consider the case and offer the confessor some advice upon it? And will he finally direct him as to his duty or otherwise of asking boys and girls who (in a populous district) come to confession if they are attending a Government school.

MISSIONARIUS.

Our correspondent's difficulty arises, we believe, from

an erroneously drawn conclusion from the statement of his bishop that grave fear does not excuse from the reservation imposed by him in connection with attendance at State schools in districts where there are Catholic schools. According to the common opinion of theologians grave fear excuses from reservation in ordinary cases. They teach, however, that a bishop has power to make grave fear not be an excusing cause from reservation of episcopal cases when this seems good to him for the morals of his diocese. This, of course, applies only to grave fear which does not remove the guilt of mortal sin. Without mortal sin there is no reservation.

Now, the question arises whether or not the bishop of our correspondent has done anything more than prevent this grave fear from excusing from reservation in regard to attendance at State schools. Has he altogether withdrawn faculties for absolution of children who go to State schools in districts where there are Catholic schools, and who in doing so commit no grave sin by reason of fear? That a bishop can act validly in this latter way we do not deny, but we cannot without very strong proof believe that any bishop has done so. Our reasons for this view will supply our correspondent with an answer to his questions.

When a bishop withdraws faculties for the absolution of people who have committed no grave sin in the action because of which the faculties are withdrawn, the priest so far as these penitents are concerned is a *simplex sacerdos*, and cannot, consequently, absolve directly from any sins of these penitents *extra periculum mortis*. In this way he differs from the priest whose faculties are merely limited by reservation of grave sins. The latter retains power over the penitent so far as unreserved sins are concerned, and can, in certain contingencies, lawfully and validly absolve directly from these unreserved sins. If, then, our correspondent's conclusion be correct the children in question cannot *extra articulum mortis* obtain absolution from any sins, even in preparation for Paschal Communion, except they leave their diocese or go to the bishop or his

delegate for absolution. Even in the latter way they will not obtain absolution unless they promise to do a thing which, in the case, they are not bound to do—viz., to remain away from the State school when their going there is free from mortal sin owing to fear. Is it likely, we ask, that any bishop would place his subjects in so difficult a position ?

Moreover, such action on the part of a bishop would place his priests in a very unenviable position. In populous districts where there are Catholic schools many children who frequent State schools come to confession. As our correspondent states, many of these children have committed no grave sin in going to the State schools owing to fear. How is the priest to know who are these children ? He is bound to know them, else many of his absolutions will be invalid because of want of jurisdiction. They may not of themselves mention the matter, seeing that they committed no grave sin in going to the State school. It remains for the priest himself to ask the children of whose condition he is not aware whether or not they frequent State schools. So great would such a burden be we do not think that any bishop would impose it on his priests.

Unless, then, the priest has very certain proof that the bishop has withdrawn jurisdiction, even in the case of children who have not committed grave sin in going to State schools, we would advise him to regard the case as a case of reservation and nothing more, bearing in mind, however, that according to the regulation of the bishop grave fear which does not excuse from grave sin does not excuse from this reservation. If any doubt remains in the mind of our correspondent we advise him to consult his bishop, who can explain whether or not his action means more than we have suggested.

A DIFFICULTY ABOUT THE MANAGEMENT OF 'SHRINES'

REV. DEAR SIR,—A difficulty presents itself in the practical arrangements of a new form of devotion that has been adopted in many of our churches in the shape of (so-called) shrines.

According to the regulations usually met with, the candles to be used for burning in the 'shrine' are provided by the rector of the church in which the devotion goes on; and the persons whose piety prompts them to set up a lighted candle in the circle or pyramid of lights are directed to deposit a penny for each candle they take from the supply. The coins thus deposited exceed the market price of the candles, and when the devotion is largely patronised, a notable profit accrues.

Is there any ground on which this transaction might be considered exempt from the laws that forbid *negotiatio* to clerics? Does it make any difference whether clerics, in such a case, would acquire the profit for themselves or for their churches or charities?

J. C.

We have no hesitation in holding that the practice mentioned by our correspondent is not the *negotiatio* which is forbidden to clerics. *Negotiatio* is the purchase of an article of commerce and its subsequent sale at a profit, without any change being wrought in the article—or with a change brought about by the aid of hired labour. A mercantile transaction of this kind is forbidden to clerics in order to prevent them from taking undue part in secular pursuits to the detriment of their spiritual duties and to the serious scandal of the faithful. In judging of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any transaction it is necessary to bear this end of the Church's law in mind.

Now, the end of the Church's law does not seem to hold with regard to the practice mentioned by 'J. C.' This practice does not so mix up a priest with secular pursuits as to take him away from his spiritual work. On the contrary, the practice assists the priest very much in giving life and strength to devotional exercises. The convenience of obtaining candles at a reasonable price in the church leads many to perform acts of devotion to the saints which they would not otherwise perform.

Nor is any scandal caused to the faithful by this action of their priest. We know from experience that the faithful look on this practice in an altogether different light from

that in which they look, for instance, on the keeping of a chandler's shop by a priest. In the latter case they certainly regard the priest as unduly taking part in secular pursuits, though in the former case they have no such view. The end of the prohibition not applying to the practice in question, we think it reasonable to conclude that the legislator does not wish to condemn it by the general law against *negotatio*.

Moreover, custom has by this time rendered the practice quite lawful, even if it were originally prohibited by the law. So long as the custom has not been reprobated by ecclesiastical authority there can be no difficulty in following it in practice.

The fact that more than the market price is charged for the candles does not interfere with our view. Either the additional charge is made for the convenience of having the candles at hand, or the people are willing to give a little more than the market price by way of donation to the shrine. In neither hypothesis does the end of the law apply. Custom allows both.

We do not think that the application of the profits to a charitable purpose would of itself prevent the practice from being *negotatio* in the prohibited sense. For instance, if a priest were to keep a shop for the purpose of profit, the application of the profit to pious or charitable objects would in no way relieve him from the violation of the ecclesiastical law. The end of the law would still demand abstention from such transactions.

CURATE HEARING CONFESSIONS IN A STRANGE CHURCH OF HIS DIOCESE

REV. DEAR SIR,—I would be much obliged for a solution of the following question through the I. E. RECORD.

Can a curate, who has faculties for the whole diocese, *lawfully* hear the confession of anyone turning up by chance to be heard in a strange church of that diocese where he happens to be saying Mass ?

Sagart.

Even though a priest can validly hear confessions in a strange church, he cannot lawfully do so without the permission of the parish priest of the place. The question of our correspondent consequently resolves itself into this: Can a priest who has received permission from a parish priest to say Mass in a church reasonably consider that he has with that permission obtained leave to hear confessions of any penitents who may appear on the occasion? Permission to say Mass does not of itself contain permission to hear confessions. At the same time the circumstances of the case can indicate clearly enough that the desired permission has been granted. As a rule when a parish priest gives permission to a priest to say a Mass which belongs to parochial work, and in connection with which confessions are usually heard, it seems reasonable to conclude that the parish priest means to include permission to hear such confessions in the case of a priest having the faculties of the diocese. When, however, there is question of a Mass which does not belong to parochial work, or in connection with which confessions are not accustomed to be heard, it is scarcely reasonable to conclude that permission to hear confessions is also granted. In both cases we have said 'as a rule,' because local customs and personal motives can considerably modify the application of general principles to particular cases.

EXTREME UNCTION AND CONTAGION

REV. DEAR SIR,—It may not be generally understood among priests that doctors consider the oil used for Extreme Unction to be a favourable medium for propagating and conveying the bacteria of contagious disease; and that the finger employed in anointing the senses (particularly the lips) is very apt to deposit bacteria in the oil-supply, if dipped and re-dipped in the oil-stocks in the process of anointing an infected patient. It seems desirable, therefore, that the I. E. RECORD should set before its readers some expert instruction as to the best means of preventing this danger.

I have heard a doctor recommend that a priest, when he comes

to anoint a patient suffering from dangerous and contagious disease, should draw from the oil-stocks on the palm of his left hand sufficient oil for the entire anointing of the patient and use the oil thus separated.

J. C.

Two methods of avoiding danger of contagion are recommended by experts. Our correspondent mentions one of them. The priest anointing the patient can separate a small portion of the holy oil, and use that portion for the ceremony. The separation can easily be made by dipping a little cotton in the oil-stocks. Another satisfactory method at times adopted is the use of a suitable instrument for anointing. Conveniently prepared pieces of wood can be employed. A fresh piece can be used each time that a new application of the holy oil is required. All pieces thus used ought to be carefully burned after the ceremony to prevent danger of contagion, and to provide for the reverence due to the holy oil.

MARRIAGE OF 'VAGI' IN AN EXEMPT PLACE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you be good enough to have the following question answered in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD.

Can a parish priest give power to the member of a religious Order to marry *Vagi* in his own church, this church being within the parish, but exempt? In other words, is he *parochus* of the place where the ceremony takes place in the sense of the Council of Trent?

PAROCHUS.

A parish priest can validly assist at the marriage of *vagi* who are in an exempt place within the boundaries of his parish. He can consequently give license to a member of a religious Order to assist at the marriage in similar circumstances. We deduce this doctrine from the notion of a parish in the sense of the Council of Trent, as well as from the teaching of theologians. There is a case which, we hope, will make clear to our correspondent the truth of our

opinion. Suppose the case of a person who has acquired a domicile in a place by residing permanently within the precincts of an exempt monastery. Who has authority to assist at this person's marriage? It is undoubtedly the parish priest of the parish within which the monastery is situated. Hence the precincts of an exempt place belong to the parish in the sense of the decree *Tametsi*. Consequently the fact that *vagi* are in an exempt place does not withdraw them from the authority of a parish priest so far as marriage is concerned.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

OBLIGATION OF READING RECENTLY-APPROVED OFFICES OF IRISH PATRON SAINTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask you to say, in an early issue of the I. E. RECORD, whether Irish priests who have not yet been provided with copies of the Roman Breviaries issued since 1903—and therefore containing the revised Irish Supplement—are bound to the recitation of the recently-approved Offices of the Patron Saints? I have heard it contended that as no regulation has so far been published in connection with the matter by the ecclesiastical authorities of the country, priests are still free to content themselves with the old Breviaries, and are not expected to go to the expense of procuring new ones. As the matter is of some practical importance, I shall be very grateful for an early reply.—Yours, etc.,

DUBIUS.

It is quite true that no general instruction of an explicit character has been so far published imposing the obligation of reading the newly-approved Offices of the Irish Patron Saints on the priests concerned. If we look into the matter, however, a little closely we shall ascertain that implicitly at any rate the Bishops have signified their wish that these Offices should be obtained at the convenience of the priests and recited on the days to which they are assigned, and in the places for which they have been

approved. In the first place it was from the Bishops the initiative came to have the cult, that was rendered to these saints in Ireland from time immemorial, recognized and confirmed by the Holy See; to have the lessons of the Second Nocturn (wherever it was possible to gather any facts of the saint's life) written and arranged, and, finally, to secure for them the necessary authoritative approbation of the Congregation of Rites. When, then, all these various stages were successfully reached, and the Decree was issued on the 7th September, 1903, granting the Offices and approving the Lessons, it was to be expected that they should be procured after a reasonable time and recited as they occur.

Then, when the last great rescension of the Roman Breviary was carried out under the auspices of Pius V., Clement VIII., and Urban VIII., the copies published before the Bull of 1631 were allowed to be used in some cases until they became exhausted and worn out. This exception was made on account of the obvious inconvenience that would be entailed if priests were obliged to procure the new editions at once. But no such inconvenience can arise in the present instance. For books are much cheaper now than they were two centuries ago, and, besides, it is not necessary to discard the older books. All that is required is to get the new edition of the Irish Supplement which has been brought out by Messrs. Gill and Son, and may be had at a mere nominal price. And even if it were necessary to get a complete set of Breviaries, containing all the Offices up to date, prescribed for Ireland as well as elsewhere, this want has been adequately supplied by the very handy, cheap, and complete edition of the Roman Breviary which has recently been published by the enterprising firm just mentioned. Messrs. Gill and Son's *pocket edition* of the Breviary is a marvel of cheapness, convenience, and completeness. It possesses many important features which cannot fail to enhance its value as a portable vacation Breviary. For instance, each volume contains all the Offices that can be transferred to the season

of the year when it is in use—thus obviating the necessity of having to recur, as is sometimes to be done in most editions, to a second or even a third volume. The arrangement, too, of the Psalms and of the Commemorations supplies many desirable facilities, while the general get-up, as regards type and paper, is enough to satisfy the most fastidious of readers.

We think, then, that every priest has no longer any excuse for not providing himself with the Offices of the Irish Patron Saints, and reading them when they occur, and are prescribed in the *Ordo*.

P. MORRISROE.

CORRESPONDENCE

A HOME FOR INVALID PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with great interest and no little sympathy the letter of a ' Wellwisher ' on the above subject in the last issue of the I. E. RECORD. I cannot say at present I am sanguine of its success. Why have the Irish clergy so long neglected to found and establish such a home for all Ireland ? Partial efforts have been made but not, I fear, with much success. It appears to me there is no aged deserving person for whom there is less sympathy in his old age than a good and zealous priest. This want of sympathy is owing, I dare say, to false friends, if not real enemies, who freely circulate that priests are rich or ought to be ; while, if the truth were known, they are barely able to pay their debts, much less to pay for themselves in a home for aged priests. Some priests I know have made money, like others, by investing in speculative shares, while many priests would not invest in such shares for all the wealth of Ind.

Ought not a Home be provided for the latter class out of some Diocesan Fund, to maintain them at a moderate cost or entirely free if unable to pay ? If such were the case, old and infirm priests would not cling so tenaciously to their parishes as they sometimes do, nor keep younger and more active men from entering on duties they are much better able to perform, and would in return find peace, happiness and contentment in the company of holy and venerable companions whose words and example would help to make their death-bed happy and their end peaceable.

VIATOR.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Sufficient evidence has been gleaned regarding the above to assure those interested in it of its perfect feasibility. That it should seem otherwise would be strange indeed, seeing the seeming ease with which homes can be provided for all others : the orphan, the penitent, the aged and infirm of every description.

Three means of effecting the desired object have found favour with those actively interesting themselves in it :—

1st. The renting, immediately, of a specially suitable house, nicely and fully furnished, beautifully situated on three acres near the city, and near the sea, and capable of accommodating eight priests at least. To secure it a guarantee that six or seven would avail of it is *now necessary*.

2nd. The forming of a Joint Stock Company, on similar lines to the Catholic Insurance Company lately established. With the sum of £2,000 subscribed in £5 shares one of three or four most suitable places, now on sale, could be purchased, furnished, and put in working order.

3rd. Possibly a priest might be found who, loving his brethren more than £2,000, which he might have the disposal of, would vest it in trustees for the purpose and secure a 'Home' for himself for the remainder of his life.

It may not be untimely to state a few things on which all seem agreed concerning the prospective Sacerdotal Home. The Home should be truly such, and neither more nor less than what the average priest is accustomed to. It should not be an eleemosynary or mercenary 'institution,' but a model home in the truest Christian sense. Hence, when more than eight or ten require accommodation, instead of providing it by further additions, it may be preferable to open another home. Hereby needed variety of location may be provided; as no one is expected to remain longer than he agreed to, and the fullest liberty commensurate with honour and propriety should be characteristic of an Infirm Sacerdotal Home.

ONE OF THE INTERESTED.

DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTIONS OF CATHOLIC CLERICAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

A Special Meeting of the Central Council was held in Dublin, September 12, 1905, Right Rev. Dean Byrne, v.g., p.p., Dungannon; and after the adjournment Right Rev. Mgr. Keller, v.g.; p.p., Youghal; in the chair.

Present in addition :—Right Rev. Mgr. M'Glynn, v.g., p.p., Stranorlar; Very Rev. Canon M'Geeney, v.f., p.p., Crossmaglen; Rev. P. Keown, Adm., Monaghan; Rev. J. Doherty, Adm., Carnadonagh; Very Rev. H. Laverty, d.d., p.p., v.g., Belfast; Very Rev. John Curry, v.f., p.p., St. Mary's, Drogheda; Right Rev. Mgr. O'Donnell, d.d., v.g., p.p., Booterstown; Right Rev. Mgr. Murphy, d.d., v.g., p.p., Maryboro'; Right Rev. Archdeacon Kinane, v.g., p.p., Cashel; Very Rev. Canon Phelan, v.f., p.p., Slieverue; Right Rev. Mgr. Fahy, v.g., d.d., p.p., Gort; Right Rev. Mgr. Kelly, v.g., p.p., Athlone; Right Rev. Dean Barrett, v.g., p.p., Headford; Right Rev. Dean Staunton, v.g., p.p., Swinford; Very Rev. J. Corcoran, v.f., p.p., Portumna; Right Rev. Mgr. O'Hara, v.g., p.p., Crossmolina.

A telegram of apology was received from Very Rev. Father O'Farrell, v.g., p.p., Ardagh, and a very important letter from Archdeacon Hutch, v.g., d.d., p.p., Middleton.

The minutes of previous meeting were read and signed, and the correspondence in reference thereto was ordered to be inserted on the minutes.

On the motion of Rev. John Curry, seconded by Mgr. Fahy, it was unanimously resolved and passed in silence :—

'We desire to express our deep regret for the death of Mgr. Reddy, one of our Council, and for his loss to us. We direct our Hon. Secretary to transmit this vote of condolence to the Bishop of Ardagh and Mr. Reddy, M.P., brother of the deceased Monsignor.'

RESOLUTIONS.

1st.—That, inasmuch as the Bishops of Ireland have declared in their Resolution of June last,—

'We are distinctly of opinion that the amalgamation of

boys' and girls' schools beyond that which has hitherto been provided by the Rules of the National Board should be resisted :

and, inasmuch as the Board of National Education, by a majority almost exclusively non-Catholic, persists in setting at nought the representations made to them from our Bishops, from the great majority of School Managers and Teachers, and from the Irish Members of Parliament, and the protest of six out of sixteen of its own body,

We advise all the Managers of National Schools in Ireland to unite in refusing to put in force the New Amalgamating Rules, by refusing to exclude boys from boys' schools, and by refusing to admit boys to girls' schools, except in accordance with the practice hitherto followed.

2nd.—We refuse to regard these objectionable Rules as binding on Managers, inasmuch as (a) they introduce a fundamental change in the system of National Education ; inasmuch as (b) they tend to the destruction of very many of the existing schools ; and inasmuch as (c) they will inevitably, in the not distant future, place most of the boys of Ireland, of all school-going ages, under the care of female teachers, and most of the girls of all school-going ages, in the same schools as boys, to the great detriment of education and morality.

Regarding, then, the New Rules in question as subversive of the existing system, and not considering them binding on us by reason of any undertaking we have given of carrying out the Rules and Regulations of the National Board, we suggest to Managers, in giving quarterly returns as to the observance of Rules, to except reference to these Rules when necessary, and we advise newly-appointed Managers to refuse an undertaking to carry them out when they apply to Schools under their management.

3rd.—That we thank the six Catholic Commissioners for their vigorous protest against the action of eight Protestant and two Catholic Commissioners, who persist in enforcing the New Rules on the Catholics of Ireland, in spite of the vehement remonstrances of their Bishops and Priests. We cannot understand the position of Catholic members of the National Board who have flouted the opinions of the Catholic body, and still

remain on the Board in the character of representing the Catholics of Ireland.

4th.—That we direct our Hon. Secretary to again request the Board to withdraw the objectionable Rules.

5th.—That, with the consent of the Bishops, a General Fund be raised to sustain, if necessary, those Managers who decline to allow the amalgamation of their Schools, in the spirit of the Fourth Resolution adopted by us at our Meeting of June 7th of this year, which binds us to support any Catholic Clerical Manager who resists amalgamation in the sense of our opposition.

6th.—That we vehemently protest against the withdrawal of fees for Irish as an extra subject in the Schools, and we call upon our fellow-Managers to devote, if possible, more attention than ever to the teaching of the National Language; and we press upon the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party the necessity of offering the most determined opposition to the withdrawal of these fees.

7th.—That we again protest against the unfair treatment of Ireland, financially, in the matter of Education; and we most strongly object to the policy by which certain favoured Schools, such as Model Schools, get more than their share of Educational Subsidy, to the detriment of less favoured and more deserving Schools, which have to be run on a policy of starvation.

8th.—We protest against the huge provision of £50,000 to provide a new Training College residence for the teachers of a small section of the people, while the just claims for building and equipment grants to the Catholic Training Colleges of Belfast, Limerick, and Waterford are ignored.

9th.—We protest against the unceasing chopping and changing for the past few years in the Commissioners' Rules and Programmes. We warn our people against any proposal to impose on local rates financial obligations for the building and equipment of schools, whilst millions are annually extracted from this poor country by over-taxation.

10th.—That copies of these Resolutions be sent to the Lord Lieutenant, the Prime Minister, the Chief and Under Secretaries, the Bishops of Ireland, the Irish Members of Parliament, the Irish Daily Newspapers, to the Secretaries of the Board of National Education, and to each Member of that Board.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LUTHER U. LUTHERTUM. (II. Abteilung. *Quellenbelege*.)
Fr. Denifle, O.P. Kirchheim, Mainz, 1905.

THIS is the second part of the revised volume, and it contains the *pieces justificatifs*. Needless to say, it is a monument of erudition, in every line worthy of the reputation of the late author. In order to prove his thesis, viz., that Luther misrepresented the patristic and medieval interpretation of St. Paul's doctrine respecting justification by faith, Denifle gives copious extracts from no fewer than *sixty* writers. He devotes more attention to the scholastics, because Luther reviled them especially. It would be impossible to set the arch-reformer's ignorance and mendaciousness in clearer light than the great German Dominican has here done. Seeing the failure of Harnack, Seeberg, and some dozen other votaries of Luther to defend him, we may hope that their fictions about Luther's learning and love of truth are no longer to be obtruded on the public.

Considered as a piece of critical scholarship, Father Denifle's work is of rare excellence. He has given to the learned world for the first time the relevant portions of some unpublished commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans, and discovered glosses even on Peter Lombard's commentary. In addition to all this he has restored Gilbert de la Porrée's and Cardinal Hugh de St. Cher's commentaries to their rightful owners. He also throws new light on Robert de Melum and Pierre de Tarentaise (better known perhaps as Blessed Innocent V). Students of medieval theology and history will find a mine of knowledge in these pages. The learned author has had reason, as he remarks (Preface, p. xi.), to deplore the neglect with which the great medieval theologians are commonly treated at the present day. In the case of Protestant historians and writers this is perhaps not surprising; but Catholic ones should possess full and accurate knowledge. It is now placed within the reach of all by Father Denifle's own work which is likely to remain the standard authority on the important subject of which it treats.

In reference to his own remark about reliable information, perhaps it may be permitted to say that only a first-rate *savant* such as Denifle himself would know where to look for it, and then how to use it. He was a skilled paleographer and critic and historian, and he knew the contents of every great library in Europe. When he took up the study of a subject, he was thus able to employ means of getting at the truth, that are never dreamed of by the man of average acquirements. On every page of *Luther u. Luthertum* there is evidence of this. Let us hope that it will soon be translated into English.

F. N.

SEQUENTIA CHRISTIANA. Or, Elements of the Christian Religion. By Rev. Charles B. Dawson, S.J.

ALTHOUGH we have many works already on the teaching of the Catholic Church in matters of fundamental belief and universal practice, we can cordially recommend this latest accession to the number. It will be found excellent for the instruction of converts or catechumens. The chapters on the 'Notes of the True Church,' on the 'Supremacy and Infallibility of the Pope,' on 'Sacraments and Sacramentals,' and on each of the Sacraments in particular, are excellent. We would ask our readers to get this book and judge of its merits for themselves. We are sure they would find it useful.

PASTORAL MEDICINE : A Handbook for the Catholic Clergy.
By Alexander E. Sandford, M.D. New York : Joseph F. Wagner.

Pastoral Medicine has for its object to bring under the notice of the pastor those conclusions of medical science that will be useful to him in the discharge of his duties. Already several works of great utility have appeared on the subject. The work under review is written in English and is intended specially for priests in America. The author divides his work into three sections. In the first he deals with the question of hygiene, and gives some useful hints as to what the pastor should bear in mind from a hygienic point of view in the building and furnishing of schools, churches, hospitals, etc., also some useful hints on food, clothing, dwelling-houses, cemeteries, etc.

The second section, entitled 'Pastoral Medicine,' is devoted chiefly to a description of various forms of disease, of the sources of infection, of the means of transmittance, of preventive remedies, and of some general principles of treatment in each case.

The third section deals with 'First Aid to the Injured,' and gives a detailed account of the best methods to be followed in almost all accidents that may occur.

Though taken as a whole the work will not add much to the experienced pastor's stock of information, yet it contains some useful hints, and will be helpful to the young and inexperienced.

P. M.

DE MINUS PROBABILISMO, seu de usu opinionis quae quis solide sed minus probabile esse judicat. Auctore Ludivico Wouters, C.SS.R., Theologiae Moralis professore. Parisiis : P. Lethielleux, 22, Via dicta Cassette.

WE congratulate the author of this little work on having produced a very clear and interesting treatise on a subject of great practical importance for moralists. The question the author proposes to himself to solve is this: When doubt arises in the mind of the individual as to whether a certain course of action is lawful for him or not, and when, after making due inquiry, his own opinion is that the act he contemplates performing is unlawful, though there is also a solid or probable reason for thinking it lawful, may he regard himself as free to perform the act?

According to the teaching very commonly received and found in most manuals of moral theology, in the foregoing circumstances where the point at issue regards solely the liceity or illiciteity of an act, it is always lawful to follow a probable opinion in favour of liberty, even though one may regard the opinion in favour of the existence of obligation as more probable. The greater portion of the author's treatise is devoted to a refutation of this—the main thesis of probabilism. His positive arguments are derived from three sources: (1) From the efforts made by several Popes, especially by Alexander VII, Innocent XI, Innocent XII, Clement XI, to extirpate probabilism from the teaching of the Catholic schools; (2) from the approbation given to the writings and moral system of St. Alphonsus; (3) from the obligation each individual is under of earnestly striving to make

his acts conform to the eternal law of God. In addition to these positive arguments the author deals in detail with the arguments put forward by probabilists in favour of their thesis, and undertakes to show that these are unsound.

Whether one agrees with the conclusions of the author or not, his work cannot fail to prove instructive and interesting. It is specially commendable for its clearness and simplicity of style and for the admirable manner in which the teaching of St. Alphonsus on the point at issue is presented. We have great pleasure in congratulating the author on his work and commending it to all who are interested in the subject.

P. M.

LA LIBERTÉ. Conférences et Retraite, Carême, 1904. Par E. Janvier. Paris : P. Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette.

The Lenten Conferences of 1904 in Notre Dame de Paris were devoted by M. l'Abbé Janvier to a continuation of his eloquent exposition of the principles of Catholic morals. In 1903 he dealt with the question of 'happiness'—man's last end. The conferences of 1904 dealt with the power we have of reaching that end—human liberty—and of the relation liberty holds towards happiness. In beautiful and eloquent language the whole teaching of the Church on the subject of human liberty is set forth in logical order in one compact treatise. As the attitude of the Church towards human liberty is much misunderstood and misrepresented by her enemies, l'Abbé Janvier devotes his first conference to a historical review of the struggle of the Church in defence of the dogma of human liberty against the assaults of heresy. From this he passes on to consider the arguments from reason and revelation on which the dogma rests. The dogma once established, the character, domain, the rule and rewards of liberty are eloquently pictured. The sermons of the 'Retraite' deal with the functions of conscience and the mutual relations between conscience and liberty.

The high praise bestowed upon the conferences and sermons by the Holy Father Pius X, whose letter is prefixed to the volume, is sufficient recommendation of the work for all Catholics.

P. M.

GRAMMAR OF PLAINSONG. By the Benedictines of Stanbrook. London: Burns and Oates. Price 2s. 3d. net.

SOME of the chief obstacles to the rapid restoration of the true Gregorian Chant to general use, are, ignorance of its history, of its true principles, and of its beauty; an exaggerated idea of the difficulty of its execution, and a prejudice against its supposed lack of melody and rhythm. This little grammar ought to go a long way towards removing each and all of these obstacles. The Benedictines of Stanbrook have already given us an excellent treatise on Gregorian Music, and in the preparation of this Grammar they have availed of much 'generous and invaluable assistance' from Dom Mocquereau and Father Bewerunge. These facts alone lead us to expect a masterly production. And so it is. It is concise, yet comprehensive, clear and most interesting.

As the aim of the little book is essentially practical, all historical dissertations and discussions are carefully avoided. At the same time there is a brief historical sketch of the origin, growth, decadence, and revival of the Chant, which is well calculated to promote that reverence and love which the Church's music so well deserves. Moreover, here and there through the book a historical remark is thrown in, which adds to the interest, and is helpful to the understanding and application of the principles and rules laid down.

The question of Rhythm, about which there has been a good deal of discussion and not a little misunderstanding, is treated in a scientific yet simple manner in Chapter V, which contains 'the general principles of rhythm, and some practical rules to secure the proper effect,' and also in a series of seven chapters forming Part II, where they who wish to make a deeper study of the question 'will find a detailed account of the principles underlying rhythm in general, and Plainsong rhythm in particular.' The subject is treated with admirable skill and simplicity. As far as theory goes nothing could be better. But the authors very properly warn us that in this, as in any other art, 'the student can scarcely hope to obtain satisfactory results from mere dry rules. He should study the rhythm practically by listening to a competent choir, accounting to himself the while, by means of his rules, for the various effects which he hears; he will find this exercise most profitable and a great saving of time.'

There is a good deal of valuable and practical instruction and information regarding the application of Tonic Sol-fa principles to Gregorian notation, the accompaniment of the chant, and the duties of the choir during High Mass and Vespers. The rules for the singing of prayers, epistle, gospel, etc., contained in the chapter on Liturgical Recitations, should be thoroughly known by every ecclesiastical student and every priest.

This little Grammar cannot be too strongly recommended. It is useful to those already skilled in Plainsong as well as to beginners, and persons who, through their exclusive acquaintance with modern music, are prejudiced against the chant, and have warped ideas as to the office of music in the Church's service, would probably have very different ideas on the subject after a careful perusal of the *Stanbrook Grammar of Plainsong*.

T. O. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Compendium Theologiae Moralis ad Mentem. P. Gury. Curà A. Bulot, S.J. Paris : Lecoffre.

De Opere Divini Exemplarismi. Auctore Ernesto Dubois, C.S.S.R. Rome : Desclee, Lefebvre.

Lectiones Aesthetices seu Philosophia Pulchri et Artium. By Gelasius Lepore, O.S.A. Viterbo : Agnesotti.

L'Histoire du Texte et de la Destinée du Concordat de 1801. Par l'Abbé Em. Sévestre. Paris : Lethielleux.

The Holy Catholic Church : Her Faith, Works, and Triumphs. By a Convert. London : Burns and Oates.

Lives of the English Martyrs. Vol. II. By Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B. London : Burns and Oates.

The Spirit of Sacrifice. From the Original of Rev. S. M. Giraud ; revised by the Rev. Herbert Thurston. New York : Benziger Brothers.

The Divine Idea of Human Dress. By William Marshall. London : Elliot and Stock.

Rex Meus. By the Author of 'My Queen and my Mother.' With a Preface by the Right Rev. Bishop Hanlon. Westminster : Art and Book Co.

L'Année des Malades. By Ctesse de Flavigny. Paris : Lethielleux.

The Seraphic Keepsake. By Reginald Balfour. London : Burns and Oates.

The Great Problem. By S. J. London : Elliot and Stock.

Certainty in Religion. By Henry H. Wyman. New York : Columbus Press.

Short Exercises during Holy Mass and a Month's Thoughts on Death. From the French of A. R. P. London : Burns and Oates.

Letters on Christian Doctrine. By F. M. de Zulueta, S.J. London : Washbourne.

The Senior Lieutenant's Wager and Other Stories. By Various Writers. New York : Benziger Brothers.

Saint Colomban. Par L'Abbé Eng. Martin. Paris : Lecoffre.

The Mirror of St. Edmund. By Francesca M. Steele. London : Burns and Oates.

The Crux of Pastoral Medicine. By Andrew Klarmann. New York : Pustet & Co.

OUR EXCHANGES

The New York Review—June-July.—‘The Spirit of Newman’s Apologetics,’ Wilfrid Ward ; ‘Catholicity and Free Thought,’ George Fonsegrive ; ‘Scotus Redivivus,’ James J. Fox, D.D. ; ‘Holtzman’s *Life of Jesus*,’ Cornelius Clifford ; ‘The Church and the Soul,’ Joseph M’Sorley, C.S.P. ; ‘Man Versus the Cosmos,’ Francis P. Duffy, D.D. ; ‘Recent Views on Biblical Inspiration,’ James F. Driscoll, D.D. ; ‘Studies on the Synoptics,’ Francis Gigot.

The American Catholic Quarterly Review. Philadelphia—July.—‘The Educational Fact,’ Rev. Timothy Brosnahan, S.J. ; ‘Catholicity and Socialism,’ Rev. William Kirby, PH.D. ; ‘The Testimony of the Original Apostles to the Fact of the Resurrection,’ Rev. Charles Aiken, S.T.D. ; ‘The Newly Discovered Sayings of Jesus,’ Rev. A. J. Maas, S.J. ; ‘A Provençal Renaissance,’ John J. O’Shea ; ‘Gerald Griffin,’ E. P. Stanton ; ‘A Medieval Medley,’ Darley Dale ; ‘Ancient Scottish Devotion to Mary,’ Dom M. Barrett ; ‘Ancient Commerce of the Phœnicians,’ Rev. J. D. Murphy ; ‘Who are the Real Theologians?’

Rev. Henry Woods; 'Inside the Aglipayan Church,' Rev. A. Coleman.

Razón y Fe. Revista Mensual Redactada por Padres de la Compañía de Jesús.—Agosto.—'El Eclipse Total de Sol,' M. Martiney; 'Miguel de Cervantes y Lope de Vega,' J. M. Alcardo; 'La Transformación del Japon,' N. N.; 'La Teología Católica en el Siglo XIX,' A. Pérez; 'Municipalización de los Servicios Públicos,' L. Challaud.

The Catholic World.—New York—September: 'Modern Psychology and Catholic Education,' Edward A. Pace; 'The Limits of the Development Theory,' George Tyrrell, s.j.; 'The Weaver,' N. F. Degidon; 'Cura Animarum,' Vincent M'Nabb, o.p.; 'Her Ladyship,' Katharine Tynan; 'Vox Scientiae,' M. T. Waggaman; 'The Founder of Modern Croatia,' Ben Hurst; 'Bruges,' Ellis Schreiber; 'Abbot Gasquet's New Book,' Ethelred Taunton; 'The Rose of May,' A. W. Corpe.

The Messenger West Sixteenth-street, New York—July.—'Morality in Wall Street,' Thomas F. Woodlock; 'The Causes of National Success,' D. Lynch, s.j.; 'By Reason of Thy Law,' Mary T. Waggaman; 'Instinctive and Intelligent Activity,' H. Muckermann, s.j.; 'In Cordoba,' Thomas Walsh; 'Congregational Singing,' Angela Gallagher; 'The Laborers,' Mary Elizabeth Blake.

Civiltà Cattolica—2 Settembre.—'Il Miracolo di San Genaro'; 'I Mali Effetti delle Secolarizzazioni'; 'Il Così Detto Problema Religioso.'



DOES THE END JUSTIFY THE MEANS?

THE fact that calumnies against the Catholic Church have been refuted from age to age according as they made their appearance is no guarantee that they will not be repeated whenever the hope is indulged that the refutation has been forgotten. As the best way to meet error is to confront it with truth, the defenders of the Church have ever gone upon the principle that false accusations should not be allowed to go unchallenged, but that they should be repelled and disproved lest anyone should think that silence meant acquiescence, or that Catholics are insensible to the dignity and good name of the Church of Christ. There are sometimes, no doubt, charges so base made by persons so vile that they carry with them their own best refutation, and the less notice that is taken of them the better. But when charges are made by people whose position and rank ensure them a hearing, and whose motives are regarded by many as disinterested and pure, then it behoves those whom the Church has called into her service to go forward in her defence, and with all the armour of learning, courage, and faith, to do battle in her cause. This has been done in a very striking way in a case that has recently been decided in the German law courts.

Amidst the reserve supply of stale and antiquated charges one of the most seasoned and worn out is that the moralists of a great Order in the Catholic Church teach the infamous doctrine that 'the end justifies the means,' that as long

as a man considers the end to be obtained praiseworthy and good he need not hesitate to commit any crime in attaining it. Thus, for instance, arson, perjury, murder, cruelty, would be quite legitimate if committed in the interests of the Church, or of any political object which the author of the crime regarded in his conscience as a good one. It is evident that if this corrupt and wicked teaching could be brought home to the Jesuits it would mean not only their ruin, but the ruin of the Church in which they hold so great and prominent a place.

And yet it may be said to be one of the commonplaces of modern English reviews and magazines to take this imputation as justified and legitimate. It is, indeed, hard to blame the half-educated craftsmen and craftswomen of fiction for indulging in this monstrous calumny, when it has become almost a tradition in English letters and can invoke in its favour some of the greatest names in English Literature.

To say nothing of the historians, theologians, and commentators of Scripture, who are by profession antagonistic to Catholics, we find poets, essayists, and novelists propagating this shocking calumny, and bringing it down to the level of the people in all its wickedness.

One of the most popular English poets of the Restoration period was John Oldham; and one of the causes of his great popularity during a certain number of years was his *Satire on the Jesuits*. In this scandalous effusion he pours out all the hatred of his soul on the heads of the sons of St. Ignatius. The impartial frame of mind in which he approaches his subject can be judged from his opening lines :—

It is resolved. Henceforth an endless war
I and my muse with them and theirs declare.
Whom neither open malice of the foes,
Nor private daggers, nor St. Omer's dose,
Nor all that Godfrey felt or monarchs fear
Shall from my vowed and sworn revenge deter.

In his wild interpretation of the 'Will of St. Ignatius,' he sums up its teaching as follows :—

Teach how the priest pluralities may buy
Yet fear no odious sin of simony.

Bid thieves rob on, the boisterous ruffian tell
He may for hire revenge, or honour kill.
Let griping usurers extortion use ;
No rapine, falsehood, perjury refuse ;
Stick at no crime. . . .

A small bequest to the Church can all atone,
Wipes off all scores, and heaven and all's their own.

I well remember what a sensation I felt in my boyhood days when engrossed in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, I came upon a character in *Rob Roy* named Rashleigh Osbaldistone. This man, if not a Jesuit himself, was represented as having been trained by the Jesuits at St. Omer. He was a villain of the deepest dye, who stopped at no crime to accomplish his ends.

In that eloquent essay of Lord Macaulay on 'Ranke's *History of the Popes*,' which is read in all our schools, the following passage will be remembered :—

In spite of oceans and deserts, of hunger and pestilence, of spies and penal laws, of dungeons and racks, of gibbets and quartering blocks, Jesuits were to be found under every disguise, and in every country ; scholars, physicians, merchants, serving men ; in the hostile Court of Sweden, in the old manor-houses of Cheshire, among the hovels of Connaught, arguing, instructing, consoling, stealing away the hearts of the young, animating the courage of the timid, holding up the crucifix before the eyes of the dying. *Nor was it less their office to plot against the thrones and lives of apostate kings, to spread evil rumours, to raise tumults, to inflame civil wars, to arm the hand of the assassin.* Inflexible in nothing but in their fidelity to the Church they were equally ready to appeal in her cause to the spirit of loyalty and the spirit of freedom. Extreme doctrines of freedom and extreme doctrines of liberty, the right of rulers to misgovern the people, the right of every one of the people to plunge his knife in the heart of a bad ruler, were inculcated by the same man according as he addressed himself to the subject of Philip or the subject of Elizabeth. Some described these divines as the most rigid, others as the most indulgent, of spiritual directors. And both descriptions were correct. The truly devout listened with awe to the saintly

morality of the Jesuit. The gay cavalier who had run his rival through the body, the frail beauty who had forgotten her marriage vow, found in the Jesuit an easy well-bred man of the world who knew how to make allowance for the little irregularities of people of fashion.

This is the conception of the Jesuits that is undoubtedly entertained by the great majority of those who speak for the Protestants of England. It is the conception also which English writers are doing their level best to get the Irish people to share.

My attention was recently called to two novels which are exhibited at all our railway bookstalls, and on the counters of most of our booksellers; and as they are sold for sixpence, I have no doubt they have found their way into many a Catholic family circle in Ireland. So true is it that vast numbers of Irishmen and women are willing to pay for the corruption of their homes and to make fortunes for the enemies of all that they should be expected to hold sacred.

The first of these novels is entitled *John Inglesant*, by Mr. J. H. Shorthouse. It may be said to be from beginning to end a diatribe against the Jesuits, attributing to them the meanest of vices, and endeavouring to fasten on them the most corrupt principles of morality. The second is entitled *The Velvet Glove*, by Mr. Seton Merriman, a voluminous writer, whose antipathy to the Catholic Church is nothing short of a disease. Here is how Mr. Merriman speaks of what he is good enough to describe as the political Jesuit:—

William the Silent was assassinated by an emissary of the Jesuits. Maurice of Orange, his son, almost met the same fate, and the would-be murderer confessed. Three Jesuits were hanged for attempting the life of Elizabeth, Queen of England; and later, another, Parry, was drawn and quartered. Two years later another was executed for participating in an attempt on the Queen's life; and at later periods four more met a similar just fate. Ravallac, the assassin of Henry IV of France, was a Jesuit.

The Jesuits were concerned in the Gunpowder Plot of England, and two of the fathers were among the executed.

In Paraguay the Jesuits instigated the natives to rebel

against Spain and Portugal ; and the holy fathers, taking the field in person, proved themselves excellent leaders.

Pope Clement XIV was poisoned by the Jesuits. He had signed a Bull to suppress the Order, which Bull was to 'be for ever and to all eternity valid.' The result of it was 'acqua tofana of Perugia,' a slow and torturing poison.

Down to our own times we have had the hand of the Society of Jesus gently urging the Fenians. O'Farrell, who in 1868 attempted the life of the Duke of Edinburgh in Australia, was a Jesuit sent out to the care of the Society in Australia.

The great days of Jesuitism are gone, but the Society still lives. In England and in other Protestant countries they continue to exist under different names. The 'Adorers of Jesus,' the Redemptionists, the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, the Brothers of the Congregation of the Holy Virgin, the Fathers of the Faith, the Order of St. Vincent de Paul—are Jesuits. How far they belong to the heart and not to the head, is a detail only known to themselves. Those who have followed the contemporary history of France may draw their own conclusions from the trials of the case of the Assumptionist Fathers.

'Los mismos perros, con nuevos cuellos,'—said Sarrion to any who sought to convince him that Spain owed her downfall to other causes, and that the Jesuits were no longer what they had been. 'The same dogs with new collars.' And he held that they were not a progressive but a retrogressive society ; that their statutes still hold good.

'It is allowable to take an oath without intending to keep it when one has good grounds for so acting.'

'In the case of one unjustifiably making an attack on your honour, when you cannot otherwise defend yourself than by impeaching the integrity of the person insulting you, it is quite allowable to do so.'

'In order to cut short calumny most quickly, one may cause the death of the calumniator, but as secretly as possible to avoid observation.'

'It is absolutely allowable to kill a man whenever the general welfare or proper security demands it.'

If any man has committed a crime, St. Liguori and other Jesuit writers hold that he may swear to a civil authority that he is innocent of it, provided that he has already confessed it to his spiritual father and received absolution. It is, they say, no longer on his conscience.

'Pray,' said the Founder of the Society, 'as if everything depended on prayer, and act as if everything depended on action.'

This is the ignorant and brutal form in which the

tradition is now propagated amongst us. It is intended, of course, to injure the Jesuits in the first place, and, through them,^b the Church. Many persons who read such stupid books as that in which this passage occurs are, no doubt, entirely uninfluenced by them and take their impotent and disreputable calumnies as coming from a corrupted source. Some there may be who are not so well fortified against the shafts of the enemy. These historic charges have been refuted hundreds of times by Catholic writers¹; and when they were recently revived in Germany they were met by a learned Jesuit who vindicated his Order and his Church in a form that is not likely to be forgotten.² It was in Germany, too, that the scandal-mongers came to grief most signally in reference to the moral teaching as well as to the acts of the Jesuits.

Count Paul Hoensbroech was a young Prussian nobleman who belonged to a Catholic family of old standing and repute. At an early age he joined the Jesuit Order, in which he was ordained a priest, and had, I believe, made his solemn vows. Finding the discipline of the great Society too irksome and severe he became gradually dissatisfied with his lot in the world, and ultimately not only left the Jesuits but left the Church. In the early days of his apostasy he spoke in very complimentary terms of his former associates, praised their zeal, their disinterestedness, their personal character, and described their institution as a great and admirable organization which aimed at the noblest ends.³ He professed himself satisfied, however, that their conception of Christianity and their general methods of promoting it were not in conformity with the Gospel, and to prove how disinterested his own motives were, and how much more in harmony with the precepts and example of the Apostles, he took unto himself a wife, and like his countryman, Martin Luther, trampled under his feet his cloth, his profession, and his vows.

¹ See *Jesuits in Conflict*. London: Burns & Oates, 1873. Also *The Jesuits, their Foundation and History*. London: Burns & Oates, 1879.

² *Jesuiten-Fabeln. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte*. By Bernhard Duhr, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1904.

³ *Mein Austritt aus dem Jesuiten Orden*. *Preus. Jahrbuch*, May, 1893.

It was not to be expected under the circumstances that he would long continue in the moderate frame of mind he displayed on his exit from the Society. Carried away by the desire of justifying his conduct and pleasing the sect which he had joined he gradually became one of the most active and violent enemies of the Catholic Church in Germany. In the year 1903, he published an article in a German monthly review, the *Deutschland*, in which he formally undertook to prove that the Jesuits taught the famous maxim, 'The end justifies the means.'¹ To suggest, like Sir Walter Scott in some of his romantic novels, that individual Jesuits act on this principle, or, like Lord Macaulay in his romantic essays, that individual Jesuits had 'armed the hand of the assassin,' was bad enough; but to proclaim that the moral teachers of the Jesuit Order actually taught the lawfulness of the maxim was a thing from which writers careful about their reputation had hitherto recoiled. Individual cases could be dealt with, and have been dealt with, by Catholic historians wherever the enemies of the Church have ventured to put them forward; but even if an individual Jesuit had been proven guilty of acting on the maxim nothing more would follow than that an individual Jesuit had proved himself worthy of the execration of mankind. The Church could not be held responsible for the crimes of an individual who had departed from her teaching. It is, I need not add, a much more serious thing to assert that the moral teachers of an Order that has been so frequently approved by the Popes, and has enjoyed to such a great extent the confidence of the supreme rulers of the Church, have laid down in their textbooks and treatises on morals this maxim which would justify the most atrocious crimes.

But fools step in where wise men fear to tread. Count Hoensbroech was foolish enough to assert that not only did the Jesuit moralists teach the famous maxim, but that it formed one of the fundamental principles of 'Ultra-

¹ 'Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel als Jesuitischer Grundsatz Erwiesen.' *Monatschrift Deutschland*, July, 1903.

montane Immorality, and of Jesuitical Antichristian teaching.' The apostate, however, kept wide of the mark in his article. He indulged in general denunciations and general assertions without advancing any proofs. He quoted, indeed, a few passages out of their context from the Jesuit theologians, and distorted their meaning, but gave no proof whatever that the maxim he attributed to the Jesuits had been taught by them.

Soon after the appearance of this article an important meeting of German Catholics had assembled at Rixdorf, near Berlin, and at that meeting a Catholic priest—Father Dasbach of Treves—issued a challenge which is destined to have a place in history. He undertook to pay the sum of 2,000 florins to Count Hoensbroech, or anybody else, who would quote for him a single passage from the writings of the Jesuit moralists in which the maxim in question was taught either literally or in substance.

Who is Father Dasbach? ¹ Father Dasbach is one of the best known and most widely respected priests in the German Empire. He is now, I believe, a Canon of the Cathedral of Treves, and a member of the Prussian Parliament. He is one of the heroes of the 'Kulturkampf,' having taken a foremost part in the struggle against Bismarck, when that unscrupulous statesman declared war upon the Church. In those days the German Catholics were but ill-prepared for the battle. They had no Press. They have now upwards of 450 organs of opinion circulating throughout the Empire, a great number of them being daily newspapers, and no less than ten of these appearing twice a day; but when the campaign was opened by Bismarck they were, to a great extent, at the mercy of organs like the *Irish Times*, which were received wholesale in Catholic houses. Dasbach was one of the first to realise the value of the Press in a contest for life or death. He accordingly established no less than six Catholic newspapers in Treves and the neighbouring towns and cities. He founded also the 'Augustinus Verein,' an association for the develop-

¹ See *Catholiques Allemands*. By A. Kannengieser, pp. 129-135.

ment and diffusion of the Catholic Press, which helped the foundation of newspapers all over the country.

In those days the peasants in the Rhineland were harassed by usurers, mostly Jews, who swarmed over the Catholic districts, and made fortunes out of the embarrassment of innocent and helpless farmers. When a cow died which the struggling peasant found it impossible to replace, the usurer came along and offered him £10 to buy a cow, on condition that he would sign a bill for £15, payable in six months. Too often the proposal was accepted, and the debtor, paying cent. per cent. for money borrowed, soon found himself in the clutches of a creditor from whom there was no escape. If he could not pay he was sold out, and if allowed to remain in his homestead at all, remained as the tenant and victim of the usurer.

To counteract this unfortunate state of things Father Dasbach founded the 'Bauernverein,' or Peasants' League, the object of which was to give legal assistance and all other protection to the farmers in distress. Owing to the intervention of this league an enormous number of prosecutions were dismissed and a still greater number of cases settled out of court. It put an end, in the neighbourhood of Treves, at all events, to the reign of the usurer.

Father Dasbach next organized an agricultural bank, which undertook to lend money to farmers at a reasonable rate of interest. They were charged by Jewish money-lenders at the lowest ten or fifteen per cent. The new bank would charge in no case more than five. The capital of the bank on starting was 30,000 marks, or £1,500. It is now well over 1,000,000 marks, or £50,000. Another source of profit to the usurers was the insurance of houses, goods, and cattle. Here also Father Dasbach intervened, got the Catholics of Treves to found an insurance society of their own, which gives such favourable terms and is satisfied with such small profits that it has driven all others practically out of the field. Taking them all together the various societies founded by Father Dasbach count no less than 100,000 members.

This was the man who issued his memorable challenge

at the meeting in Rixdorf in 1903, to Count Hoensbroech and his supporters. He repeated his challenge in a further declaration made on the 19th of April, 1903, and added that the maxim, 'The end justifies the means,' should be understood in the sense in which it is attributed to the Jesuits, namely: 'That any action morally bad in itself becomes morally lawful when it is performed for a good end.' Count Hoensbroech accepted the challenge, and accepted the interpretation to be put on the maxim.

The next thing was to select a competent tribunal to decide the case. Various names were mentioned on one side and the other, and a good deal of discussion arose in the newspapers and reviews as to the fitness of the persons proposed. There is a regular literature on the subject—articles, pamphlets, and even books. Father Dasbach appealed to several Protestant professors in the universities to act as judges, but they refused. The Catholics suggested on the other hand were rejected by Hoensbroech.

The impossibility of coming to an agreement was soon apparent. When Count Hoensbroech had produced his pamphlet, and what he regarded as his proofs, he claimed the money. Father Dasbach denied the validity of the proofs and refused to pay. It was then agreed that Count Hoensbroech should take action in the Civil Courts to obtain the 2,000 florins, and that Father Dasbach should defend the action and abide by the consequences. It was a case of Hoensbroech Plaintiff, and Dasbach Defendant.—Hoensbroech *versus* Dasbach.

The case was tried in the Civil Court of Treves amidst great excitement and expectations on one side and the other; but the Court decided, on the 7th of June, 1904, that the matter brought before it was not a prize-problem but rather a wager, and that, as the German Courts took no cognizance of wagers, the action should be dismissed with costs.

This decision was naturally unsatisfactory to both parties, and Hoensbroech appealed against it to the Provincial Court at Cologne. On the 30th of March, of the present year, the High Court at Cologne, after having gone

fully and carefully into the case, gave its solemn decision. It was to the effect that the action was not a case of wager, that neither of the parties had entered into the contest in the form of a bet, that the Court was obliged to go into the merits of the case, to consider, investigate, and weigh the proofs brought forward by Hoensbroech, and that they found that Hoensbroech had not proved his case, and they dismissed the action with costs.

The text of the judgment is too long to be quoted here, but I cannot refrain from quoting the principal passage in it :—

The *thema probandum* is fixed with precision. He who claims the prize publicly promised by the defendant must have shown that, in some passage of the Jesuit writings, the principle is explicitly and formally expressed, 'any action morally bad in itself becomes lawful when performed for a good end.'

The plaintiff affirms that he has given the necessary proof in his pamphlet, *The End Justifies the Means*, and in the oral discussion he has expressly asserted that in the passages extracted from the Jesuit authors, and quoted by him, the maxim is formally expressed according to the sense here in dispute. It is a fact, however, that in this he contradicts another declaration of his made on the 20th of April, 1903 (page 97 of his pamphlet), in which he says: 'In the passages quoted from the writings of the Jesuits, naturally there is no question, and can be no question, of all and every act that is evil in itself, but, as I shall show, of certain specific actions of their nature evil, that are said to become morally lawful when performed for a good purpose.' Now, as stress is laid on this declaration it is necessary to examine, in this sense, the extracts from Jesuit writings submitted to us by the plaintiff.

With regard to the text and the translation, the parties agree in so far that the plaintiff accepts the text and translation given by the defendant in his pamphlet, *Dasbach against Hoensbroech* (Treves, 1905) and of the passages appositely quoted from Sa, Tolet, and Mariana, in whatever points they differ from the translation of the plaintiff himself. There is no necessity, therefore, to insist on the proofs demanded by the plaintiff as to the accuracy of the text.

The Court, then, has to examine whether in the extracts from the writings of the Jesuits the maxim in dispute is to be found in the sense above indicated, that is to say, expressly and formally, and not virtually; or if it is contained in these extracts formally or virtually in any general sense; and as examination of the material submitted, to be made within

the defined limits, does not require the knowledge of any special science or of distant events, the intervention of learned specialists was not necessary, and the tribunal finds itself, according to the state of the case, in a position to formulate its judgment. Now, in the material submitted to us by the plaintiff there is not a single passage in which the maxim is expressed, 'Any action bad in itself becomes lawful when performed for a good end.' All the passages quoted by the plaintiff treat exclusively of single and specific actions, and the question is examined and decided by the Jesuits as to whether these actions, in certain well defined conditions, are lawful.¹

The Court, then, takes up one by one the passages that are quoted from the Jesuit authors—Vasquez, Sanchez, Becano, Laymann, Castropalao, Escobar, Tamburini, Voit, Sa, Toletto, Mariana, Gury, Palmieri, and Delrio.

These authors, like many other writers on moral questions, both Catholic and Protestant, inquire whether it may not be lawful to advise a man determined to commit a grave crime to be satisfied with some minor offence against the moral law. It is not a question of the moral value of the act, but of the lawfulness of advising it. If, for instance, a friend has decided to murder his enemy, is it lawful to exhort him to be satisfied with giving him a horse-whipping instead? There is a case in point in Genesis (xxxvii. 20-24). Joseph's brethren are determined to kill him. Ruben advises them not to kill him but to throw him into a pit. Was it lawful for Ruben to advise that Joseph should be thrown into a pit in order to save his life? Or, again, if a father suspects his son of robbing him, may he leave money in his way to tempt him and keep him at the same time under observation? Hoensbroech had twisted the answers given to questions of this kind into a general law of morality, and proclaimed that he had proved that the Jesuits, virtually at least, taught that it was lawful to do evil that good might come and that the end justified the means. This, however, did not satisfy the Court of Cologne, for the judgment concludes:—

The plaintiff has consequently not supplied the proofs

¹ See *Koelnische Volkszeitung*, March 30, 1905; also, April 1-10.

demanding by the defendant in his public challenge. His claim for the prize is therefore unfounded, and the appeal against the sentence of the Court below, which rejected the hearing, on a point of law, is now rejected on the grounds of fact.

It must be said to the credit of the more respectable Protestant newspapers in Germany, and of some of the most learned Protestant university professors and public men in the Empire, that they heartily congratulated Father Dasbach on the result of the trial. They are sick of such methods of controversy as that employed by Hoensbroech, with the Protestant Associations of Germany (the *Deutsche Protestantenverein* and the *Evangelische Bund*) at his back. They described the charge as ignorant and silly. Dr. Ohr, of the University of Tübingen, wrote in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (9th April, 1905) ¹:—

I believe that all honest men must come to the same conclusion as the tribunal of Cologne and Father Dasbach, when the maxim is taken in its general sense. When taken in the restricted sense there is nothing in it peculiar to the Jesuits. It is a principle universally recognized in ethics by the moralists of every creed. . . . Hoensbroech quotes a passage from Palmieri where he says that 'it is lawful to wish for the death of a heretic for the general good and the salvation of many.' If in these words we discover the maxim, 'The end justifies the means,' it is surely as clearly contained in the words of St. Paul (Galatians v. 12), 'I would they were even cut off who trouble you.' Many of the German reformers, Luther included, did not confine themselves to the wish.

Dr. K. Jentsch, a well-known free-thinker, wrote ² that Hoensbroech 'had only made himself ridiculous.'

Many persons, even at the present day, are influenced in their judgment on this very subject by the *Provincial Letters* of Pascal; but it must be remembered, in the first place, that Pascal makes no such gross and sweeping charges against the teaching of the Jesuits as Hoensbroech and his English imitators; and, in the second place, that he acted, when writing these letters, under the influence of the Jansenists, with whom he was at that time very

¹ See *Koelnische Volkszeitung*, April 10, 1905.

² In *Die Zeit* of Vienna, January 4, 1905.

closely associated. The Church has long since decided between the Jansensists and their opponents; but whilst many still read a work that has come down to them under the ægis of an illustrious name, but few take the trouble to read the replies of those who were attacked.¹ A similar observation might be made in the case of the Italian philosophers Gioberti and Rosmini,² who wrote under the stress of political feeling.

Nobody will or can contend that individual Jesuit theologians at one period or another did not hold views that were rejected not only by the common voice of theologians outside their own Order, but by the most distinguished Jesuit theologians themselves. Nor will anybody say that in the long and glorious history of the Jesuit Order there have not been members of it, at rare and distant intervals it must be said, who proved unworthy of their name and state, Hoensbroech amongst the number. I might even go so far as to say that it would be against nature itself if Jesuits were not sometimes influenced in their estimate of men, of books, of movements, of opinions, and of institutions, by what they conceive to be the interests of the Order to which they have consecrated their lives. Why should they not? Cannot the same be said of every order and of every class in Church and State? Why should those who look upon the interests of their Order as convertible with the interests of religion be alone required to go against the universal law? But from these facts there is a long cry to the tirades of John Oldham in the seventeenth century and of Paul Hoensbroech and Seton Merriman in the twentieth.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

¹ See *An Answer to the Provincial Letters* by some Fathers of the Society in France.

² In the *Gesnita Moderna* and the *Cinque Piaghe*.

THE STUDY OF IRISH HISTORY

I.

‘**I**N Ireland we can make no appeal to patriotism ; we can have no patriotic sentiments in our school books, no patriotic emblems in our schools, because in Ireland everything patriotic is rebellious.’ So said a ‘desponding’ English statesman to Mr. Goldwin Smith some forty years ago. It was an extraordinary commentary upon English rule in our country. In 1831, a system of Government schools was established in Ireland. In these schools, the national history was not taught ; but the schools were called ‘National’ Schools,—a pretty conceit. Why was not Irish history taught ? Mr. Goldwin Smith’s friend has answered the question. The teaching of Irish history is a ‘patriotic’ duty ; but in Ireland, ‘everything patriotic is rebellious.’ Therefore, Irish history in the Irish National Schools was banned. The children, however, were allowed to console themselves by singing a hymn which has, at all events, become historic :—

I thank the goodness and the grace,
That on my birth have smiled,
And made me in these Christian days,
A happy English child.

Things have no doubt improved since. Dr. Joyce’s admirable *Child’s History* is now tolerated as a class book. But is Irish history, even at this hour, taught *bona fide*—taught thoroughly—taught courageously, in the ‘National’ Schools ? I visited one of these schools several years ago. I said to the teacher—a very intelligent man—‘Well, you can teach Irish history now ?’ ‘Oh, no,’ he replied, ‘we cannot.’ ‘Why,’ I said, ‘you have Dr. Joyce’s book ; don’t you teach history out of it ?’ ‘No,’ he again replied ; ‘we can only use it as a reading book.’ I could not help exclaiming, ‘Wonderful are the ways of English Government in Ireland.’ The incapacity of our English rulers to do anything in the right way is extra-

ordinary. An Irish history book is at last admitted into the Irish National Schools ; but Irish history is not allowed to be taught out of it. I said to the teacher, ' Your school is situated in a district which bristles with historical associations. The way assuredly to teach history is to tell children the stories associated with places well known in the districts where they live. The Yellow Ford, Benburb, Tara, the Boyne Valley (rich in historic store), Limerick—these places should be more than mere names to the children of Ireland. The story of every district in which every National School is situated, should be made familiar to every child in that school ; that is the way to teach Irish history.' The teacher's eyes sparkled with intelligence, and I think with national pride ; but he smiled, and said nothing.

I remember, when I was a boy, being present in the court-house in my native town, when a number of youths were brought before the magistrates, charged with sedition, or treason, or something of that kind. They had been ' marching,' the constable said, ' keeping step, obeying the word of command,' and so forth. The youths were defended by a well-known Clare lawyer, Michael Kenny, of Freagh, and I sat by his side during the trial. He cross-examined the constable :—' Had these youths any munitions of war ? ' ' No.' ' Any artillery ? ' ' No.' ' Pikes ? ' ' No.' ' Come, there was a blunderbuss among them, at all events ? ' ' No.' ' Not a single weapon of any kind ? ' ' No.' ' And they marched to Cappa and back in military order ? ' ' They did.' ' And that's all they did ? ' ' And obeyed words of command.' ' What were the words of command ? ' No answer. ' Were they told to wheel about, and turn about, and jump Jim Crow ? ' ' No.' ' But they were told to " Quick March," and " Left Wheel," and " Halt ? " ' ' Yes.' ' Now, is that all ? ' ' Yes, they were cheering.' ' Ah, now we have got something. What were they cheering about ? ' No answer. ' Come, constable, out with it ? ' No answer. ' Come, sir, what were these lads cheering for ? Tell the Bench.' There was a long pause, and then, amid roars of laughter from the body of

the court, the constable let the murder out. 'They were cheering for Brian Boru,' said he.

To cheer for Brian Boru was 'patriotic,' and therefore rebellious.

Anent the 'National' Schools, I wish to add, that on a recent visit to the school above referred to, the teacher told me that he could now teach Irish history, and that he did teach it. One of the boys was examined, and his answering was good. The teacher said, 'Everything now depends upon the manager. If the manager insists on having Irish history taught, it will be taught.' 'That is true,' said the manager, who was present. The manager and teacher of this school are both patriotic, and they do their duty. I must not say where the school is situated, lest I bring upon these gentlemen the censures of a Government which regards patriotism in Ireland as rebellion.

Next to devotion to God, the first duty of a man is devotion to his country. The sentiment of religion and the sentiment of nationality are the strongest forces that have moved mankind throughout all the ages. The teachers of religion have ever carefully preserved in every land, the Book which breatheth the spirit of Faith and hope. The National Teachers, too, have carefully preserved the Book which breatheth the spirit of national belief; and the history of a country is its Bible.

Every people should be animated by national pride. But national pride should rest on a moral basis. It may indeed be difficult to build a big empire on the Ten Commandments. But small nations, at all events, may live, and even flourish, though they do abide by the eternal principles of honour and honesty and justice. 'Commerce united with, and made to flourish by, war;' thus was the principle of England's Imperial policy defined by Chatham. Chatham was frank. The modern English statesman is more circumspect. He would put the matter in another way. He would say, 'Commerce united with, and made to flourish by—the open door.' The conquests of big empires are conquests by the sword. The conquests of small nations should be conquests by ideas. The states-

man who believes in the supreme virtue of the 'commercial asset,' laughs at ideas. But a little group of men, whose only weapons were ideas, shook the mighty Roman Empire to its base. The fame of Ireland does not rest on military glory (though she has had more than her fair share of that), nor on commerce 'united with, and made to flourish by, war.' It rests on the work of scholars and saints who carried the lamp of learning and Christian truth throughout Europe in days of darkness; and upon the self-sacrifice and devotion to high ideals of a people who accepted poverty, and defied persecution for the faith that was in them.

I once sat at dinner by the side of an American gentleman. The Boer war was just over. He rejoiced that the Boers had been beaten. I did not. 'The world, sir,' he said, 'you know, must progress.' 'What is progress?' I asked. 'Oh, we all know that,' he said. 'That's just exactly what we all don't know,' I replied; 'what we all don't agree about. My ideas of progress are not bounded by Wall Street or the London Stock Exchange.' 'The Boers, sir,' he simply said, 'are not a progressive people.' 'Do you believe,' I asked, 'that your ideas of progress, right or wrong, should be enforced by fire and sword?' 'The world must progress,' was the only answer that I could get from him. 'I am an Irishman and a Catholic,' I said. 'You, no doubt, think that I belong to an unprogressive people. Would England be justified in rooting us out, because we declined to accept her ideals of progress in religion and statecraft?' 'The world must progress,' was his sole answer.

A sound historical morality [says Mr. Goldwin Smith] will sanction strong measures in evil times; selfish ambition, treachery, murder, perjury, it will never sanction in the worst of times, for these are the things that make times evil. Justice has been justice, mercy has been mercy, honour has been honour, good faith has been good faith, truthfulness has been truthfulness, from the beginning.

It is unnecessary to add that this American gentleman was not troubled with a sound historical morality.

‘History,’ says Lord Acton, ‘is a most powerful ingredient in the formation of character and the training of talent ; and our historical judgments have as much to do with hopes of heaven as public or private conduct.’ Those who are prepared to march through rapine to territorial aggrandisement and to call it progress, have not much to do with heaven. Their interests are in the other place. Every man should be trained to help in building up his own nation. How nations are made and unmade, how empires rise and fall, can only be learned from the page of history. The difference between the politician who knows history and the politician who does not, is the same as the difference between the quack who deals only in the empirical and the physician who goes to the root of things. ‘To be ignorant of history,’ says the Roman orator, ‘is to be always a child.’

History [says Lord Acton] compels us to fasten on abiding issues, and rescues us from the temporary and transient. . . . Ours is a domain that reaches farther than affairs of state, and is not subject to the jurisdiction of governments. It is our function to keep in view and to command the movement of ideas, which are not the effect but the cause of public events.

Ireland has been the victim of a statesmanship which has dealt with effects, without the knowledge of causes. ‘The British statesman in Ireland has always,’ says Gibbon, ‘substituted the cunning of temporary expedients to the wise and salutary counsels of general policy.’

It behoves the Irish boy, in a special way, to know the story of his country. ‘Her enemies,’ as John Mitchel once said, ‘have the ear of the world ; and they use their power to defame the people whom they have plundered and oppressed.’ The English Press teems with inaccuracies about Ireland and the Irish. These inaccuracies can only be effectually disposed of by the historical student. Some time ago an eminent English writer said that the Yellow Ford was the only battle in which the Irish had beaten the English ; and it was only the other day a London print published a scurrilous attack on the Irish Brigade.

The English boy is always told that his nation is

invincible. Even the Englishman is amazed if you tell him that England has ever been beaten in any part of the world. A Scotch lady once told me that she had been in an English school, when the teacher asked the boys how many Frenchmen could an Englishmen beat. (This was before the *Entente Cordiale*.) 'Three,' 'six,' 'a dozen,' 'twenty!' were the replies that rang merrily through the class. Every English boy believes that in Marlborough's great battles the French were driven before the English like chaff before the wind. They know nothing of the intensity of the struggles, and make small account of the presence of England's allies. Blenheim is a great English victory, pure and simple. Even the average well-educated Englishman knows not how near it was to being a great English defeat; and a great English defeat inflicted by Irishmen. Yet Creasy has told the story:—

The Prince of Holstein-Beck had, with eleven Hanoverian battalions, passed the Nebel opposite to Oberglau, when he was charged and utterly routed by the Irish Brigade which held that village. The Irish drove the Hanoverians back with heavy slaughter, broke completely through the line of the Allies, and nearly achieved a success as brilliant as that which the same Brigade afterwards gained at Fontenoy.

The Irish Brigade held the village of Oberglau throughout the day, repelling the attacks of English and Dutch, falling back only under orders, when the battle had been lost in another part of the field. They retreated in good order, and with unbroken ranks, losing neither a colour nor a prisoner. Again, at Ramilies, the Irish held the village against all assaults, until the battle was again lost in another part of the field. Then once more they retreated in good order, cutting their way through the enemy, and capturing two colours. The English boy is never told that Oudenarde was almost a drawn battle, and that the French general, with a select rear-guard containing the Irish Brigade, prevented the defeat from being turned into a rout; and next day repulsed the Allies who had renewed the battle in the hope of driving the French from the position on which they had fallen back.

Malplaquet (of whose details the English boy is kept in a state of original innocence) was one of the bloodiest battles on record, and can only be called an English 'victory' in a very Pyrrhic sense indeed. The Irish Brigade, in the French centre, were in the thick of the fight all day. In the afternoon the French general fell back in good order, saving all his guns and retaining twenty-four colours and eight standards captured from the Allies. The French lost 10,000 killed and wounded; the Allies nearly double that number. Of Cremona and Fontenoy I say nothing. In defeat as well as in victory, the Brigade gave a good account of themselves and of their foes.

'History,' says Mr. Lecky, 'is not a mere succession of events connected by chronology. It is a chain of cause and effects.' It is this characteristic—'a chain of cause and effects'—that gives history its practical value; that makes it, what Lord Acton calls, 'a moral code.'

'But what does it matter?' said an Englishman to me, speaking of Fontenoy. As an isolated event, it matters little, except that the crowning charge was delivered by the Irish Brigade, who drove the English back the way they came. But, Fontenoy as an event at one end of the chain, and Limerick as an event at the other, matters a good deal. The story of the hundred years during which Irish exiles fought all over Europe, covering themselves and their country, with honour and glory, is at once a moral lesson and an epic. If mere material progress, if wealth—'the meanest of all titles to preference,' said Mr. Gladstone—if power—so often the very incarnation of hell—be the true standard of success, then the empire of the commercial asset may plume itself upon its renown. But if obedience to the dictates of conscience, if fidelity to faith and fatherland, if the preservation, amid suffering and persecution, of belief in the abiding principle that a man should hold fast to his own conception of truth and duty be the standard of success, then the Irishman can rise with pride from the perusal of this story, when his English master stands covered with infamy and shame. The Christian who was thrown to the lions, was not a material success.

But the lions have passed away, and the principles for which the Christian died remain. The principles for which the Irish during these hundred years lost all worldly goods, courted exile, and braved persecution and death, were, as Mr. Goldwin Smith has said, 'from the beginning,' and will survive the fall of many empires, which rest only on the crumbling foundation of commercial gain.

The history of Ireland is the history of a spiritual people. Sometimes driven to desperate acts by wrong and oppression, but ever turning to the light. It may be more truly said of Ireland, than perhaps of any other civilized land, 'that she is the only country where man has not lost the sense of the invisible, where he truly and really feels himself in touch with the denizens of the unseen world.' No one has ever written, or could ever write of the Irish peasant, as Joseph Kay honestly and courageously writes of the children and men in the commercial towns of England :—

Let any one spend a day or two of observation in the back streets of London, or of any of our great towns, and he may perceive that the life of crowds of poor children is passed altogether in the streets entirely free from all surveillance. The companions they find in their earliest years are of the most degraded character, their pastimes, even from the age of seven, are, many of them, of the foulest and lewdest description, filthy and disgusting practices, and promiscuous intercourse are common to nearly all of them ; they are never accustomed to cleanliness, they are seldom washed, they are from childhood habituated to dirt, bestiality, and vice ; and with such a training as this, the young children in our towns grow up to manhood, with abominable habits, with no religious knowledge, with a long engendered craving for the stimulants of vice, and with the coarseness of barbarians.

No one has drawn the line which marks the difference between English and Irish crime so distinctly as Mr. Trench, the well-known agent to Lord Lansdowne. He says :—

For the last twenty years there have been numerous occasions on which I have been the object of some deadly conspiracy, and yet I deny that the Irish are a sanguinary people. There are ten times as many murders committed in England as there are in Ireland. I never take up an English paper in which I do not find murder after murder heading a column. . . . The

English ruffian murders for money. He sees a man get change at a public-house, follows him, and beats his brains out for 2s. 3d. The Irishman murders patriotically. He murders to assert and enforce a principle—that the land which the peasant has reclaimed from the bog, the cabin which he has built, and the trees which he has planted, are his own, subject to the landlord's right by law to exact a rent for the result of another man's labours. In general he pays the rent, generally he exerts himself to pay it, even when the payment is difficult to him; but he resolves not to be dispossessed. He joins a Ribbon lodge, and opposes to the combination of the rich the combination of the poor. . . . I am almost ashamed to say how much I have sympathized with them.

Well, indeed, has it been said of the Irish that their virtues are their own, while their faults may be traced to their history. How the Ireland of to-day has been made can only be learned by the study of that history. In another article I hope to give a list of books bearing on the subject.

R. BARRY O'BRIEN.

[*To be continued.*]

DANTE : TWO SIMILES

I.

(PURGATORIO, xxx. 22-33)

FIRST SIGHT OF BEATRICE IN THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE

BEATRICE appears to Dante, seated in a triumphal car, and surrounded by angels, who throw up flowers in the air, which fall down continuously in a cloud of brilliant colours. The poet compares this vision to the appearance of the sun at rising, surrounded by glowing clouds.

Io vidi già, nel cominciar del giorno,
 La parte oriental tutta rosata,
 E l'altro ciel di bel sereno adorno ;
 E la faccia del sol nascere ombrata,
 Sì che per temperanza di vapori,
 L'occhio la sostenea lunga fiata :
 Così dentro una nuvola di fiori,
 Che dalle mani angeliche saliva
 E ricadeva in giù dentro e di fuori,
 Sopra candido nel cinta d'oliva
 Donna m'apparve, sotto verde manto,
 Vestita di color di fiamma viva.

I have seen ere now, about the break of day,
 The eastern sky with rosy tints aglow,
 And all the heaven beside a clear serene ;
 And the Sun's face at rising shaded so,
 By tempering influence of vapours thin,
 That long the eye its radiance could endure :
 E'en so, within a glowing cloud of flowers,
 Which mounted up from hands angelical,
 And fell down inside and around the car,
 I saw a lady crowned with olive leaves,
 Above a snow white veil, with mantle green,
 And robed beneath in hues of living flame.

II.

(PURGATORIO, xxx. 85-99)

EFFECT OF SYMPATHY ON THE HUMAN HEART

On his entry into the Earthly Paradise, Dante is chilled by the stern rebuke of Beatrice, and though grievously afflicted he cannot weep. But no sooner does he hear the sympathatic notes of the Angelic Choir than his heart is melted within him, as the glacier ice is melted by the gentle south wind, and his feelings find relief in tears and sobs.

Si come neve tra le vive travi

Per lo dosso d'Italia si congela,

Soffiata e stretta dalli venti Schiavi,

Poi liquefatta in sè stessa trapela,

Pur che la terra, che perdi ombra, spiri,

Sì che par fuoco fonder la candela :

Così fui senza lagrime e sospiri

Anzi il cantar di quei, che notan sempre

Dietro alle note degli eterni giri.

Ma poi che intesi nelle dolci tempre

Lor compatire a me, più che se detto

Avesser : " Donna, perchè sì lo stempre ? "

Lo gel che m'era intorno al cor ristretto,

Spirito ed acqua fèssi, e con agoscia

Per la bocca e per gli occhi uscì del petto.

As snow amid the living poles that grow

Along the back of Italy congeals,

When blown upon and pressed by Eastern winds,

Then trickles liquefied within itself,

Soon as the land that knows no shadow breathes,

Like as a candle melts before the flame :

E'en so, devoid of tears and sighs was I,

Before the chant of those who tune their song

Unto the notes of the eternal spheres ;

But when I heard in their sweet strains a chord

Of sympathy more plain than if they said :

" O lady, why dost thou upbraid him so ? "

The ice that had congealed around my heart,

Was changed to breath and tears, and from my breast

Gushed forth in anguish through my lips and eyes.

GERALD MOLLOY.

IRISH CATHOLICS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE latest volume of State Papers relating to Ireland issued by the Rolls Commission contains a considerable number of documents casting much light on the condition of Ireland during the years immediately preceding and following the Cromwellian conquest. It is to be regretted that the title of the collection now published is somewhat misleading.¹ As a matter of fact the bulk of the papers of most interest to Catholics, as bearing on the state of religion in this country during the reign of Charles I, bear dates much earlier than 1647. On the other hand, those which occupy the greater portion of the volume are mostly connected with the arrangements regarding the distribution of the soil of Ireland amongst the soldiers of the Lord Protector, and those English adventurers who had advanced money to enable the prosecution of the war he waged so mercilessly. Mr. Mahaffy, who has discharged his task as editor with admirable impartiality, explains the circumstance referred to, but it is nevertheless amazing to find papers relating to the earlier years of the reign of Charles in a collection supposed to cover only the period between 1647 and 1660. I do not, however, call attention to the fact stated in any spirit of fault-finding, but merely in order to make clear why it is that many of the letters and reports I am about to quote belong to years previous to those named in the title of the Calendar.

One of the papers now published, which Mr. Mahaffy believes to have been written about the end of 1628, is styled, 'Memorandum on the Benefits which will arise to His Majesty by a Plantation to be made in the Counties

¹ *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, 1647-1660.* Edited by Robert Pentland Mahaffy, B.L. Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office.

of Roscommon, Sligo, and Mayo.' Chief amongst the 'benefits,' aforesaid, was that the suggested Plantation would 'bring in Protestantism.' The King was told, that 'at present there are not six gentlemen of any sort and quality in the Counties of Sligo and Mayo who do profess the Protestant religion.' Furthermore, there was urgent need for the establishment of 'an able Protestant ministry to the Church,' because the country 'is almost entirely Roman Catholic.' The churches had, however, been demolished, and one of the reasons why the enrollment of the 'able' ministers was recommended was that they might rebuild them. Things, however, were going from bad to worse, and in 1629, a note was sent to England describing the growth of Catholicity despite all the efforts of the persecutors and proselytizers. As epitomized by Mr. Mahaffy this report was to the following effect :—

The number of titular Popish prelates, priests, and Jesuits increase daily by their resorting thither from beyond the seas, 'picking the purses of his Majesty's subjects by indulgences, absolutions, and pardons from Rome.' These men force the people to pay tithe, etc., to them as regularly as they pay it to the ministers of the established Church.

As a remedy for the alarming condition of things described, it was suggested that a proclamation, issued in January, 1624, ordering the banishment of all Jesuits and other priests should be enforced. In August, 1629, it was reported to the King by a writer, whose identity is veiled under the designation, 'A Scottish Man,' that :—

It may please your Majesty to be further informed that the Papists in Ireland have taken to themselves so much boldness under colour and pretence of your Majesty's articles sent over by their agents into that kingdom, that they have newly erected sundry idolatrous houses within the City of Dublin, and accommodated them with postern doors through the walls of the said city; so that at all times they may convey into and out of the said city what number of persons they shall think fit.

It was somewhat plaintively added that 'this is very dangerous.' If the statement was true, it seems somewhat strange that the authorities at the Castle allowed

such liberties to be taken with the defences of the capital. These various representations appear, however, to have influenced the vacillating King, because towards the close of 1629, instructions were transmitted to the Lords Justices to secure that divine service should be held 'twice every day, without fail, as in the churches of England;' to see that every church was supplied with a Bible and Book of Common Prayer, and above all, to 'be careful to suppress the Pope's jurisdiction in Ireland.' The Lords Justices were also enjoined to take steps to secure that 'all Popish conventicles and visitations be banished,' as well as to 'see that our subjects be eased of any charge paid to any titular Archbishop, Bishop, Abbot, Prior, Vicar-General, Jesuits, Friars, or any of that Popish rabble whatsoever.' These orders were sufficiently rigorous in tenour, but they were insufficiently executed. This is attested by the fact that, in the autumn of 1630, it had to be again reported to the King that :—

Ireland, though quiet, is under the disturbing influence of priests, Irish commanders serving abroad, and discontented natives. The Romish priests are much multiplied of late years in number, power, and countenance. They call synods, keep secret councils, receive and secret foreign intelligences, exercise their functions freely and with great confidence, and have the consciences and estates of the people at their direction.

This was a highly alarming condition of things in the judgment of the chiefs of the Protestant interest, but it is worthy of note that the Catholics of Ireland appear to have always cherished belief in the good intentions of the King in their regard. They, not improbably, reposed much confidence in the influence of his Catholic Queen-Consort, which we may assume was exercised on behalf of her persecuted co-religionists.

However this may have been, we find in the Calendar an abstract of 'an information' supplied to Charles in 1650, regarding the state of his Irish Catholic subjects which reads thus :—

Notwithstanding the King's order countermanding the proclamation for banishing the priests, Jesuits, and other clergy

from Ireland, for which the Catholics in Ireland were thankful, yet they are still persecuted in the following ways :—

1. The judges of assize this last circuit had instructions to present all Catholics for not going to Church.

2. Jurors were bound over to the Council table or Star Chamber, and some fined up to £20 for not presenting recusants in this way.

3. The Oath of Supremacy was applied to all the Catholic magistrates, and such as refused to take it were deposed throughout the kingdom.

4. There was direction to suppress Catholic schoolmasters, and Protestants to be appointed to breed the children of Catholics in the Protestant religion.

5. The Catholic wards are constrained to be educated Protestants.

6. Process is awarded upon excommunication against Catholics, many of which are now pronounced.

It is humbly desired that the King will stop all these things.

The fact was, of course, that the growth of discontent and embarrassment in England made Charles desirous of conciliating the Catholics of Ireland, while the Protestant minority in the latter country, who were in possession of every office of power or profit, were equally desirous that he should not accomplish his purpose. This is very clearly shown in a letter addressed by Sir Vincent Gockins to Lord Deputy Wentworth about the middle of 1633. The writer of the missive in question began by expressing the great pleasure with which he learned of the arrival of the Lord Deputy, because from thirty years' experience of Ireland he could say that there was no country where such difference existed 'both in religion and manners, as between us new English (*i.e.*, Protestants) and old English (*i.e.*, the pre-Reformation settlers), and inasmuch as they hate and scorn the name of English, but will be Irish, and never so much so as at this time.' Sir Vincent warned Wentworth to place no trust in the protestations of loyalty of the Catholics, inasmuch as they were only uttered in order 'to obtain time to see how the Austrian Wars proceed, and to obtain, if possible, a Parliament, whereby they aim not so at good laws to be made as to get good laws repealed.' Furthermore, it was urged as matter for alarm and complaint that the Catholics had grown so audacious that they

actually dared to ask for liberty of conscience and place in the government. If they secured such concessions they would 'attack the kingdom.' Then came the usual libels. Catholics could not be trusted as jurors, while as witnesses they were corrupt. 'They make not so much conscience of an oath upon the Bible as by their gossip's hand.' Moreover, no Catholic could possibly be loyal because 'he conceives the King and us all that profess the evangelical truth heretics.'

It was not, however, merely of the Catholics that Sir Vincent Gockin's had ill things to say. The Protestant prelates and ministers were even more base knaves than the aspiring Papists. The Lord Deputy was assured by this man, who asserted that he knew the facts, that 'the Bishops grow rich by sealing of sin, and their children are the pillars of pride. They let their churches fall down under their noses, and do nothing that is pious.' The situation, according to the evangelical knight, was well nigh intolerable. 'Among our clergy, if there arise any controversy between the laity and them to titles (for lands), then they plead their right from God. But how such wretches as now enjoy them derive their title from God is the question.' Yet Catholics were to be persecuted because they declined to worship in the churches served by men of this type! Sir Vincent seems to have thought that his condemnation of the Protestant ecclesiastics might have, in some degree, weakened the force of his aspersions against the Catholics. Therefore, towards the close of his long letter, he renewed his denunciation of the latter :—

I will now say something of the Irish and the old English. I wish I could say some good of them, but I speak from long experience of Irish.

They are crafty and subtle, but very shallow.

They are mutinous but cowardly.

They are very proud, but exceeding base.

They are full of words, but to little purpose.

They will promise much, but perform nothing.

They will speak fairest when they intend worse.

They will quarrel often, but fight seldom but upon great advantage.

They are bloody as a wolf when they can overcome.

They live in their houses more beastly than barbarians or Indians.

They have such an inveterate hatred to neatness that they are afraid to touch handsomeness.

Their religion is to believe as their Church believeth, but what that is they neither know nor desire to know, but give it for granted that those that are not of the same are deceived.

Their delights are in nothing but idleness.

It will be observed that while the defects which Sir Vincent ascribed to the masses of the Catholic people of the country were precisely those most likely to be engendered in a race exposed for centuries to the ravages of conquest, confiscation, and tyranny, he does not venture to make any charge against their moral as distinguished from their military or social characteristics. Their English masters had taught them over well the need for subtlety, and of fighting to the best advantage. The faults of the slave are the products of the vices of his ruler.

In July, 1634, the Protestant Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland assembled in convocation in Dublin, and Mr. Mahaffy prints a draft of the resolutions which were adopted by them. This was probably submitted for the approval of the Lord Deputy or may have been composed in the Castle. The prelates had come to the capital in obedience to the summons of Wentworth. Amongst the suggested resolutions was one that, 'We will for ourselves and our suffragans, so far as in us lie, promise to observe a uniform order for the suppression of Papistry and plantation of religion.' Another was:—

We will inquire as to who the people are in our dioceses who receive, relieve, house, or harbour trafficking Jesuits and seminary priests. We will present the names of the priests and the harbourers, adding our advice and endeavours in the matter of their apprehension.

The resolutions, as a whole, indicate that Wentworth had been impressed by Gockin's indictment of the 'wretches,' because they contained declarations of determination to rebuild the parish churches and to 'get the best men

obtainable to serve in every church.' Their lordships also avowed that:—

We will have a special care for the erection of free schools in our separate dioceses, according to the statute in that behalf. We will not allow any Popish schoolmen to teach scholars privately or publicly within our dioceses, and if any offend in this point we will discover the offenders to the Lord Deputy.

Finally came an almost humorous pledge to do their best to 'reclaim recusants from their superstition and idolatry, and teach and instruct them in the principles of true religion, if they will come to hear us.' The proviso was a highly necessary one. At the same meeting the Bishops adopted a petition to the King, in which they declared that their ecclesiastics were impoverished 'beyond the clergy of any Christian state by intrusions, commendams, etc.' As a result the residence of ministers within their benefices was impossible, and 'consequently there is no one to teach piety and loyalty to the subject.' Meantime, if we may judge from the repeated declarations of their enemies, the Catholic clergy were being generously supported by the people. Informations to this effect was, of course, always couched in offensive terms, but if it had no substantial foundation it would scarcely have been offered.

For example, the Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin reported to the Lords Justices in 1641, that there were 'titulary Bishops, or at least, vicars-general,' in both the dioceses. He urged that the ecclesiastics referred to 'exercise jurisdiction by foreign power and should be impeached.' Worse still, the 'increase and insolvency of priests, friars, and Jesuits is great.' Horrible to relate, 'they gather infinite sums of money, by Masses, dirges, oblation, indulgences, etc., and by legacies'! The Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh had even more deplorable news to communicate. He asserted that the priests and friars 'use more policies than can briefly be expressed,' for the purpose of checking the progress of Protestantism, not scrupling to take away the ancient glebes into which the ministers of the new religion had been intruded. Again, they upheld

Catholicism 'by infusing of diabolical and sinister concepts of our persons and doctrine, even from the cradle, by the freedom of the Popish schools, which the Bishops cannot suppress, their jurisdiction being contemned, and writs *de excom. capiend.* either not issued or never executed by the sheriff, who is for the most part a Papist.' Connaught was standing fast by the old faith. There was 'in every parish a Popish priest, and in most places a public Mass-house and altar, whither the people publicly resort every Sabbath-day and holy-day.' Those who 'spoke well' of the Protestant evangelists were liable to be, and constantly were, 'unmercifully whipped,' which must have been, to say the least, somewhat of a discomfort if the statement was well-founded.

The Bishop of Clonfert, went on further to complain, that there were sundry religious houses for men still maintained within the territories over which he claimed jurisdiction. There was, for instance, the Abbey of Kilconnel, the Abbey of Milick, the friars of which were 'repairing' it, having lived in the wood called Muckeny these 'many years,' the Abbey of Kinuliphin, held by Franciscans, and the Abbey of Portumna which belonged to the Dominicans, who had a smaller house at Killbrought. The insolence of the friars was past bearing. To 'affront the clergy (Protestant) the more,' they did not scruple to 'come abroad in their habits publicly to beg corn, sheep, etc.' The Bishop also stated that there were no nunneries in his diocese 'we know of.' The phrase indicates that he was by no means certain on the point, and he admitted that 'yet diverse women go under the name of nuns and religious women,' dwelling near 'unto the said friars, or in some farms abroad in the country, who keep houses to entertain the priests and friars in their travail or when they go abroad to beg.' Altogether, his lordship of Clonfert had a highly unsatisfactory state of things to deal with.

Nothing is more noticeable in this and the other reports than the fact that their compilers appear to have fully realised their absolute powerlessness to weaken the stubborn fidelity of the people to their ancestral faith. Extermination

and plantation were the only remedies which were ever suggested. If the Papists could be made away with and Protestants brought in all might still be well. The state of Clare was fully as bad as that of Galway. The Bishop of Kilfenora bemoaned the fact that ;—

We have in our diocese one titular Bishop which can and doth command more than myself, and to this purpose has more priests fixed parochially by the gentry than my poor diocese can bear by many degrees of our own ministers.

Amongst the many curious and instructive documents calendared by Mr. Mahaffy is a Petition from one ‘ Henry Bell, Preacher,’ to the King, which corroborates, in some respects, Gockin’s allegations regarding the Protestant clerics. Bell’s appeal to Charles is undated. In part, it runs as follows :—

The churches are numerous. If in fair weather ministers sometimes read divine service the rotten walls efsons are his auditors.

The wives and children of ministers go to Mass.

The Bishops match their children with Papists.

Ministers have parsonage, vicarage, and as many as eight curates’ places and never even read divine service in most of them.

The Popish schools everywhere kept infect children with their dregs.

If the occasion served, the many thousands of friars and monks, more thousands of displanted people, and most thousands of people who have sworn loyalty to the Pope, would band themselves together and murder and massacre the loyal subjects.

Papist Bishops, Jesuits, friars, and priests have thrice ruined Ireland. I fear they will do so again.

Another undated document is entitled, ‘ Memorandum on the True Lets and Hindrances why we have no Settled Peace in Ireland.’ Amongst the obstacles to tranquillity set out in this paper are ‘ the cursed practices of Romish Jesuits, seminaries, and priests which do swarm in that country, causing the people to swear to be true to the Church of Rome, and in no case to be obedient to the King’s laws.’ Presumably the laws referred to were those

relative to matters of a religious nature. The 'cursed practices' deplored had worked to such an extent that 'they so persuade the women that they declare they will as soon bring their husbands to the gallows as to our church.' A little further on we come across still another undated document which also goes to sustain Gockin's charges against his spiritual guides. This is a 'Memorandum concerning the Clergy of the County Clare and particularly of those in the Baronies of Bunratty and Tullagh, always esteemed to be half of the county.' It runs as follows :—

From Limerick to Killaloe, 8 miles. Where are the Bishop of the diocese and one chaplain.

From Killaloe to Tomgraney, 7 miles. Here is one Higgins, a convert friar of ill-fame.

Tomgraney to Ennis, 16 miles. Here is one Lawson, a very weak man. Sent out of England by Lady Henrietta O'Brien.

Ennis to Killenesullagh, 7 miles. Here is the Vicar-General, John Hawkins, Esq.

Killenesullagh to Kilfenbuan, 6 miles. Mr. James Vanderlure, a very young man.

Kilfenbuan to Limerick, 6 miles, belongs to the Dean. No church or minister.

Where is it to be noted that in 48 miles of circuit there is but four clergymen and but three churches (except the Bishop and the chaplain aforesaid), who are both young and weak men. Their charge or living extends 6, 10, or 12 miles in length. They do not constantly reside or provide sufficient curates, but very much neglect the same.

Not a school in all that tract of land but Popish. The Mass read in all the parishes by the proper priests every Sunday and holy day. Friars gathering into convents teaching schools openly.

The reference to the 'convert friar of ill-fame' is illuminative as to the character of the solitary cleric who conformed to 'the King's law.' It would be interesting to learn if anything is known as to his later career.

In making these extracts from the Calendar of State Papers, I have, in order to keep this article within reasonable limits, refrained from quoting various documents relating to the action of the Confederate Catholics and the Cromwellian Plantation, reserving these for

treatment later on. I think, however, that ample evidence has been adduced to show that at the period wherein the various reports and memoranda were written the Catholic ecclesiastical organization of Ireland was in a fairly complete condition despite the tremendous difficulties by which those who controlled it were confronted.

WILLIAM F. DENNEHY.

LIFE OF ST. PATRICK ¹

DESPITE the piles of literature which have grown up in recent years round our National Apostle, the want of a consistent, accurate, and withal popular biography of St. Patrick was deplored by many. Writers on the subject were either too credulous, and then their books were filled with legends as pointless as they were absurd, while the really striking features were passed over in silence,—or they had pretensions to be regarded as critical, and then their works consisted in one monotonous series of fanciful speculations which had not even the merit of antiquity. For our own part, we confess, that if we must have legends about St. Patrick, we prefer the old time honoured ones of the ancient writers—which in most cases were really artistic—to the idle vapourings of modern critics, unadorned, as a rule, by even one graceful touch of poetical genius.

Last month we had occasion to notice the work of Professor Bury. The author did not pretend to give us a popular biography of our Apostle, or if he did, his book is a signal failure. It represents rather the study of a scholar without any sympathy for his subject—the heartless work of the historical dissector, badly wanted in its way and well done, but still by no means a popular biography. Since then we have had placed in our hands a work of an entirely different kind. His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam needs no introduction to the Irish public. His works on Irish ecclesiastical history are too widely read, and too well appreciated, to need any comment from us. He has the reputation of being a clear, warm-hearted, and graceful writer, whose pen pictures are almost as inspiring as his brilliant displays of oratorical power, which have held entranced the most fastidious of audiences.

¹ *The Life and Writings of St. Patrick*, By Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son; Scaly, Bryers & Walker. 1905.

The Archbishop of Tuam was well competent to produce a standard biography of St. Patrick. He was inspired by sympathy with his subject ; his labour was a labour of love. Generous, good-natured, enthusiastic himself he could understand the motives, the interests, the enthusiasm of St. Patrick ; following the wanderings of the Saint he had visited every spot that was hallowed by his footsteps, not alone in Ireland but in Britain, Gaul, and Italy, and finally, from his long acquaintance with the ancient Lives, he had drunk in the spirit of the age in which St. Patrick accomplished his work and in which the early writers compiled their narrative. We only wonder how, amidst the many cares of his episcopal and archiepiscopal office, he was able to find time for the investigation of such an interesting but difficult subject.

Our chief purpose [writes Dr. Healy] in writing this new Life of St. Patrick, when so many Lives exist, is to give a fuller, and we venture to hope a more exact account of the Saint's missionary labours in Ireland, than any that has appeared since the *Tripartite Life* was first written. For this purpose we have not only thoroughly studied Colgan's great work, and made ourselves familiar with the really valuable publications of our own times, but we have, when practicable, personally visited all the scenes of the Saint's labours both at home and abroad, so as to be able to give a local colouring to the dry record, and also to catch up, as far as possible, the echoes, daily growing fainter, of the once vivid traditions of the past. We have no new views to put forward. We shall seek to follow the authority of the ancient writers of the *Acts of St. Patrick*, which we regard as in the main trustworthy. Those who do not like miracles can pass them over, but the ancient writers believed in them, and even when purely imaginary these miraculous stories have an historical and critical value of their own.

The Archbishop has avoided the temptation to which so many other writers on the subject have yielded, of putting forward novel views in order the more successfully to catch the public attention. He has contented himself with giving a plain unvarnished account of the life and works of St. Patrick as they may be gathered from the ancient records, and has allowed the story to speak for itself. A perusal of the book will give the people a better

idea of the labours and success of our Apostle than a host of learned disquisitions such as we have been treated to of late, and in this sense we can confidently assert that his Grace's work is likely to become the standard biography of St. Patrick.

Taking up the narrative of the *Tripartite Life* the author follows the footsteps of St. Patrick, and seeks to identify the places of his sojourn in the different provinces. This was a portion of the work which we badly required. It had been often attempted, but never before so satisfactorily accomplished. Not content with the accounts of the early Lives Dr. Healy has gone over the ground himself; has collected the popular traditions; has identified, wherever possible, the sites of the old Patrician churches, and to our mind has given the most accurate, the most complete, and the most interesting account of what may be called the topography of St. Patrick's life. To do so involved considerable labour, especially in the case of a man who had but few idle moments at his disposal, but until this were done it would have been useless to have attempted a life of St. Patrick. A glance at the valuable map on which are sketched the missionary journeys of St. Patrick through Ireland will give the ordinary man a better idea of his work than a year's study of the written records. We lay stress on this point because it is an important one, and because, in our opinion, it is one of the chief merits of Dr. Healy's book.

St. Patrick, according to the author, was born about the year 373 A.D., in the district of Dumbarton, and in this view on the birth-place, he is, we think undoubtedly following the most reliable of the ancient writers, and the opinions of the best modern Irish scholars. That he was a Briton at least, there cannot be the slightest dispute. From Britain he was carried as a captive to Ireland, in the sixteenth year of his age, and Sliab Mis, in the County Antrim, was the scene of his captivity. We were anxious to see Dr. Healy's opinion on the place of Patrick's captivity, especially after the apparently groundless views advocated by Professor Bury. We were confident that if

anything could be said in favour of Croagh Patrick the Archbishop of Tuam would not be slow in bringing it forward, but while holding steadily to the fast of forty days on the Western mount he has shown no desire of contesting Antrim's claims. After six years spent in Ireland, God assisted him to escape from the hands of his captors, and he was landed, not as many people think, on the coast of France, but on the western coast of Scotland.

At home amongst his kindred he was favoured with the visions which first made clear to him the work for which he had been predestined. It is in Britain, and at this time, Dr. Healy places the wonderful call spoken of by St. Patrick in his *Confession* :—

Whilst there, at midnight I saw a man whose name was Victorius coming as if from Ireland, with letters innumerable, and he handed one of them to me, and I read the heading of the letter which contained these words, 'The Voice of the Irish.' And as I read the beginning of the letter methought I heard a voice of those who were near the wood of Focluth, which is by the western sea, and it was thus they cried out : 'We beseech thee, holy youth, come and once more walk amongst us.' And I was greatly touched in my heart, so that I could read no more, and thereupon I woke.

The author thinks it may well have been in Britain, and before his start for France, that St. Patrick was ordained deacon, and that he confided to his friend the fault which thirty years later was urged against him on the occasion of his episcopal consecration.

From Britain our Saint proceeded to Gaul to prepare himself for the work that lay before him, and naturally sought out in his retreat at Marmoutier one of the most remarkable men of his age—the great St. Martin. As the latter died at latest in the year 402 A.D., and as there has been always a constant tradition in the Irish Church of the connection between its Apostle and the Patron of Tours, we must place St. Patrick's visit to this city no later than that year. The story of his further stay on the Continent we can best sum up in Dr. Healy's own words :—

Our opinion, then, is that Lerins is the solitude of the bare-

footed hermits where Patrick spent eight years, that the Isle de Camaragne, as it is now called, is the *Insula Aralatensis*, or *Tamarensis*, where he spent nine years, and that part of that time he was under the spiritual care of St. Germanus at Arles, and for several years afterwards at Auxerre, until Germanus, after his return from Britain, sent Patrick to Rome to receive episcopal consecration, and formal authority to preach the Gospel.

These points are developed at length, and with a wealth of argument and description which will well repay a careful study.

With regard to St. Patrick's connection with Rome, Dr. Healy rightly points out that a clear distinction should be drawn between Patrick's commission from Rome and his consecration by Pope Celestine. Very few seriously contend to-day that our Apostle received the episcopal consecration from the hands of the Roman Pontiff, or in Rome, nor is it of the slightest practical importance whether he did so or not. Again, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that St. Patrick, in common with the Christian world, was in communion with Rome, and indirectly, at least, received a commission to preach in his association with Palladius, who had been sent by Pope Celestine. The only question, then, that remains for discussion—and it is of purely academic interest—is whether, directly and personally, Patrick received his mandate and his blessing from the Sovereign Pontiff for the work which he was about to undertake. Dr. Healy thinks the answer is in the affirmative, and he adduces in favour of his view strong evidence. He cites the well-known passage from Tirechan:—

In the ninth year of the Emperor Theodosius Patrick the Bishop is sent to teach the Scots by Celestine, Bishop of Rome. This Celestine was the forty-second Bishop from Peter the Apostle in the City of Rome. Palladius the Bishop is first sent, who was called Patrick by another name; he suffered martyrdom amongst the Scots, as the ancient holy men tell. Then, the second Patrick is sent by God's angel, Victor by name, and by Pope Celestine; in him all Ireland believed, and he baptized almost the whole country.

He also adduces in support of his view the authority

of one of the 'Dicta Patricii': 'I have the fear of God the companion of my way through the Gauls and Italy, and in the islands which are in the Tyrrhene Sea;' the Scholiast on the Hymn of St. Fiach; the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Lives as published by Colgan; the *Leabar Breac*; the assertions of Marianus and of Nennius. The objections drawn from the silence of St. Patrick himself, of Prosper, Fiach, and Secundius, are fairly and honestly appreciated.

St. Patrick, then, returned to Ireland in the year 432 A.D., landed first in Wicklow, and after a bad reception at different places along the Eastern coast, cast anchor in Strangford Lough, somewhere in the vicinity of the present Audley Castle. In the North-eastern district he laboured till the Easter festival of 433 was approaching, when he set out to plead the cause of Christianity before an approaching assembly of the nobles of Ireland, at the royal residence on the Hill of Tara. From here Dr. Healy follows minutely the route taken by our Saint through the midland district, across the Shannon into the Western province, through Tirconnell, Innishowen, Derry, Down Oriel, and thence into Leinster and some districts of Munster. We confidently recommend this portion of the book to the earnest attention of anyone who wishes to make himself acquainted with the extent and difficulties of St. Patrick's missionary labours.

In this context we confess we were rather astonished when we read the author's views on the Pre-Patrician Irish Bishops:—

The fact seems to be [writes Dr. Healy] that both Ailbe and Ibar, as well as Declan of Ardmore and Ciaran of Saigher, were not disciples of St. Patrick in the ordinary sense. They did not belong to his familia; they were not ordained or consecrated by him, and, in all probability, they were preaching in the south of Ireland before him. But their authority was doubtful, and their success was only partial.

Now, while fully admitting the existence of scattered Christian communities before the arrival of St. Patrick we think that, putting aside the ridiculous and self-contradictory

dictory stories of comparatively modern Lives, there is not the slightest shadow of historical foundation for the statement that before the coming of Palladius these Bishops were at work in Ireland; and, furthermore, we are convinced that were it not for the authority of Colgan such a view would have been long since dropped. Everything that we find in the more trustworthy records is strongly opposed to the existence of these so-called Pre-Patrician Bishops.

Considerable attention is naturally devoted to the presence and labours of St. Patrick at Armagh; to the foundation of the Primatial Church, which is attributed to the year 457 A.D.; to the prerogative of that See and its relation to the rest of Christian Ireland; to the institutions for men and women established there by St. Patrick; to the school of Armagh, and to the Synods held and Canons laid down for the future guidance of the Irish Church.

In fixing the year 493 A.D. as the date of his death, Dr. Healy follows the opinion of many Irish scholars—of men like Usher, Colgan, Ware, and Todd—though there are certainly strong arguments against it. In Saul, where the Saint loved to retire for peaceful commune with God, he breathed his last, and in Downpatrick, close by, he was laid to rest. He had fulfilled the task to which God had called him, and he could go with confidence to seek his reward, conscious that the same Holy Spirit who had blessed his own exertions would jealously guard the destinies of the Irish Church.

We have given this rapid sketch of St. Patrick's life, that our readers may have some idea of the views which Dr. Healy has advanced. They can see at a glance the immense difference between the St. Patrick of Dr. Healy, and the St. Patrick as sketched by some recent critics, and especially by Professor Zimmer. Few, we imagine, will have any doubt as to which of them they should choose. The work of St. Patrick is written not alone in the earliest records of our nation, it is engraven on the venerable ruins of the land which remain till to-day silent but expressive witnesses of his labours and their success; it has entwined

itself with the traditions, the legends, the poetry of our people; it has become such an essential element of the life of the Irish nation that no quibbling arguments of scholars, however otherwise learned, can ever hope to destroy it.

We had indeed expected a lengthy review of Professor Zimmer's works, and were rather disappointed at first at not finding it. But after consideration it was clear that such a method of procedure would have been out of harmony with the plan of Dr. Healy's book, and would have been, at least in the body of the work, more or less of an incumbrance. Besides, there are two methods of meeting a frivolous opponent: the one is to take him and follow his objections point by point—and this often tends to obscure the real issue; the other, to give a clear, well-reasoned, well-supported exposition of your own position, and leave it to your readers to draw their own conclusions. Dr. Healy has chosen the latter method, and it may be that in doing so he has best consulted the interest and the pleasure of his readers.

Finally, Dr. Healy deals with the writings of St. Patrick, especially with the *Confession*. It is a document the importance of which, in judging the labours and success of our Apostle, cannot be over-rated.

It shows us [writes the author] one God-like man—like St. Paul—our Father and our Apostle, 'the Bishop of Ireland,' who gave his labour and his mind and his life to bring the Gael, or the Scots, as he calls them, to the knowledge of the Gospel; who loved them with the yearning love of a father; who thought of them all from the first to the last; who, like Moses, struggled with the Angel of God to secure a promise of their final perseverance, and sought to be allowed to befriend them even on the last day, as the merciful assessor of their Judge. From this point of view the *Confession* is our most precious inheritance, because it establishes beyond dispute the existence and personal identity of one National Apostle of all Ireland; and also sets his character before us in the clearest and most striking way, for it is he himself who holds the mirror that reveals all the workings of his heart.

In the Appendices to the book some very important points of Patrick's life are discussed at great length, and

valuable arguments introduced to support the author's view. They deal with the Birth and Burial-place of St. Patrick, his Relations in Ireland, the Three Patricks, Patrician Relics, and Patrician Pilgrimages. This will prove interesting and useful to many readers, and especially the chapter dealing with Patrician pilgrimages throughout the country. For our own part we read with special delight Dr. Healy's treatment of the oldest, the best-organized, and the most popular of these, namely, that of the Sanctuary of Lough Derg. Many people, especially since the days of Lanigan, have been inclined to question the fact of Patrick's having spent days of penance in this solitary retreat. But, as Dr. Healy very wisely remarks, even though we have no written record of his visit there, we have the strong, vivid, unbroken tradition of the people which cannot be easily set aside; a tradition which is attested by the fact that down through the centuries, even in the days of persecution, the faithful flocked to it as a place that had been hallowed by the presence of the Saint, and, how, even to-day, the number of these anxious to retire there for self-examination and communion with God is annually on the increase.

For those anxious to make a closer study of the subject the author includes a Latin version of the *Confession* and of the Letter to Coroticus, based principally on the version of Stokes and White, accompanied by an English translation, together with the Deer's Cry, the Canons attributed to St. Patrick, the Rule of St. Patrick, and the Hymn of St. Sechnall or Secundinus.

Needless to say there are many views put forward by the Archbishop to which we could not confidently assent, but they are generally in reference to questions about which it is possible to advance different opinions, and to support them by solid arguments. We judged it best, for the present, to confine ourselves to a brief exposition of the striking features of the work, reserving to ourselves the liberty of returning on another occasion to the author's opinions about the dates and value of the sources upon St. Patrick's life, the chronology and the methods of

reconstruction which he has adopted, and perhaps, specially, the Pre-Patrician sketch of Christianity in Ireland which he gives.

It is a pity that, together with the well drawn-up Index and Map which are included in the volume, a Bibliographical List, with the author's comments on such of the works as he found useful, has not been inserted. It would have been better, too, to have been more careful in citing accurately the volume and page of the authorities upon which the author principally relied.

The publishers have done their work well, and deserve to be congratulated on their success. In paper, in printing, in binding and general turn-out it would do credit to any firm however eminent.

We may say, in conclusion, it is a book which we have read with the greatest pleasure, and we are sure that our feelings will be shared in by the many who wish to study the life of our Apostle. The Archbishop of Tuam is well known to be the master of a graceful, charming, and vigorous style, and in his *Life of St. Patrick* his readers will find him at his best.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

THE ABBÉ JOHN BAPTIST WALSH, D.D.

ADMINISTRATOR OF THE IRISH FOUNDATIONS IN FRANCE
FROM 1787 TO 1815

A CENTURY has elapsed since the Feast of St. Remy, 1st October, 1805, when the Irish College in Paris, temporarily closed during the French Revolution, re-opened its doors to students. That auspicious event was chiefly due to the energy and vigilance of one man, the Very Rev. John Baptist Walsh. A brief outline of the services of that able ecclesiastic has been given elsewhere by the present writer¹; but the present occasion demands a fuller account of the career of one who deserves to be regarded as a benefactor of the whole Irish Church.²

¹ *The Irish College in Paris 1678-1901*, pp. 55 to 63; Dublin: Gill & Son, 1901. 'The Irish College in Paris during the French Revolution,' I. E. RECORD, January, 1904.

² Sources:—

1. *Reclamation du Commissaire-proviseur de la Maison des Irlandais, et de ses collègues contre le projet de réunion au Prytanée.* Signé Walsh, 8 Fructidor, An. VIII.

2. *Pétition: Walsh Commissaire-proviseur du ci-devant Collège des Irlandais, à Paris, aux citoyens ministres des Finances, et des Relations Extérieures,* 28 Frimaire, An. VIII.

3. *Prospectus: Collège des Irlandais, Anglais et Eccossais réunis, rue du cheval vert et des Postes.* Paris, 1 Aout, 1805.

4. *Administration du Séminaire-Collège des Irlandais, Anglais, et Eccossais réunis.* Walsh, administrateur-titulaire. Paris, 8 Aout, 1812. With *Arts sur la Comptabilité.* Signé Paul Macpherson. 28 juillet, 1812.

5. *Etat Actuel des Etablissements Britanniques consacrés en France et dans les Pays Bas Autrichiens par M. Richard Ferris, Docteur en Théologie et en Loix civiles et canoniques, ancien Aumônier du Roi de France ancien chanoine de la Cathédrale d'Amiens; présentement depuis le 1 Avril, 1813, Administrateur-General des Etablissements et Collèges Britanniques en France.* Paris, 25 Mai, 1814.

6. *Placet présenté au Roi par l'Administrateur-General des Etablissements et Collèges Catholiques du Royaume uni de la Grande Bretagne, en France.* Ferris, 2 Aout, 1814.

7. *Pétition relative au Séminaire-Collège des Irlandais, Anglais et Eccossais réunis.* Signé Walsh, rue des Carmes, no. 23. Paris, 12 Avril, 1812.

8. *Memoire Pour Walsh, ex-administrateur en réponse à un Ecrit intitulé: Etat actuel des Etablissements et collèges consacrés en France et dans les Pays Bas Autrichiens publié par Richard Ferris, administrateur actuel.* Walsh; Paris, 30 Decbre, 1814.

9. *Ordonnances Royales du 25 Septembre, 1814, et 16 Janvier, 1815 (Louis XVIII.).*

10. *Decret Impériale.* 20 Avril, 1815. (Le Sieur Walsh est destitué

I.

John Baptist Walsh was a native of the diocese of Killaloe. At an early age he entered the Irish College in Paris in 1770; and having completed his studies, and obtained, in 1779, the degree of Doctor of the Sorbonne he was at once appointed Superior of the Irish College at Nantes. For six years he governed that establishment so efficiently that the Archbishop of Paris styled him its restorer. At the end of that period he quitted Nantes, either on account of opposition on the part of the students, as his enemies assert, or because he wished to withdraw to his priory at Anjou, as he himself affirms; and after an interval came to Paris where a more important field of labour awaited him. At this time the financial condition of the Lombard College was precarious. Its liabilities amounted, in 1787, to 30,000 francs. The College was governed by four provisors, of whom two were in extreme old age. The Archbishop of Paris judged that the time had come to abolish the system of government by Provisors, and to give the College one responsible head. Having obtained by royal decree authorization for that measure, with the assent of the Bishops of Ireland he appointed Dr. Walsh sole Superior of the Lombard College.

The new rector entered on his office with vigour, and during the five following years proved himself an efficient administrator. At that time, besides the burses founded at the Irish College, several Irish foundations existed in the other colleges of the University of Paris. Such, for

. . . *Le sieur Ferris et définitivement nommé administrateur-general*). (Napoleon.)

11. *Précis pour Walsh*. MS. Archives Nationales, H³, 2561.

12. *Notes confidentielles sur l'administration des Collèges Irlandais, Anglais et Eccossais réunis dans tout l'Empire Français, adressées à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur*. Par M. le Marquis de Lally-Tollendal. 12 Mars, 1811. MS. Archives Nationales, H³, 2561.

13. *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. By Edward Wakefield. 2 vols. London, 1812.

14. *The Annual Register*. 1807.

15. *The Irish Abroad and at Home* By an Emigrant Milesian (Andrew O'Reilly). London, 1853.

16. *Memoirs of Myles Byrne*. Paris, 1864.

instance, were the Foundations O'Crowley, Maher, Fagan, Barnwall, O'Molony, O'Carol, Merrick, Lynch. These he sought out and had transferred to the Irish College. By this measure he increased the annual revenue of his College by the amount of 6,510 francs. By it also he preserved capital amounting to 128,454 francs; for the colleges in which those foundations had originally been made all perished with their endowments at the suppression of the University in 1792.

But an event happened which seemed destined to blight all his efforts. The National Assembly decreed the confiscation of all Church property. The terms of the Act of Spoliation seemed to extend to the foreign ecclesiastical establishments in France. The Superiors of the British Colleges in Paris protested against the act of confiscation, and pointed out that the property of their establishments formed no part of the endowment of the French Church. The National Assembly admitted their plea; and on 7th November, 1790, decreed as follows:—

The educational or religious establishments founded by foreigners in France for themselves shall continue to exist as in the past.

They shall all continue to enjoy, as in the past, the property acquired by them with their own money or that of their nation.

The influence of the English Ambassador contributed, in no small degree, to the preservation of the British colleges from confiscation. But the initiation of the movement which ended so successfully was largely due to the vigilance and energy of Dr. Walsh.

II.

By the decree of the National Assembly just mentioned, the peace and prosperity of the Irish College seemed secured. But soon the storm of the Revolution burst upon France. From 1792 studies ceased in the Irish Colleges in Paris; the students sought safety in Ireland. The majority of the French clergy, in obedience to the Holy See, refused the oath required by the Civil Constitution, and were driven

from their churches. Some contrived to conceal themselves and to minister in secret to their flocks; others sought security in exile. The Archbishop of Paris emigrated, leaving the government of his diocese to his Vicars. The latter, knowing the ability of Dr. Walsh, invited him to assist at their deliberations, and aid them by his advice; a service which he rendered with such prudence as to merit the eulogy of the successor of the refugee prelate.

Nor was this the only service which he rendered to the cause of religion in Paris. Elsewhere¹ we have described the outburst of popular fury against those who came to hear Mass at the Chapel of the Lombard College, and pointed out the firmness with which Dr. Walsh protested against that outrage, as a violation of International law. We have also dwelt on the generosity with which he opened his house to French ecclesiastics for the purpose of making spiritual retreats. The Abbé de Salamon, at that time Inter-Nuncio, in his letters to Cardinal Zelada, often refers to those retreats, and styles the Abbé Walsh 'the soul of those good works.' Cardinal Zelada, too, in his reply expresses the joy the news of those retreats gave to the Holy Father, and he adds, 'Above all, say to the Abbé Walsh, how much his zeal and edifying piety are appreciated.'² The advent of the days of Terror rendered the continuation of those pious exercises impossible. The Directory declared war on England, and placed under arrest British subjects resident in France. Dr. Walsh was deprived of his liberty, and the property of his house sequestered. All seemed lost. By degrees the violence of the storm subsided. On recovering his liberty Abbé Walsh set to work to gather together what remained of the property of the establishment confided to him. The task was a difficult one. Most of the property consisted of investments in the public funds; and for several years payments from those funds had been suspended. There were no payments in 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796.

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1904.

² *Correspondance secrète de l'Abbé Salamon*, par M. le Vte. de Riche-
mont. Paris, 1898; pp. 120, 319.

All I could do at that unhappy time [writes Dr. Walsh] was to solicit the restitution of those properties with a perseverance which cost me a world of trouble, and much expense ; while the other Provisors awaited the issue of the struggle, in order to have a share in the fruits of my efforts, by getting their houses assimilated to mine.¹

At length his perseverance triumphed. A provisional order was issued transferring to him all the capital of the Irish foundations, without distinction as to its source or its object. To him was left the duty of awarding to each foundation its due proportion. This his long acquaintance with the affairs of the College enabled him to do ; and when the redistribution was effected he secured it by a legal declaration before a notary. To this act of his it is due that the rights of the various dioceses have been preserved. The property of the College was saved, but its value was much diminished. In 1800 the *Rentes*, or State investments, were reduced to one-third consolidated. Thus, in addition to the loss of annual revenue for some years, two-thirds of the capital of the Irish foundations was lost for ever.

III.

Having saved as far as was possible the Irish property in Paris, the next object to which Abbé Walsh devoted his attention was the re-opening of the College. For this the sanction of the First Consul was necessary. That sanction was obtained ; but the credit of having obtained it belongs, in a large measure, to the Most Rev. Dr. Hussey, Bishop of Waterford. That great prelate came to Paris as representative of the Bishops of Ireland. After the peace of Amiens he was presented to Napoleon by the Spanish Ambassador, and succeeded in obtaining from the First Consul authorization to re-open the Irish College in Paris. To prepare the way for that event a board, or *Bureau de Surveillance*, was appointed to inquire into the condition of the Irish foundations, and to report to the Minister of the Interior. To

¹ *Memoire pour Walsh*. Paris, 30 Dec., 1814.

that bureau Dr. Walsh rendered an account of his administration since the outbreak of the Revolution. In its report to the Minister the Bureau spoke as follows :—

M. Walsh, in the midst of the persecutions which he experienced, did not fail to defend the interests of his house. In the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, he displayed much firmness, and it is perhaps to him that the preservation of the Irish Colleges is due. His accounts, the examination of which was very difficult, because the external administration of his establishment is divided into as many portions as there are burses, appeared to us to render a favourable testimony to his management.

Learning the success of Dr. Walsh's efforts, the Superiors of the English and Scotch establishments also petitioned for permission to re-open their colleges. The Bureau of Surveillance reported that as the endowments of those establishments were small, they were incapable of subsisting by themselves, and recommended that they should be united to the Irish foundations. It was necessary to provide a head for the united colleges, and for that office the Board of Surveillance recommended Dr. Walsh :—

Citizen Minister [they wrote], conformably to your letter and to the eighth article of the Decree of the Consuls, we deem it our duty to propose as Provisor of the two Colleges, M. Walsh, formerly Superior of the Irish College. The well-known talents of this administrator, the rigorous exactness of his former accounts, the firmness of his conduct during the stormiest periods of the Revolution have made us decide to propose him to the Government.

Dr. Walsh was, accordingly, appointed Administrator-General of the British foundations in France. His first act in this capacity was to make a tour of inspection, and to report to the Bureau on the state of all the British foundations within the territory then subject to France. On the 3rd *Brumaire*, of the year XIII, he presented his report which was approved in the most flattering terms :—

The Bureau approves all that the Administrator-General has done, and by an unanimous resolution it orders, that, in the minutes, honorable mention be made of the wisdom, firmness, and economy with which M. Walsh has carried out his task.

The next duty of the Administrator was to prepare for the opening of the College. Amongst the several British establishments in Paris, the Bureau had decided that the College in Rue des Irlandais was the only one in a condition to receive students. But at the close of the Reign of Terror its former rector, Dr. Kearney, finding himself without pupils from Ireland, had leased the College for a period of nine years to an Irish priest named Abbé M'Dermott. The latter had spent upon the College about 23,000 francs, and had opened therein a boarding-school for French boys. As his lease had still nearly a year and a-half to run he refused to give up possession. Dr. Walsh, however, compelled him to withdraw; a lawsuit followed, and Abbé M'Dermott obtained a decree for 10,000 francs as compensation for disturbance. Against this sentence Dr. Walsh appealed, and succeeded in having it reversed. On withdrawing from the Irish College, Dr. M'Dermott carried on his school in the old Collège du St. Esprit, in the Rue des Postes, until his death in 1812. He was favourably known to Jerome Bonaparte,¹ King of Westphalia, some of whose subjects he had educated, and in his last years he received from that prince a pension of 6,000 francs a year.

IV.

When the College was vacated and put in order to receive students, Dr. Walsh obtained the blessing of the Pope, Pius VII, upon his undertaking; and he issued a prospectus announcing the opening of classes for 1st October, 1805. At that date the alarm caused by the Revolution had not quite passed away, and war had again broken out between England and France. Hence few students from Ireland presented themselves. Dr. Walsh

¹ According to Andrew O'Reilly (*The Irish Abroad and At Home*) Jerome Bonaparte was a pupil of Abbé M'Dermott at the Irish College, in 1800. From the *Histoire de l'abbaye et collège du Juilly*, we learn that Jerome Bonaparte was a pupil in that college from 1796 to 1798. The two statements are not incompatible, though that of O'Reilly requires confirmation.

determined to set to work with such material as he could find at hand. He admitted to the College the sons of Irishmen resident in France. He had made the acquaintance of a French ecclesiastic, Abbé Fontanel, who had a boarding-school in the neighbourhood of Popincourt. Fontanel sold his interest in his school to Dr. Walsh for 16,000 francs, and entered the Irish College with the title of Prefect of Studies, bringing with him his pupils. He was guaranteed a salary of 3,000 francs a year, and a pension on retiring of 1,600 francs. Moreover, his six nephews were received as boarders, paying only one-half pension. Abbé Fontanel continued his connection with the College for several years, and subsequently received the appointment of Dean of the Faculty of Theology in the University established by Napoleon I in 1808.

About this time Dr. Walsh took another step which received considerable notoriety. War was going on in Portugal. The Irish students at Lisbon were in danger. Dr. Walsh offered them a home in Paris. This step on his part was severely censured by the Bishops of Ireland, who in reference to it addressed the following letter to Dr. Crotty, Rector of the Irish College at Lisbon :—

DUBLIN, 24th January, 1807.

REV. DEAR SIR,

We the undersigned, Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, have lately been made acquainted with an extraordinary proposal of the Reverend Dr. Walsh of Paris, to the young men at present under your care and guidance in Lisbon, inviting them to abandon that establishment, and repair to the seminary established by the head of the French Government under his direction in Paris. You may easily conceive the degree of indignation we felt at such a proposal, nor can we believe but that it proceeded from any but sinister motives. We shall refrain, on the present occasion, to make those comments which occur to us on the general conduct of Mr. Walsh since the period of the French Revolution ; but we cannot avoid remarking that the great inducements held out to the young men of your house seem calculated to inspire them with a veneration for, and an attachment to, the present French Government, while at the same time, he seems actuated by a desire to alienate them from that allegiance which they owe to the government of their own country. It is needless to remind you, sir, that

one of the principal duties of a Catholic clergyman is to inculcate a subordination to the laws and allegiance to the established authorities under which we live ; we consequently submit to your consideration whether an education received under such a hostile power, and such a revolutionary government, as Bonaparte's are, can possibly tend to enforce those maxims. We have not the most distant idea of attaching any blame to you, sir, but we are extremely anxious that you should be thoroughly acquainted with our sentiments on a matter of such serious moment.

Bound as we are by every tie of gratitude to the Government, for its very liberal support of our ecclesiastical establishment at Maynooth (and which under the auspices of the present administration, we hope will very shortly be considerably enlarged), we not only feel it our duty to declare, in the most unequivocal terms our reprobation of such attempts to seduce the youth of your house, but are determined to use the authority vested in us, in order to prevent even the possibility of excuse on the part of the students of our respective dioceses, who might attempt to accept that insidious offer.

We, therefore, desire that you should convene all those under your care, and make known to them that we will never give any ecclesiastical faculty in our dioceses to those individuals who should accept of the offer ; and that we authorize you to declare to all those in holy orders, that by the acceptance of a similar offer they will incur a suspension *ipso facto*.

At the same time, however, that we pronounce this sentence, we do confide that their own sense of duty is sufficient to prevent the necessity of it. And we do hope that they will not suffer their principles of allegiance to their lawful sovereign to be biassed by the intriguing dispositions of those persons who are the instruments of his avowed enemies, in disseminating discord and discontent.

We, remain, with much esteem,

Very Reverend dear Sir,

Your most humble Servants in Christ,

RICHARD O'REILLY (Armagh).	J. T. TROY (Dublin).
THOMAS BRAY (Cashel).	EDWARD DILLON Tuam).
FRANCIS MOYLAN (Cork).	DANIEL DELANY (Kildare
JOHN CRUISE (Ardagh).	and Leighlin).
PATRICK RYAN (Germanica,	PATRICK JOS. PLUNKETT
Coadjutor of Ferns).	(Meath). ¹

The invitation addressed by Dr. Walsh to the Lisbon students was also deemed worthy of mention in the British

¹ *Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political.* By Edward Wakefield. Vol. ii, pp. 552-553. London, 1812.

Parliament. In the debate on the Maynooth Grant, on 4th March, 1807, Mr. Wilberforce advocated the home education of the Catholic clergy of Ireland.

To his knowledge [he said], there had been formed a vast establishment for the same object in Paris under the protection of a person (the Emperor Napoleon) on whom it was least of all desirable that it should depend (hear, hear). What, he asked, would hinder the men brought up in that establishment from becoming one day bishops in Ireland?¹

Lord Howick, Secretary of State, followed in support of the grant:—

He could instance a fact which, he was confident, would establish the necessity of encouraging home education for the Catholic priesthood of the land. Dr. Walsh, a priest of talent, who was appointed head of the college established in Paris for the education of Catholic priests, had used all means in his power to induce such of the Irish Catholics as were for their education in Lisbon, to go to his College. He had offered them, not only education, but every temptation that he thought likely to withdraw them from their King and their country. On a representation of the matter to the Catholic Bishops in Ireland they treated it as it deserved. But we should not, in future, leave any description of his Majesty's subjects exposed to the temptation of the enemy.²

How far Dr. Walsh's invitation to the Irish students at Lisbon merited censure so severe, in the absence of the text of it it is impossible to say. The fear of French influence, and of a French invasion, may account for it. To Napoleon war was a splendid game. Some who knew him, were disposed to believe that he was prepared to use Ireland against England, but that if it served his interests he would be ready to cede it back again in exchange for some other concession. It seems inconsistent with Dr. Walsh's whole career to have favoured disloyalty.

If the signatories of the letter [he wrote] had notified to him not to receive their subjects he would have acted in conformity with their instructions. But the dimissorial letters of those ecclesiastics authorized them to prosecute their studies

¹ *London Evening Post*, 5th March, 1807.

² Debate on the Maynooth Grant. *Annual Register*, 1807, p. 88.

on the Continent, where the school of Paris always held the first rank. The war in Portugal obliged them to take refuge in Spain, where soon after they found neither refuge nor means of education. In this state of distress he felt it his duty to listen to the voice of humanity which made even a pagan say : *Homo sum, et nil humani a me alienum puto*. He felt it his duty to repeat the sweet invitation of his Divine master : *Venite ad me omnes, et ego reficiam vos*.¹

In such circumstances it is easy to imagine that the task of reorganizing the College was a difficult one. In 1811, after all his efforts, the number of students amounted only to ten pensioners and thirty bursars.

V.

But let us turn for a moment to the inner life of the College. One who was then a pupil, Colonel William O'Shee, has left on record his reminiscences of life in the College at that period. The French form of expression, here given unaltered, adds to their interest :—

I entered the Irish College in the year 1807, after Easter. The house was formerly a seminary founded by Irishmen and subscriptions ; but since the first French Revolution no pupils came from Ireland. About the year 1800 some priests, who were aided by several countrymen pretty high in France, entered the house, which had not been sold ; even more occupied likewise the English College situated in Postes Street. These priests took some pupils who were sons of Irish gentlemen living in France. But they were few in number, and in order to improve and to enlarge the College the superiors agreed to receive in their house another little college under a French clergyman, Abbé Burnier Fontanel, afterwards Dean of the Faculty of Theology and Honorary Canon of the cathedral church of Paris. This event happened before 1807.

At the time of my arrival the Superior of the College was Father Walsh. The Econome was Father Parker, an English Benedictine Friar, he was seconded by the lay-brother Nicholas. The Treasurer was Father Patrick McNulty. They lived in the house, the other members of the council lived abroad, among whom was Count Lally-Tollendal the general's son. Abbé Burnier Fontanel was *Prefet des Études* and member of the Council, he had a lodging in the College above the kitchen.

¹ *Memoire pour Walsh*, 1814, p. 29.

The College was *free*, that is to say, it had its professors, and the pupils did not go out of the house. Only in the year 1812, they were obliged to go to the Lycée Napoléon, very near, which was located in Ste. Genevieve's Abbey, as in our days.

There was a chapel and a peculiar chaplain; the pupils did not go out to the parish church—all the religious services being performed in the College's chapel, the superiors being the officiating priests. There we made every year the first communion, but in order to receive the Confirmation we were obliged to go to the parish church, St. Stephen on the Mount.

It was a habit to make processions in the due times of the year in the large court of the College, and a repository was erected; and in those days the windows of all the houses which could look into our court were fully stocked with a great many people, who took part in the service according to the possibility, and they were blessed with the Holy Sacrament.

We never wore a uniform or regimentals like the other schools or colleges; never used drum.

When the Emperor Bonaparte mastered himself of Rome, and took prisoner our Holy Father Pius VII, several Irish priests were found in Rome. They were considered as Englishmen, and carried to France as prisoners. But they were soon acknowledged as Irish Catholic priests, and declared free, and they were collocated in our College, and the administration had orders to receive and nurse them. They had each his cell, and two tables at the head of the refectory. Amongst them were M'Donnell, M'Cormack, Magee, Hely, Conboy, Devlin, Creigh, and others, about fourteen or sixteen, I don't remember the other names.

There were likewise four Italian priests or Maltese taken in Rome.

The English College in Postes Street had no pupils, it was our linen depository and sometimes a resting place for sick superiors or pupils.

In the Postes Street there was another college, a private one, of which were superiors MM. McDermott and MacMahon, a doctor of physic. By some reasons unknown to me this last college was reunited with the Irish in our house. But Father Walsh left it, and Mr. MacMahon became the president of the Council board, I don't know why. This event happened in 1812.

To-day, 1866, the house is quite the same outside, and inside as in 1813, perhaps something is changed and improved in that part above the kitchen and the little yard adjoining. In the great hall, next the refectory, there was at the bottom a monument of black marble with inscription to the memory of James II, and the place was called the Monuments Hall

(*La Salle du Tombeau*). But since my departure of the College this monument was taken away.

The court is the same, like the ball-playing place, where we all, comprising the priests of Rome, played every day. I suppose the chapel is not altered; the library was in the upper story. Every pupil had his own cell.

Every year the St. Patrick's Day was a great festival for the College, and the Council board gave a large banquet to the friends of the College.

Some Irishmen who had become personages in the State, as Count Lally-Tollendal, Wm. Clarke, Duke of Feltre, Minister at War (and my relation because of his mother Luisa Shee), and his uncle, Count Henry Shee, Peer, were very benevolent to the College, likewise several other persons.

In the year 1821, I visited the house which was again a seminary. The superior was then Father Charles Kearney, who was second cousin with my father, Colonel Robert O'Shee. Father Kearney was a friend of Father Edgeworth, who was the last confessor of King Louis XVI, and accompanied him to the scaffold. Father Kearney was present and very near the scaffold, 21st January. He escaped luckily.

I left the College in January, 1814, and went to the military school.

The College owned a little estate or farm which name was Grisy (Ivry), if I remember well. I don't know where it was situated or what became of it.¹

In every hall there was a pulpit which served when lectures were read. There was likewise a pulpit in the chapel. In all the divine services the students were choristers.

The old trees in the court were standing the same as to-day.

In my time the chaplain and father confessor was Abbé Guibert, uncle to the pupil Chalopin. It may be he was succeeded by the Abbé Capron.²

¹ *Some Remembrances from the Ancient Irish College in Paris before 1814.* By William O'Shee, a Pupil. Paris, 7th January, 1866.

² *New Remembrances of the Irish College.* 4th February, 1866.

The following is the list of students given by Colonel O'Shee:—

Irishmen:—Walsh, Corbet, major of the staff; Thomas Alfred Wall, captain of foot; Philip Wall, his brother; O'Hegarty, White-Orledge, Forbes Philamor (Scotchman); John O'Meara, captain of horse; Edward O'Meara, his brother; Trappist, Mellerai, France; Daniel O'Meara, major gendarmerie; Arthur Barker, O'Sullivan, St. Leger, captain of foot; Baines, chef de Bureau in War Office, Paris; Glashin, English teacher; Richard Hy. Ml de Shee, captain of horse; O'Shee, William, colonel of foot; Maurice O'Farrell, major of horse.

Frenchmen:—Polydor De la Rochefoucauld, Wilfred De la Rochefoucauld, De Rotatier, Lamy Chalopin, De la Rochetulon, De Lavan, De Vernaux, De Monestrol, captain of horse; Perry, Lafleche (two brothers); Sexte Raffo de la Fare, captain of foot; Andre Burnier Fontanel, priest; Pierre B. Fontanel, doctor of physic; Pierre B. Fontanel, junior; Jean

An Irishman resident in Paris at the same period, Myles Byrne, also gives testimony to the state of the College under the administration of Dr. Walsh ¹ :—

The Abbé Walsh [he writes] was Superior, and he was ably seconded by the Abbé McNulty the Econome, or steward and manager of the establishment. The Irishmen's sons who got burses in the College at this period were sure to receive an excellent education, as the masters and professors were men of erudition and high learning ; besides the Irish students had the advantage of following the high classes at the Lycée Napoléon (Henri Quatre), then in high repute for its professors ; its being adjacent to the Irish College proved a great advantage to the sons of the exiles of Erin. I well recollect many of the fine fellows who were educated there, the MacMahons, M'Cannas, MacSheehys, Delanys, Blackwells, St. Legers, Swantons, Walls, O'Briens, Barkers, Corbets, Glashans, O'Morins, O'Maras, Smiths, etc.

The Irish College continued to be much favoured by the French Government, and its Superior was much liked and esteemed by the students and their parents. When I passed through Paris in 1812, I visited young Barker and others at the Irish College, and they told me they were well fed and well taken care of.

VI.

But meanwhile difficulties had arisen for the energetic administrator. The Bureau of Surveillance created by the Decree of 19th Fructidor, consisted of six members, and amongst them the Archbishop of Paris, and the Prefect of the Seine. Mgr. de Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, and Senator of the Empire, was chairman of the board. During his life the administrator experienced little difficulty. On the death of the Archbishop, in 1808, the Prefect of the Seine, who hitherto absented himself from the meetings because he could not preside while the Archbishop was present, became chairman, and at once he proposed to add to the Board two additional members, viz.: the Abbés Ferris and Madgett, two Irish priests, who were

Emery, Mocquin, Deheque, Professor of Greek, Collège de France ; David de Mozan, Roblastre.

¹ *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 159.

hostile to Dr. Walsh. In spite of the protest of Dr. Walsh they were appointed supernumerary members of the Bureau. Hardly had they entered on office, when Dr. Walsh obtained a Decree of the Council of State transferring to the Grand Master and Council of the University, the functions of the Bureau of Surveillance, dating from 1st January, 1809. But the accounts of 1807 and 1808, though duly submitted to the Bureau, had not yet been audited and approved. The two new members of the Board therefore devised a plan to hold the administrator in their power. They petitioned the Minister of the Interior to appoint a committee, of which they should be members, to examine Dr. Walsh's accounts up to 31st December, 1808. The committee was appointed; Dr. Walsh's accounts were examined and found correct. However, the hostility towards him continued, and the President of the Bureau obtained from the Minister of the Interior an order, dated July, 1809, provisionally suspending him from the office of Administrator-General.

Father Parker, an English Benedictine, was named provisional administrator. It was hoped that by this measure Dr. Walsh would be intimidated, and would resign his office on being secured a pension. But he held firm, and on 10th January, 1811, he wrote to the Minister of the Interior :—

The unanimous desire of the Catholic clergy of the United Kingdom, is, that I should not abandon my post until peace is re-established. On the first tidings of peace I will hasten to invite the Bishops of the Islands to appoint a successor worthy of their confidence, to him I will resign my post, and will aid him by my advice ripened by an experience of thirty years. But as I have the will, and even the strength to be useful to religion and to my country, I shall continue, subject to the good pleasure of your Excellency, an administration which has already had such happy results.

Besides refusing to resign Dr. Walsh took measures to defend his position. At that time the diocese of Paris had at its head an intruder, Cardinal Maury, who, despite the remonstrances of the Holy See, had usurped the

administration of it. To him, as Archbishop in the eyes of the civil power, Dr. Walsh had recourse for support, telling him, it is alleged, that as Archbishop his interest was at stake, for as much as if native students did not present themselves the revenues of the College would be, at least, provisionally, at his disposal. The Cardinal, however, gave him only fair promises. The Administrator then petitioned to be heard before the Council of State. His petition was granted, and the matter was discussed in presence of the Emperor, who declared that he 'meant to preserve intact the property of the Irish Bishops.'

But other influences were at work. On 12th March, 1811, the Marquis Gerald Lally-Tollendall, son of Lally of Fontenoy, presented to the Minister of the Interior a long statement of twenty-nine pages, entitled, *Notes confidentielles sur l'administration des collèges irlandais, anglais et écossais, dans tout l'empire français*.¹ In that memorandum Lally speaks of the interest which his grandfather and his father had taken in the Irish Colleges, and how he himself had been for many years intimate with the former Superiors. He goes on to speak with much vehemence against Dr. Walsh, and urges his removal from the office of Administrator-General and Superior. He calls him, 'un être pétri d'égoïsme, d'envie, de haine, et de discorde.' He never visited, he states, the Lombard College after Dr. Walsh became Superior. He affirms that Dr. Walsh caused Abbé Innes of the Scotch College to die of grief at the Hôtel-Dieu; and M. Kelleher of misery at the same place; and M. O'Neil at the Hôpital Cochin. He charges him with supplanting Dr. Kearney, when the College was about to be organized, and calls him the enemy of all his compatriots. On this ground alone, and regarding all charges concerning accounts as beneath notice, Lally asks for the removal of Dr. Walsh, and then proceeds to examine how his place should be filled.

First of all he proposed that the Abbé Richard Ferris should be appointed. Ferris was a Doctor of the Sorbonne,

¹ *Archives Nationales*, MS. H³, 2561.

a Canon of Amiens, Licentiate of Laws, and sometime Proctor of the German Nation at the University. Before the Revolution he had held the office of *économé* at Collège Montaigu, with marked success. He had even shown his firmness by resigning that office rather than take the oath prescribed by the civil constitution of the clergy. During the Revolution, an ardent Royalist, he emigrated and served as captain quarter-master with the army of Conde. Lally-Tollendall enters into all these details. He asks are these things to be considered as objections against his appointment. 'Serait il enfin dans ses moeurs, et pendant ses campagnes que M. Ferris n'aurait pas échappé aux fragilités humaines, qui avaient alors si peu de dignes ? Je n'accuse, ni n'excuse ?' But considering that it would be desirable to put at the head of the establishment a man, who, in point of morals, would be regarded in Dublin as *omni exceptione major*, he proposes to separate the office of administrator from that of superior, reserving the office of administrator in every event to Dr. Ferris. Then he proceeds to consider who would be the fittest person for the office of superior. For that office there were three persons whom he judged fully qualified, namely, Dr. M'Dermott, formerly a tenant in the College, Father Parker, O.S.B., then provisional administrator, and Dr. Kearney, formerly Superior. Concerning each he gives interesting details. He discusses also the question of salary. Before the Revolution the salary of the Superiors hardly exceeded 400 francs. Lally-Tollendall advocated the adoption of a more liberal scale of salaries, and he proposed that the Superior or Provisor-General should receive 2,400 fr., with board, lodging, light, and washing ; the Administrator-General, 4,000 fr. ; the Receiver, 1,200 fr. ; the Professor of Theology, 1,500 fr. ; the Professor of Humanity, 1,500 fr. ; the Librarian, 600 fr. ; the Chaplain, 600 fr. ; the Prefect of Studies, 3,000 fr.

Doubtless this elaborate statement made a deep impression on the mind of the Minister. For, though the Rev. Paul M'Pherson, D.D., visited Paris the following year, as representative of the Scotch Bishops, and pre-

sented a petition in support of Dr. Walsh, the Minister, by a decision dated 15th April, 1813, appointed Dr. Ferris, Provisional Administrator. The first act of the new administrator was to oblige Dr. Walsh to quit the College. He, himself, took up his residence in the old English College. Here he continued to reside, holding the office of Administrator-General of the British foundations in France until the abdication of Napoleon in 1814.

The Restoration brought back a new order of things, and the Bishops of Ireland were enabled to present to the French Government an ecclesiastic possessing their confidence, Rev. Paul Long, to fill the office of Superior and Administrator-General. He was not long in office when the return of Napoleon from Elba threw France once more into turmoil. Dr. Ferris seized the opportunity, and he obtained from the Emperor an order appointing him again administrator. On the return of the Bourbons after the battle of Waterloo, he was obliged to retire from that office. But he did not cease to meddle with the affairs of the College. About 1818 Archbishops Curtis and Murray visited Paris for the purpose of obtaining from the French Government the transfer to Ireland of all the property of the Irish seminaries in France. Through the influence of the Duke of Wellington the negotiations were on the point of being crowned with success. Dr. Ferris, on becoming acquainted with the project, at once set to work to defeat it. He drew up a protest against the transfer of the property to Ireland, and had it signed by the Irish officers in the service of France. In consequence the negotiations failed.

Nor was this the last occasion on which Abbé Ferris made himself conspicuous. About 1819 he succeeded in obtaining his restoration to the office of administrator. But his military proclivities led to his downfall. At a meeting of the Bureau Gratuit, Ferris felt hurt by an expression used by Hely d'Oyssel, Minister of Instruction, and sent him a challenge. According to O'Reilly,¹ he sent

¹ *The Irish Abroad and at Home.*

to the Minister a cartel with the words, 'My arm is the sword.' But Myles Byrne, who was his second, gives an somewhat different account :—

M. Ferris [he writes¹] asked me to be his second, along with a French officer a friend of his. I could not refuse although I thought it quite impossible for him to hold a pistol an instant in his hand, on account of the palsy with which he was afflicted. I therefore endeavoured to dissuade him from sending a message to M. Hely d'Oyssel, mentioning the advantage the latter would have. 'Never mind,' he replied, 'I shall rest my pistol on my left arm, and let my antagonist do the same.'

The challenge was sent. Hely d'Oyssel met it with contempt, and threatened to have the seconds sent sixty leagues from Paris. Ferris was obliged to retire from the office of administrator. He continued to live for some time in Paris, and kept a carriage. At a later period he purchased a house near Soissons, where he resided till his death, in 1828.

VII.

On the retirement of Dr. Ferris, the Rev. Charles Kearney, who had been Superior of the College before the Revolution, was appointed rector. The College soon resumed its exclusively ecclesiastical character. Abbé Walsh spent the closing years of his life at the old Collège des Lombards. Before his death he had the satisfaction of witnessing the dissolution of the Board which had caused him so much embarrassment. That Board was dissolved by order of His Majesty Charles X. The following words, taken from the evidence of Dr. Doyle before the House of Commons, in 1825, show the estimate in which its administration was held in Ireland :—

The funds belonging to our Irish College in France, or rather the management of them, was for some time past vested in a kind of Board at Paris, and this Board consisted of men who mismanaged our property very much. They placed in the seminary there, which belongs to the Irish, men in whose morals or capacity we had no confidence; and whilst the management

¹ *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 163.

of the Seminary continued in the hands of this Bureau, many of the Irish prelates were unwilling to send their subjects there. But some short time past, this Bureau was dissolved and the administration of the College vested, I believe, in some person appointed by the King ; I do not know, but it may have been in one of the Secretaries of State. An Irish ecclesiastic, however, who happened to be on business in Paris, was appointed President, and since then our objections to sending students have been, I may say, entirely removed.

Dr. Walsh died in 1825. By his last will and testament he made himself the benefactor of generations of students yet to come. That document, which crowns his services to the Church in Ireland, is too important to be omitted here.

TESTAMENT

DE MR. L'ABBÉ JEAN BAPTISTE WALSH, DOCTEUR EN THÉOLOGIE, SUPÉRIEUR DU COLLÈGE IRLANDAIS DE PARIS, ET ADMINISTRATEUR DES FONDATIONS CATHOLIQUES IRLANDAISES EN FRANCE.

PARIS, 23, RUE DES CARMES,
Le 18 Octobre, 1825.

CECI EST MON TESTAMENT

En remerciant Dieu des longs jours qu'il daigna m'accorder, je soussigné Jean Baptiste Walsh, prêtre, docteur en théologie demeurant à Paris rue des Carmes, 23, je fais, dis-je, le présent testament auquel seul je m'arrête comme contenant mes dernières volontés. Je nomme et constitue pour mon Légataire Universel Monseigneur Hyacinthe Louis de Quélen, Archevêque de Paris, et je le nomme en même temps mon Exécuteur testamentaire en lui donnant, sans inventaire, ni formalité quelconque, la saisie de tout ce que je posséderai à l'époque de mon décès, le tout à la charge de faire donner dans un séminaire de son choix une éducation ecclésiastique aux étudiants ci-après désignés Je l'autorise aussi à donner tous pouvoirs, jugés nécessaires à un prêtre qu'il choisira pour le seconder dans l'exécution du présent testament.

ARTICLE PREMIER.

Je prie Monseigneur d'accepter, un saint ciboire qui m'est cher, à cause de la donatrice, la princesse Elisabeth, d'heureuse mémoire. Je donne à M. Philibert, curé de St. Etienne-du-Mont, mon secrétaire à cylindre en bois d'acajou. J'autorise

ce même pasteur à partager mon argenterie de table entre les dames religieuses de la Madeleine, rue des Postes et les dames de la Miséricorde, rue Neuve Ste. Geneviève, pour leurs usages propres.

Je substitue la demoiselle Anne Victoire Puisée¹ à mes droits en vertu de mon bail au collège des Lombards; elle traitera avec les sous-locataires d'une part, et de l'autre elle acquittera, pendant sa jouissance, le loyer stipulé au dit bail qu'elle ne pourra pas céder à d'autres; elle est propriétaire de mon mobilier et d'autres effets qui sont spécifiés sur un état signé de moi.

Je donne et lègue à la veuve Roger notre domestique une rente annuelle et viagère à partir du jour de mon décès: cette rente sera de deux cents francs. Je charge les consciences des administrateurs successifs de mes biens, légués par le présent acte, de faire acquitter, chaque année, pour le repos de mon âme, cent messes basses qui seront rétribuées à raison de trente sols par messe. Hors ces dons, legs et charges prélevées, je consacre le reste de mes biens à l'éducation d'Etudiants natifs d'Irlande; toutefois sans préjudice d'un article que j'inscrirai ci-après dans l'intérêt de mes parents.

ARTICLE SECOND.

Mon petit neveu Jean M. Ginty, annonce d'heureuses dispositions; aussi je l'appelle le premier à profiter du présent legs, que je charge de payer sa pension, de lui fournir un modeste entretien, et encore de lui donner, à la fin de ses études, une somme de deux cents francs pour son voyage de retour en Irlande. J'observe ici qu'aucun autre étudiant ne pourra prétendre soit à un entretien, soit aux frais du voyage.

ARTICLE TROIS.

L'expérience a prouvé que des bourses produisent peu d'avantages à la mission, c'est pourquoi les revenus assignés au présent legs seront partagés en pensions annuelles d'encouragement qui seront à la nomination de Mgr. l'Archevêque de Paris et de ses successeurs respectivement, à qui je donne, à chacun *pro tempore*, la suprême direction du présent legs à la charge de maintenir les dispositions faites par le testateur. Or je pose comme base et condition *sine quâ non*, que chaque candidat sera, avant d'être nommé, sous-diacre au moins, et qu'il ne dépassera pas l'âge de vingt cinq ans.

ARTICLE QUATRE.

Les candidats doivent avoir des moyens personnels de

¹ Hussey (?),

subsistence, car les pensions d'encouragement seront multipliées autant que le permettront les revenus. Or j'attache une pension de cinq cents francs à un étudiant du nom de Walsh, qui sera choisi par Mgr. l'Archevêque de Paris dans tel diocèse qu'il voudra en Irlande; néanmoins en faisant circuler cette pension parmi les différentes diocèses qui seraient en état de présenter un étudiant de ce nom aux mutations successives. J'établis deux pensions de cinq cents francs chacune, pour deux étudiants du diocèse de Killaloe dont je suis natif. Thomas Magrath et Henri Carrey seront les premiers nommés et après ceux-ci l'Evêque présentera les candidats à l'avenir.

ARTICLE CINQ.

Je lègue à la veuve Burry,¹ ma nièce et à ses trois frères conjointement avec elle la somme une fois payée de deux mille francs que l'Evêque catholique de Killaloe emploiera à leur profit. Je lègue à mon petit neveu Jean M. Ginty et à ceux de sa branche la somme une fois payée de deux mille francs qu'il touchera lui-même aussitôt qu'il aura reçu la Prêtrise.

Je donne à M. Cochin dépositaire de mes inscriptions, la somme une fois payée de deux mille francs qui ne seront payés que lorsqu'il aura fait le transfert à ma succession de deux inscriptions formant ensemble quatorze cent cinquante francs de revenu, qui ont été acquittés de mes fonds, mais qui sont inscrites sous le nom Cochin à cause de ma maladie à l'époque du placement. Je prie Monseigneur de faire assurer à ma succession cette somme de 1450 f. que l'on paraît disposé à détourner de ma succession.

Signé: JEAN BAPTISTE WALSH.

ARTICLE SIX.

Ayant détaillé les charges dans les articles précédents je donne ici un aperçu des revenus annuels qui sont appuyés de pièces et documents, savoir :

- 1°. Inscriptions, neuf mille neuf cent cinquante francs ;
- 2°. Obligations sur une maison à Paris cinq cents francs ;
- 3°. Obligation sur l'Abbaye-aux-Bois à Paris, cinq cents francs ;
- 4°. Contrat sur la terre de Serrant (Anjou) trois cents francs.

J'estime que la caisse fournira les sommes portées dans l'article cinq de sorte que les revenus courants pourront être appliqués sans délai, aux destinations spécifiées dans les précédents articles ; il y aura même un excédent annuel de revenu qui sera employé à l'éducation d'une seconde classe d'étudiants Irlandais dans les ordres sacrés qui recevront, chacun son encouragement de deux cent cinquante francs per année pendant

¹ Barry (?)

le cours ordinaire des études autorisées par Mgr. l'Archevêque qui a seul le droit d'instituer et de destituer selon sa prudence. Je mets en tête de la seconde classe Mr. Crotty et Mr. Spehne étudiants actuels en théologie au séminaire Irlandais. Je m'en réfère aux renseignements que j'ai déjà donnés pour les diocèses qui ont le plus besoin d'encouragement. Lorsqu'il y aura des épargnes à cause des vacances éventuelles, mon intention est qu'une partie de ces épargnes soit versée à l'association formée à Paris pour la propagation de la foi catholique dans les Deux-Indes : s'il plaît à Dieu, je parlerai dans un autre moment, de ma chapelle et de mon mobilier. Mlle. Puisée restera gardienne du tout ; je lui dicterai l'emploi à en faire :

J'ai prévenu Messieurs les Missionnaires de France de mon désir d'être enterré parmi les ecclésiastiques au Mont-Calvaire.

Fait et écrit de ma main ce dix-huit octobre, mille huit cent vingt cinq.

Signé : JEAN BAPTISTE WALSH.

Ensuite est écrit : Enregistré à Paris, le six Janvier 1826. Reçu cinq francs cinquante centimes D. C.

Signé : LABOURCY.

Il est ainsi audit testament signé et paraphé par Mr. le Président du tribunal civil de première Instance de la Seine, et par lui déposé pour minute à Me. Charles Etienne Chapellier, Notaire à Paris, aux termes de l'ordonnance du dit Président, contenu au procès-verbal de description du dit testament en date à Paris du trente décembre mil huit cent vingt cinq, enregistré.

Pour extrait certifié conforme à l'original notairé,
Paris, le 8 Novembre, 1859.

L'Administrateur des fondations Irlandaises en France.

CH. QUIN-LA-CROIX,

Ch. de St. Denis. Off. de l'inst. pub.

Such was Dr. Walsh's last service to the Church in Ireland. Looking back on his career it is evident he had many enemies and encountered much opposition. But his enemies were men like Ferris, whose character was tarnished, or like Lally-Tollendal, who speaks with the passion and prejudice of a partisan. The charge of misappropriating the funds confided to him was ably refuted by Dr. Walsh. The Bureau Gratuit after a rigorous examination declared that his accounts were accurate. On the other hand he had many and loyal friends. The Abbé de

Salamon, Cardinal Zelada, the Princess Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Paris, and his Vicars. Pius VI appreciated Dr. Walsh, and praised his zeal. Pius VII, too, it is said, were it not for the representations of the British Government, would have appointed him Bishop of Waterford in succession to Dr. Hussey. His dying bequests show his zeal for religion. He may, perhaps, in soliciting protection, have used expressions such as would be most likely to find admittance to the French mind ; but he was at all times a loyal subject of his sovereign. He was a man of solid learning, an able administrator, an exemplary ecclesiastic, and an intrepid defender of the rights of the establishment over which he presided.

The College which he re-opened on the Feast of St. Remy, 1805, soon renewed its youth. During the century that has since elapsed hardly less than one thousand priests have gone forth from its halls. The event which Mr. Wilberforce deprecated has frequently taken place ; and students of the College have wielded, and still wield, the pastoral staff. Lowering as is the future, it is less dark than it was one hundred years ago. It is true the need for education in a foreign land has long since passed away ; but the ancient Irish foundations on the Continent deserve to be treasured. They are not only an evidence of the sacrifices made by Irishmen in the past for conscience sake, but they may still be made a means of associating the Church in Ireland to all that is highest and best in the ecclesiastical life and culture of the Continent.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

‘PISCATORES HOMINUM’

A BELATED NOTE

A VERY belated note indeed, since it refers to an article which appeared in this Review more than ‘twenty golden years ago.’ But it is less absurd to offer here corrections of so ancient an article than it would be in the case of an ordinary magazine; for the I. E. RECORD is preserved in bound volumes in very many libraries, and many of my readers can without much trouble refer back to page 566 of the volume for the year 1883. A long Latin poem is given there, with a translation by the present writer, who had previously, with the help of sundry correspondents of the *Tablet*, corrected several mistakes which had crept into the verses as usually printed.

Eight years later a letter came to me from Bloomfield, Emyvale, from the respected priest who is now known as Canon O’Connor, P.P. of Newtownbutler in the diocese of Clogher. On the 1st September, 1891, he wrote:—

In turning over some back numbers of the I. E. RECORD I came across an interesting contribution of yours in the September number of 1883, entitled ‘Piscatores Hominum.’ At once it occurred to me that I possess a copy of that *concio ad clerum*, written about 1776, by a student of the College of Antwerp named Bernard Callan, who afterwards became P.P. of Inniskeen [near Carrickmacross] in the diocese of Clogher. From this manuscript copy you will see that the title given therein is more appropriate—‘Summi Sacerdotis Jesu Christi ad Sacerdotes Alloquium.’ The missing line in the second quatrain is supplied. In other respects, too, my copy appears to be more perfect; at least it is more in harmony with metre and rhythm. I have marked the points of difference, and take the liberty of sending them to you, that you may make what use of them you deem best.

I do not understand why I did not deem it best to make at once the use of Canon O’Connor’s notes that I am now making of them. He mentioned besides that the copyist of the *Alloquium*, Father Bernard Callan (he signs

himself in Irish characters, 'Brian na Callan mac Art') was a maternal relative of his, who, as I have said, was at the time, 1776, studying theology in the College of Antwerp. 'He died in 1809, parish priest of the united parishes of Inniskeen and Donaghmoynne. After his death Donaghmoynne became a mensal parish of the Bishop of Clogher, and continued to be such for several years.'

The second line of the poem calls priests (in the copy printed in these pages) 'praecones veridici, lucerna diei.' This is greatly improved in the Inniskeen manuscript :—

Praecones veridici ac lucernae Dei.

The sixth line, also,

Vos vocati palmites, ego vera vitis,

is improved by changing *vocati* into *vocavi*.

I, the true vine, have called you the branches.

In third quatrain omit the comma after *ecclesiae*. In stanza eight the manuscript obeys Henry's First Book :—

'Not' in the imperative is *ne* :

A *non* is hateful then to see—

And accordingly our new reading is 'Ne estote desides.'

More important corrections occur in stanzas ten, eleven, and twelve. In our printed copy the following line wanted two of its necessary thirteen syllables, which Father Bernard Callan completes by adding *quibus* :—

Sed quid, quibus, qualiter, ubi, quando, quare.

Also, instead of *spectat officio*, etc., rhythm and grammar require

Spectat ad officium vestrae dignitatis.

In the same stanza *pendatis* ought to be *prendatis*, and *cum* ought to be omitted before *Giezi*. The last line of the twelfth quatrain ought to be, as in Canon O'Connor's manuscript,

Et salutem omnium sedulo curare.

In the last stanza the manuscript rightly changes

spiritualem into *spiritalem* so as to reduce the number of syllables to the orthodox baker's dozen.

On the other hand the version printed by me in 1883 is manifestly more correct than the one with which I have collated it in stanzas nine and fourteen. *Sustentatur* (instead of my *sustinetur*) violates the rhyme ; and so does

Nullus fastus elevet statum vestrae mentis,

followed by three lines ending with *testis*, *inhonestis*, and *coelestis*.

No light has been thrown on the authorship of this beautiful exhortation to the priests of God, on which many a good meditation might be made, and (please God) has been made.

M. R.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE SOUL AFTER COMMUNION

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have been reading lately the well-known learned and pious work of the late Father J. B. Dalgairns on *The Holy Communion*, and have met there a passage which grates on my theological sense, and seems to me at variance with the doctrine on the subject imbibed in the halls of Maynooth from learned and distinguished professors. The author writes¹: ‘It has been contended that when the species are consumed within us, and the body of our Lord disappears, the soul of Jesus remains behind, and continues the real union with us which it had contracted before. And this hypothesis, it will be observed, seems to unite all the requisite conditions, and to avoid the disadvantages of the other two. It perfectly comes up to our Lord’s promise that He would establish His dwelling with us, for it is a permanent union with His Sacred Humanity, caused directly by the Holy Eucharist, and quite distinct from sanctifying grace.’ The opinion is here held that when the sacred species are dissolved within the communicant, and the body of our Lord disappears, the soul of Jesus remains behind and causes a permanent union with His Sacred Humanity directly by the Holy Eucharist.

Now my belief, drawn from my study of our theologians, always has been that when the Sacred Species have been consumed and dissolved, not only the body and blood, but also the soul and divinity of our divine Lord cease to exist within the communicant. The soul is present because it is united to His body and blood to form His Sacred Humanity: ‘Christ rising again from the dead, dieth now no more, death shall no more have dominion over Him.’² The soul of our Lord is now permanently united to His body; and when the body of Christ ceases to be present, His soul also ceases to be sacramentally present. If the Apostles had consecrated while our

¹ At p. 187, 6th ed., 1897.

² Rom. vi. 9.

Lord was dead and His body lay in the tomb, then under the species of bread there would have been the body of our Lord united with His divinity by virtue of the hypostatic union. The soul would not be present because the soul is present by natural concomitance, which in this hypothesis is dissolved. The soul of our Lord is so united to His body and blood, forming with them His human nature, that when His body and blood are no longer present, neither is His soul. His soul, in my opinion, never exists separately from His body and blood. The body and blood of our Lord leave the communicant when the Species are dissolved, and His soul leaves at the same time.

‘Ex quo infertur,’ writes De Lugo,¹ ‘materiam poni ex vi verborum, non vero animam rationalem, quia licet anima non poneretur, possent esse vera verba ratione organizationis accidentalis: ponitur tamen de facto anima propter unionem quam de facto habet cum materia ut dixit Tridentinum.’ Even if the soul of our Lord remained with the communicant after His body had left, there would not be a ‘permanent union thus formed with His Sacred Humanity,’ because that Humanity ‘constat ex corpore et anima, sine quibus non datur homo.’²

In answer to the question: ‘Quando, et quomodo accidentia desinant continere Christum Dominum,’ Lugo says: ‘Certum est, desinere Christum esse sub speciebus, cum ad eum gradum corruptionis perveniunt, ut non essent apta continere substantiam panis nec vini. . . . Certum item est non desinere Christum esse sub speciebus nisi in iis casibus, in quibus desineret substantia panis vel vini, cujus loco subrogatus est.’³ It is certain that not merely the body of Christ, but *totus Christus*, the whole Christ, ceases to be under the Species when they are dissolved. But Christ consists of a soul as well as body; consequently, His soul ceases to be present at the same time as His body. The soul of Christ is present there only on account of its connection with the body; therefore, when the body leaves, so does the soul. ‘In hoc sacramentum,’ says St. Ambrose, ‘Christus est quia corpus Christi.’⁴—I am, sincerely yours,

J. J. KELLY.

We agree with our correspondent's view of the hypo-

¹ Disp. viii., tom. iii., p. 687.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 716.

⁴ *L. de Initiandis*, c. 9.

thesis put forward by Father Dalgairns. Our Lord, Body and Blood, Soul and Divinity, is present under the sacramental species. His Soul is present, not *vi verborum*, but by reason of its natural connection with His living Body and Blood. When the Body and Blood of Christ cease to be present under the sacramental species this link binding the Soul of Christ to the soul of the recipient is broken, and, in consequence, the Soul of our Lord departs.

We have searched in vain through the theologians for any serious support of the hypothesis put forward by Father Dalgairns. He apparently quotes St. Bonaventure in favour of this hypothesis. Yet a glance at the words of St. Bonaventure would seem to show clearly that the Saint speaks only of a mystical union of love between the Soul of Christ and the soul of the recipient of the Blessed Eucharist. St. Bonaventure says: 'Thou hast chosen perfectly to incorporate us with Thy Body, and to give us Thy Blood to drink, so that being drunk with Thy love, we shall have but one heart and one soul with Thee. For, since the Blood is the seat of the soul, when we drink Thy Blood our soul is inseparably united with Thy Soul.' St. Bonaventure in this passage seems to speak of a mystical union of love, and not of any physical permanent union, such as the hypothesis mentioned by Father Dalgairns would imply.

We may mention, in fine, that Father Dalgairns, having explained three theories in connection with the union which exists between Christ and the recipient of the Blessed Eucharist, says: 'In a matter which God has not fully revealed, nor His Church decided, it is impossible for us to pronounce which of these theories is true.' So Father Dalgairns does not bind himself to the hypothesis mentioned above.

MIXED MARRIAGE CELEBRATED IN A REGISTRY OFFICE

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the July I. E. RECORD in answer to the query, 'Does a Catholic who marries a Protestant in a registry office incur any censure?' the reply given is, 'he does

not incur any censure according to the common law of the Church.' This decision seems to me strange, and contrary to what I always believed on the subject. Starting with the principles that (1) *communicatio in divinis* between Catholics and Protestants is forbidden under censure, and (2) that marriage in a registry office, though illicit, is valid, and a sacrament of which the contracting parties are the minister, it appears to follow that there is necessarily *communicatio in divinis*, and consequently censure incurred. An explanation will oblige yours,

J. C. S.

The difficulty raised by our correspondent is not unfamiliar to canonists and theologians. It is a difficulty which is common to mixed marriages celebrated in a registry office, and mixed marriages contracted outside a registry office when the laws of the Church about mixed marriages have not been observed. In both cases the unlawful marriage is valid, and consequently the contracting parties unlawfully combine to confer a true sacrament. Our explanation will apply equally to both cases.

There are two senses in which the phrase *communicatio in divinis* is taken by canonists and theologians. It is taken to signify any communication in sacred things between a Catholic and a non-Catholic. Such communication is unlawful unless it is entered into for a sufficiently grave reason. It is taken also to signify communication in ecclesiastical rites which would show approval of heretical or schismatical ceremonies. When a mixed marriage is celebrated in a Protestant church before a Protestant minister, acting as such, there is clearly a *communicatio in divinis* in this second sense. When a mixed marriage is contracted in a registry office or outside a registry office, but without any ceremonies belonging to a heretical or schismatical sect, there is *communicatio in divinis* in the first sense. Wernz,¹ speaking on this point, says:—

Unde patet duplex ille sensus vetitae communionis in divinis. Etenim matrimonium est sacramentum novae legis, in quo

¹ *Jus Decretalium*, iv., p. 828.

ambo conjuges ut ministri concurrunt ad conficiendum sacramentum; at sine dubio illicitum est cum haeretico vel schismatico ita concurrere ad conficiendum sacramentum, nisi gravis ratio excusat talem cooperationem. . . . At quod pejus est, fieri potest, ut conjuges coram ministro acatholico celebrent nuptias ritu religioso sectariorum; id, quod sine gravi peccato fieri non potest; videntur enim ministrum acatholicum recognoscere ut legitimum ejusque ritum haeticum vel schismaticum approbare et profiteri.

When the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis* imposed an excommunication specially reserved to the Holy See on those having *communicatio in divinis* with heretics or apostates, there is question only of such communication as would imply approval of, or favour to, heretics and apostates as such. There is no question of any communication which does not show favour to heresy or apostacy. This follows from the words of the Constitution: 'Omnes a christiana fide apostatas, et omnes ac singulos haeticos quocunque nomine censeantur, et cujusque sectae existant, eisque credentes, eorumque receptores, fautores ac generaliter quoslibet eorum defensores.' Whether mixed marriage celebrated in opposition to the laws of the Church comes under the phrase 'eisque credentes,' as some hold, or under the phrase 'fautores,' as others think, it is clear that it is included only in so far as it shows approval or favour to heresy or heretics. Now, only mixed marriages which are performed before a Protestant minister, acting as a Protestant minister, show such favour to heresy. A mixed marriage celebrated against the laws of the Church, but not before a heretical minister acting as such, does not show any favour to heresy, and consequently does not fall under the excommunication.

This opinion is the teaching of theologians and canonists. Wernz says¹ :—

Catholici quamvis in contrahendis matrimoniis sine legitima dispensatione obtenta grave delictum committant, tamen ex jure communi ob solam matrimonii mixti celebrationem non

¹ *Jus Decretalium*, iv., p. 831.

subjiciuntur poenis ecclesiasticis sive ipso facto incurrendis sive per sententiam infligendis.

Gasparri¹ speaks almost in the same terms.

We are not aware of any decision of the Roman Congregations expressly stating that a censure is not incurred in the case under discussion, still there are decisions which seem to imply that no such excommunication is incurred. The S. Cong. Inq., for example, replies (23rd August, 1877) to the question:—

‘Utrum in contractis matrimoniis (cum haereticis) pastores animarum partem poenitentem, dummodo seclusum sit scandalum, tuta conscientia ad receptionem sacramentorum admittere valeant?’:—‘Quoad matrimonia valida ad sacramenta percipienda posse admitti sine praevia renovatione consensus, sed ab iisdem percipiendis arcendos, . . . donec obtinuerint absolutionem a censuris incursis una cum poenitentiis salutaribus, casu quo contraxerint coram ministro haeretico.’

The latter part of the reply seems to imply* that a valid marriage contracted with a heretic, otherwise than before a heretical minister, does not incur the excommunication of the *Apostolicae Sedis*.

We have devoted so much space to this question because it is very important in view of the power of absolving from grave sin committed by those who marry heretics against the laws of the Church. No special faculties of absolving are required when the marriage has not been contracted before a heretical minister. We speak, of course, of the common law of the Church. Bishops have power to impose episcopal censures on guilty parties, although it frequently is better in such cases to proceed ‘potius per exhortationes quam edictis poenalibus praesertim excommunicationis.’¹

CASE OF VIOLATION OF ‘THE SIGILLUM’

REV. DEAR SIR,—I am very anxious, and would feel very grateful to you for an answer to the following query. It is,

¹ *De Matrimonio*, n. 448.

² S. Cong. Prop. Fide, 16th March, 1878.

to my knowledge, very practical, and surely must be of interest to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. I will put the case as clearly and as briefly as I can: Suppose a secular priest meets with a penitent who confesses a reserved sin (v.g., perjury). The priest through confusion or thoughtlessness does not advert that it is a reserved case, and absolves the penitent in the ordinary way, *without having obtained faculties*, which absolution I take to be invalid. Suppose the same priest afterwards, in the course of ordinary conversation, mentions this precise case and his own mistake, but *inominatim*, to a missionary (v.g., at the beginning of a mission), and that the missionary soon after gets to understand from a general confession of the penitent *that he is the very person spoken of* by the secular priest. I assume that the missionary *could not possibly* come to the knowledge of the penitent, *save and except through the confession alone of the penitent himself*. In that assumed case, would there be a *violatio sigilli* on the part of the secular priest?

My own opinion is that there would *not* be, for there is no *violatio* where there is not a *gravamen poenitentis*, or where the sacrament is not rendered *odiosum*, neither of which occurs in the case proposed. There is no *gravamen*, for the penitent is not defamed, or annoyed, or insulted, or put to shame, or injured in any way; the only defamation that occurs (if any), is from his own free and candid confession to the second confessor, i.e., to the missionary. Nor is the sacrament rendered *odiosum*, for, *de facto*, he freely confesses his sins and the reserved case in the number; and neither he, the penitent, nor, indeed, anybody else, can ever get to the knowledge that the former confessor spoke of his *reserved* sin, except we suppose a moral impossibility, viz.: that the second confessor *directly* revealed the sin.

A SUBSCRIBER.

We cannot share our correspondent's opinion about the question which he proposes for solution. There was, of course, no direct violation of the *sigillum* in the case. But there seems to have been an indirect violation of the *sigillum*. An indirect violation takes place (a) whenever there is danger that the person whose sins the confessor narrates will be known to be the penitent; (b) whenever the

narration of the sins by the confessor causes a gravamen to the penitent, or makes the tribunal of penance difficult for the faithful, even though there is no danger that the person whose sins are told by the confessor will be known to be the penitent in the case.¹ In the case mentioned by our correspondent there seems to have been danger that the missionary would find out the person whose sin the secular priest narrated. During a mission general confessions are frequently made by the faithful. The missionary is likely to be the confessor of penitents making these general confessions. He consequently is likely to discover the penitent whose sins he has already been told by the secular priest, when these sins are in some way exceptional.

The fact that the missionary learns the identity of the penitent from a subsequent confession does not make the secular priest less guilty, because it is not the mode in which the danger exists, but the fact of the danger existing at all, which constitutes the violation of the sigillum. To make this clear let us suppose that the missionary had heard the general confession before the secular priest narrated to him the case of reservation. Would not danger of discovery of the penitent in this case make the priest guilty, at least objectively, of a violation of the sigillum? Lehmkuhl,² and Genicot³ hold that there would be at least an objective violation of the sigillum. We see no substantial difference between danger existing by reason of a past confession and danger existing by reason of a future confession. Moreover, it is very important to provide for the freedom of future confessions. But the action of the secular priest was certainly of such a nature as to diminish this freedom. So we believe that there was a violation of the sigillum in the case mentioned by our correspondent.

We agree with our correspondent so far as to hold that

¹ Lehmkuhl, ii., n. 465.

² *Casus Conscientiae*, ii., n. 554, r. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, ii., p. 373.

if there were, morally speaking, no such danger in existence there would be no violation of the sigillum, because we see nothing to cause a gravamen to the penitent, or to make the tribunal of penance 'odiosum.' Perhaps our correspondent means to speak of such a case, although it seems difficult to suppose that danger of discovery does not exist in the case as stated.

It may be well to state, in fine, that the absolution given by the secular priest was altogether invalid, since our correspondent speaks of a case in which the only sin confessed was a reserved sin. If an unreserved sin were also confessed the secular priest would have directly absolved the bona fide and contrite penitent from the unreserved sin, and would have indirectly absolved him at the same time from the reserved sin. This indirect absolution would have left intact the obligation of subsequently obtaining direct absolution from the reserved sin.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

THE CONFRATERNITY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

IN the June number of the I. E. RECORD was published the very remarkable and important Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Pius X on the teaching of Christian Doctrine. The same issue of the I. E. RECORD contained an article in which were noted the salient features of this document so far as it merits the practical attention of the clergy whom it principally concerns. Having drawn, in the course of his Letter, a sad but vivid picture of the terrible consequences to modern society resulting from the pre-prevailing ignorance of religious truth, the Supreme Pontiff concludes by laying down certain regulations the observance of which is designed to aid in stemming the tide of evils which flows from a want of knowledge of the doctrines of our Faith. These regulations (subject to the modifications that may be granted for particular countries) are to be observed throughout the universal Church. That the

obligation imposed by them is serious, no one is permitted to doubt who reads these words : ' *Nolentes igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, huic gravissimo supremi apostolatus officio satisfacere atque unum paremque modum in re tanta ubique esse ; suprema Nostra auctoritate, quae sequuntur, in diocesibus universis observanda et exsequenda constituimus districteque mandamus.*'

These rules are six in number, and may be seen in the issue of the I. E. RECORD already referred to. With one of these we are directly concerned just now. Rule 4 directs :—

In omnibus et singulis paroeciis consociatio canonice instituat, cui vulgo nomen Congregatio Doctrinae Christianae, Eà parochi, praesertim ubi sacerdotum numerus sit exiguus, adiutores in catechesi tradenda laicos habebunt qui se huic dedent magisterio tum studio gloriae Dei, tum ad sacras lucrandas indulgentias, quas Romani Pontifices largissime tribuerunt.

To give effect to this imperative instruction a branch of the Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine must be established in each Parish, and as this Association is not well known in this country, it will not be out of place to give our readers some few facts about its history, constitution, scope and aim, the method of canonical erection, and the indulgences with which it has been enriched from time to time by successive Pontiffs.

HISTORY OF THE CONFRATERNITY ¹

The inroads which error and heresy made on the Faith during the progress of the pretended Reformation on the Continent being justly attributed to defective religious training and education, serious efforts began to be made at the time to remedy these defects and to provide the faithful with a solid groundwork of Christian teaching. These movements enlisted the support of many good, pious sons of the Church. Among those who believed that the mists of religious error would disappear before the strong

¹ Cf. *Analecta Jur. Pont.*, ser. 3, p. 998 ; Helyot, *Hist. Dei Ordres Religieux ; Dict. Cath.*

light of Catholic truth, and that the most effective barrier against the advance of heresy was a thorough understanding of the Catechism, was a Milanese nobleman named Marco Cusani. Gathering around him in the year 1560, a number of Priests and laymen, actuated by a like zeal, he formed a society for the purpose of teaching the truths of faith to children, and adults, who were ignorant of them, in the churches on Sundays and Holidays. During this year Cusani came to Rome. Here the same good work engaged the earnest efforts of himself and numerous willing associates. Their noble labours were appreciated by the reigning Pontiff, Pius IV, who, to give freer scope for the exercise of the good work, assigned to the band of workers the Church of St. Appolinaire as the scene of their operations. It was here that Caesar Baronius threw in his lot with the workers and helped them by counsel and example. The Confraternity grew in numbers, and its activities also spread to many parts in the environs of Rome. In 1567 Pius V, recognized its usefulness, granted special favours to those who became its members, and ordered that branches of the *confrérie* should be established in every parish.

In 1586 the original founder was ordained a Priest, and retired to a house near the Sixtine Bridge, where he was later on joined by others. A sort of community life was established. This, it would seem, was the beginning of the Congregation of the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, as distinct from the Confraternity whose members, living in the world, consisted of secular Priests and lay persons of both sexes. Pope Gregory XIII augmented the privileges of the Sodality, and gave over to it the Church of St. Agatha. In the beginning the secular and religious branches were united under the government of a common Protector, who had under him four Definitors, two of whom were chosen from the Fathers, and two from the *confrères*. Afterwards a dual regimen succeeded to the united system, and the name of Provost was given to the head of the Congregation, while a President ruled over the Confraternity. The latter

had at his service a number of subordinate officials, who in their various capacities as *Visitors*, *Councillors*, *Deputies*, *Ushers*, and *Masters* helped materially to promote the final objects of the Association. In 1596 Clement VIII commissioned Cardinal Bellarmine to draw up a simple catechism to be used for uniformity sake in all the schools within the pale of the organization. Paul V became the joint Protector of the two Orders, and decreed that for the future this office should be discharged by the Cardinal Vicar of Rome. The same Pontiff, by the Bull *Ex credito Nobis*, erected the Confraternity into an Arch-Confraternity with powers of affiliating other branches. Subsequent Popes increased the spiritual favours enjoyed by the members of the Arch-Confraternity, and we find Urban VIII, Innocent X, and Clement X, strengthening the Society and enhancing its efficacy for good by the addition of new rules and constitutions.

Although the Fathers of Christian Doctrine form an institution which is distinct from the Arch-Confraternity, (the rules to be observed by the members of each organization being such as are suited to the conditions of the life they respectively lead), yet the principal end and aim of both is identical, and each endeavours, in its own way, to secure the religious education of the young, and the instruction of the ignorant in the knowledge of Christian truth.

P. MORRISROE.

[To be continued.]

DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY

IRISH IN THE NATIONAL SCHOOLS. THE TREASURY AND THE BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION. ATTENDANCE OF CATHOLICS AT NON-CATHOLIC SCHOOLS. EMIGRATION AND ITS ATTENDANT EVILS. THE EARTHQUAKES IN ITALY.

At the meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland at Maynooth, on Tuesday and Wednesday, October the 10th and 11th, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and sent for publication :—

I.

Earnestly as the Bishops desire to encourage and develop the teaching of Irish in the College of Maynooth and in the Diocesan Seminaries, they have to regard it as to a large extent impossible to have effect given to the resolutions frequently passed by them in reference to this matter, so long as the language is not generally taught in the National Schools throughout the country.

The Managers, therefore, are earnestly exhorted to have their teachers trained for the teaching of Irish, and to see that it is taught in their schools.

II.

Entirely sympathizing, as we do, with the members of the Gaelic League in their effort to maintain and to extend the teaching of Irish in the National Schools, we join with them in deploring the declared intention of the Treasury to withdraw the fees which, for some time, have been paid for the teaching of this subject.

III.

We believe that certain recent proceedings of the National Board afford evidence of the absolute necessity, in the interests of Irish education, of the appointment of Commissioners, of whom the majority, and not, as at present, a small minority,

will understand the educational needs of the country, and be in sympathy with the principles and sentiments of the mass of the population.

IV.

We desire to associate ourselves with our brethren, the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Westminster, in the warning which they have deemed it necessary to issue against the frequentation by Catholics of non-Catholic schools.

We do not, indeed, believe that this evil exists to any considerable extent amongst the Catholics of Ireland. Their spirit of faith and their religious instincts, without any special instruction of ours, have been sufficient to protect the great body of our people from so un-Catholic and perilous a course of action.

Yet there may be cases which, if left unrebuked, might lead to ruinous consequences for the children, boys or girls, immediately concerned, and become a cause of scandal to others. As things now are in Ireland, there is an ample supply of good secondary Catholic schools, and nothing but an utter indifference to the interests of religion can explain the conduct of parents who, for some imaginary social or educational advantage, expose the faith of their children to the imminent dangers by which they must be surrounded whilst being educated in non-Catholic schools.

V.

For many years past, the saddest aspect of Irish affairs has been reflected in the stream of emigration from every part of the country. Hence, on more than one occasion, we have publicly appealed to our young people not to allow themselves to be allured by the enticements with which letters from America are so frequently filled, to rush into the dangers of life in foreign cities where too often the measure of success falls far short of the high expectations of the emigrant, and a considerable proportion of those who leave us do not succeed at all.

In this earnest advice the best friends of our people on the other side of the Atlantic have not failed to express their complete concurrence. But still the process of national exhaustion continues almost unabated; and, whilst it is not our present purpose to dwell on the pressing need of utilising the

land and the resources of the country so as to employ the people at home, or to insist on the extent to which capable Irishmen, charged with responsibility and fortified with means and authority to open up the native sources of wealth, could find a remedy for this ruinous depletion, in the existing state of things the duty devolves upon us of warning youthful emigrants against certain perils, which, though not inherent in emigration, have been only too frequently associated with it in the past.

We need only give a brief summary of them here, leaving it to the zeal and wisdom of our priests to set them forth becomingly at greater length, and in a way that their flocks will readily be able to follow :—

(1) While gifts from kind neighbours are an appropriate expression of friendly feeling, gatherings at night that would interfere with the sleep of a person going on board, and, much more, drinking assemblies, are not only cruel, but entirely out of place in the circumstances.

(2) Girl emigrants should be most careful not to form acquaintances with men on board who are strangers, whether they be passengers or ship-hands, and they ought to be far too self-respecting to accept treats of any kind from them.

(3) On landing at Ellis Island, Irish girls should look to the offices of the Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary for guidance, and never trust themselves independently to the direction of persons who offer to befriend them as relatives or acquaintances from the same neighbourhood in Ireland.

(4) Apart from the danger of deception, which is a very real one, parents at home should recollect that not every relative or neighbour or friend of theirs in America is qualified in himself and his surroundings for the responsibility of safe-guarding the unsuspecting innocence of youthful emigrants. Hence in every instance the decision of the Ellis Island authorities should be final for Irish girls, as regards destination, overland journey, and travelling companionship.

These are the chief dangers attending emigration to which we wish the clergy to direct the earnest attention of their flocks ; and the better to give effect to the purpose which all have so much at heart, we direct that until further notice this short statement be read from the altar at the principal Mass in all

churches on the first Sunday of the months of February, March, and September each year.

APPEAL BY THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

The following appeal for aid for the sufferers from the recent disastrous earthquakes in the South of Italy has been issued by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, recently assembled at Maynooth :—

We have lately received from the venerable prelates of the South of Italy many pitiful letters making earnest appeal to the Irish Bishops to come to the aid of their afflicted people in the midst of the terrible calamity which the recent earthquakes have brought upon their dioceses.

No words, they tell us, can adequately describe the sufferings of the people. Throughout wide areas, thousands of families are homeless ; their churches and hospitals are wholly or practically destroyed ; and famine and pestilence are brooding over large and populous districts. It will need, we are told, very large sums from all quarters to bring effective help to those afflicted populations ; and even the smallest help from individuals will be thankfully received.

We believe that the Irish people, many of whom are themselves no strangers to suffering, will not be insensible to this earnest appeal ; and we confidently hope that those especially to whom God has given more abundant means will send some effective help to the afflicted people of Southern Italy. It is an act of the highest charity, and the Bishops throughout Ireland will gladly take charge of any subscriptions they may receive for this purpose, and will duly transmit them, through his Eminence Cardinal Logue, to the Holy See.

(Signed),

✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, <i>Chairman.</i>	
✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, <i>Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,</i>	} <i>Secretaries to the Meeting.</i>
✠ JOHN, <i>Bishop of Elphin,</i>	

POWERS CONFERRED ON THE IRISH BISHOPS TO GRANT
CERTAIN DISPENSATIONS IN THE REGULATIONS LAID
DOWN IN THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL 'ON THE TEACHING
OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE'

S. CONGREGAZIONE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE

Protocollo N. 67152.

MENTIONEM FACIAS QUAESO HUIUS NUMERI IN TUA RESPONSIONE.

ON PRIE DE CITER CE MÊME NUMERO DANS LA RÉPONSE.

OGGETTO

ROMA, 24 *Julii*, 1905.

Eme. ac Revme. Dne. mi Obsme.

Litteris diei 19 superioris mensis Junii Eminentia Tua, nomine etiam caeterorum Antistitum Hibernicorum, significabat non mediocres difficultates obstare, attentis rerum et locorum adjunctis, quominus in Hibernia adamussim serventur, quoad tempus ipsum et modum, ea omnia quae in Encyclicis Litteris de Christiana doctrina tradenda nuper Summus Pontifex constituebat.

Quapropter eadem Eminentia Tua implorabat ut Episcopi Hiberniae, salva semper sabluberrimae illius legis substantia, cum suis parochis dispensare possent circa ea quae respiciunt tempus et modum adimplendi mandata apostolica, quae in memoratis Litteris Encyclicis inculcantur.

Quae omnia ab Eminentia Tua exposita atque implorata quum relata fuerint Sanctitati Suae in Audientia diei 18 ver- tentis mensis Julii, Summus Pontifex oblatae ei petitioni benigne adnu- it, ita tamen ut ea quae nuper Ipse praescripsit, quaeque ab ipso pastoralis officio animarum dimanant, quoad ipsam rei substantiam, sancte custodiantur diligenterque serventur. Interim, occasione hac utor ut mei obsequii sensus in Te pro- feram atque manus tuas humillime deosculer.

Eminentiae Tuae Revmae.,

Humillimus. obsqmus. servus verus.

Fr. J. M. Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*,

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secrius.*

THE CUSTOM OF WEARING THE STOLE IN CHOIR AND THE
COPE AT VESPERS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM
ORIOLEN

REPROBANTUR CONSUETUDINES INDUCTAE RELATÆ AD USUM
STOLÆ IN CHORO ET PLUVIALIUM IN VESPERIS

Revmus. Dnus. Ioannes Maura y Gelabert, Episcopus Oriolensis, vehementer exoptans ut Rubricæ et Decreta, quæ ad divinum cultum spectant, rite servantur, Sacræ Rituum Congregationi ea, quæ sequuntur, humiliter exposuit :

In Cathedrali ecclesia Oriolensi inde ab anno 1626 adest consuetudo, vi cuius Canonicus Hebdomadarius utitur stola in omnibus Horis canonicis persolvendis. Item diebus in quibus iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum assumenda sunt pluvialia, accipiuntur hoc modo : Hebdomadarius habens stolam supra mozzetam, manet in habitu choralis usque ad hymnum infra cuius cantum accipit pluviale ; duo beneficiati in festis minus solemnibus, simul cum duobus Canonicis in solemnioribus, illud accipiunt in principio Vesperarum, sed tam omnes isti quam Hebdomadarius pluviale assumunt in ipso choro quin in sacristiam convenient ; tempore vero incensationis idem Hebdomadarius associatur ad altare a duobus aliis Beneficiatis simplici habitu choralis indutis. Tandem in fine Vesperarum omnes, qui pluvialia assumpserunt, illa deponunt quin e choro egrediantur. Nunc vero cum circa legitimitatem harum consuetudinum graves dubitationes exortæ sint nuperrime et inter ipsos Capitulares non conveniat quid agendum sit, idem Ordinarius ad omnem ambiguitatem et inquietudinem e medio tollendam insequentium dubiorum solutionem a S. C. expetivit ; nempe :

I. An huiusmodi usus stolæ, saltem attentæ perantiqua consuetudine, uti legitimus sit habendus ideoque servandus ?

II. An vi eiusdem consuetudinis, Hebdomadarius possit manere in habitu choralis usque ad hymnum et tunc assumere pluviale ?

III. An pluvialia in Vesperis solemnibus possint assumi et deponi in ipso choro quin necesse sit in sacristiam convenire ?

IV. An, qui assistunt Hebdomadario tempore thurificationis, debeant esse iidem qui ab initio parati fuerunt, vel possint esse duo alii Beneficiati simplici habitu choralis induti ?

V. An sustineri possit consuetudo, ut duo Canonici, absente Episcopo, induantur pluvialibus ad fungendum munere assistentium in diebus solemnioribus prout in hac Cathedrali consuetum fuit pro Vesperis ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita etiam sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, reque diligenter expensa, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Negative* iuxta decretum n. 1275 *Dalmatiarum* 4 Augusti 1663 ad 3.

Ad II et III *Negative*, et servetur Caeremoniale Episcoporum, lib. II, cap. III, n. 1, 2, 3 et 4.

Ad IV. *Affirmative* ad primam partem ; *negative* ad secundam, et servandum Caeremoniale Episcoporum, loco citato n. 10.

Ad V. *Negative* iuxta decretum n. 1391 *Papien.* 20 Iulii 1669 ad 3.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 30 Maii 1905.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

GREAT CATHOLIC LAYMEN. By John J. Horgan. Dublin : Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 27 Lower Abbey Street. 1905.

THE Catholic Truth Society of Ireland is to be warmly congratulated on the production of this very useful volume. Mr. Horgan is doing one man's part to counteract the evil effects of the anti-Catholic literature with which the country is flooded. In the work before us he gives very interesting sketches of the lives of Andreas Hofer, Garcia Moreno, Frederic Ozanam, Montalembert, Frederick Lucas, Windthorst, Pasteur, and Daniel O'Connell. The perusal of such works as this must have a stimulating and inspiring effect on the youth of our country. It is well that Catholic ideals should be thus presented to us, if we may use the expression, in the concrete.

The labour involved in writing a work of this kind is like mercy. It blesses him who gives as well as those who receive. Mr. Horgan himself must feel that his labour, from every point of view, has been well spent. Nobody but a cultured and well-educated Catholic could have turned out so excellent a volume ; and it must be a satisfaction to the author that his book as it goes around under the patronage of the Catholic Truth Society will influence for good thousands of his countrymen at home and abroad. Our sincere thanks and our congratulations to him as well as to the Society.

J. F. H.

COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIÆ MORALIS AD MENTEM P. GURY.
Auctore A. Bulot, S.J. Parisiis : Casterman. 2 vols.

IN recent times many works on Moral Theology have appeared from different sources. Some of these works are undoubtedly of great value to students of theology. Others are of very little value indeed. The work before us belongs to neither category. It is a compendium which is of moderate value. Although it cannot rival the works of masters like

Lehmkuhl and Genicot, still it has merits which make it useful to students who desire clearness in conjunction with accuracy. The work is practically a revision of Gury. It brings Gury up to date. It contains nearly all of the most recent decrees on important subjects.

Needless to say, we do not think it necessary to take up for examination the details of a work which differs little from the numerous volumes of a similar kind which have been published in recent times. Yet we cannot refrain from asking why some decrees of importance have been omitted. We may mention specially the decree of the Holy Office (9th November, 1898), about the sufficiency of actual habitation in a place for six months to give proof of a quasi-domicile without any inquiry being necessary in regard to the intention of remaining for the greater part of the year. We mention this case because some canonists of very great authority omit this decree. Wernz, in his recent valuable work on Matrimony, does not mention it. Neither does Ojetti mention it. We wonder if these authorities have any doubt about the meaning of the decree.

The publishers deserve a word of praise for the excellent manner in which the volumes are brought out.

J. M. H.

SUMMULA PHILOSOPHIÆ SCHOLASTICÆ in usum adolescentium Seminarii Beatae Mariae de Monte Melleario concinnata. Vol. III. (Pars prior): Theologia Naturalis. Price 2s.

WE are glad to be able to extend a hearty welcome to this latest addition to the Mount Melleray series of handbooks of Philosophy. It displays the same clearness and simplicity of exposition, the same cogency of reasoning, and the same wealth of apt quotation from modern works in the vernacular, as characterize the volumes already reviewed in these pages. We trust that the volume on Ethics will appear in due course, and that it will be up to the high standard of scholarship marked by the present volume and the preceding ones. We may then congratulate the gifted and painstaking author on having accomplished a work of very considerable merit and of undoubted utility in the domain of Catholic Philosophy.

P. C.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Early Christian Ireland. By Eleanor Hull. London David Nutt.

L'Année des Malades. By the Comtesse de Flavigny. Paris : Lethielleux.

Christ the Preacher. By Rev. D. S. Phelan. St. Louis, Mo. : Herder.

Addresses to Cardinal Newman, with his Replies. Edited by Rev. W. P. Neville. London : Longmans, Green, & Co.

The Tragedy of Calvary. By Rev. Jas. L. Meagher. New York : Catholic Press Association.

Gleanings from a Parson's Diary. London : Elliot & Stock.

Idyls of Killowen. By Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J. New Edition. London : Burns & Oates.

Theosophy and Christianity. By Ernest R. Hull, S.J. London : Catholic Truth Society.

Paris Manuscript of St. Patrick's Latin Writings. By Newport J. D. White. Dublin : Hodges & Figgis.

THE CATHOLIC REVIEWS

The Dublin Review—October, 1905.

'Henry III and the Church,' by Rev. F. E. Ross ; 'Universals and the Illative Sense,' by Rev. Francis Aveling, D.D. ; 'Nelson and Napoleon in 1905,' by A. St. Leger Westall ; 'Religious Influences in London,' by Rev. Dom Henry Norbert Birt, O.S.B. ; 'The Conscience of Rationalism,' by A. B. Sharpe, M.A. ; 'Dicuil, an Irish Monk of the Ninth Century,' by Marius Esposito ; 'Some Popish Traitors,' by R. E. Francillon ; 'Joseph Goerres, His Work and His Friends,' by Miss J. M. Stone. We understand that from January next the Editorship of the *Dublin Review* passes into the very capable hands of Wilfrid Ward, Esq., LL.D.

Revue Bénédictine. Maredsons, Belgium—4 Octobre, 1905.

'A l'Université d'Oxford le 29 Junii, 1905 ;' 'L'Avent Liturgique,' Dom Fernand Cabrol ; 'Sermon de Saint Césaire dans le *Concordia Regularum*,' Dom Anselme Mauser ; 'Textes Inédits relatifs au Symbole de la vie Chrétienne,' Dom Germain

Morier ; ' La Disgrace de Carafa,' Dom René Ancel ; ' Bulletin d'Histoire Bénédictine,' Dom Ursmer Berlière.

The Catholic World. New York—October, 1905.

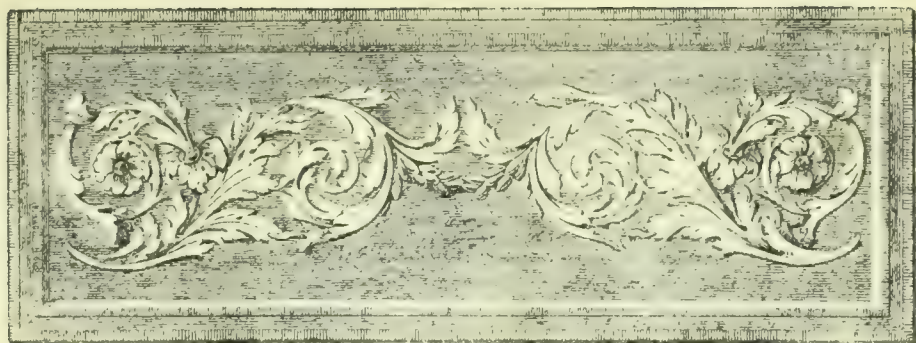
' Missions in Norway and Sweden,' by Abbé Felix Klein ; ' St. Ignatius of Loyola,' by William Barry, D.D. ; ' Her Ladyship,' by Katharine Tynan ; ' Austria-Hungary,' by René Henry ; ' Followers of Dorcas,' by M. F. Quinlan ; ' The Convert,' by Maurice Francis Egan ; ' The New Industrial Italy,' by J. C. Monaghan ; ' Danny's Friday,' by Gilbert Turner ; ' The Sower,' by Katherine Bregy ; ' Before Cromwell came to Ireland,' by Wm. F. Dennehy ; ' The Cambridge History of the French Revolution,' by James J. Fox, D.D.

Analecta Bollandiana. Brussels—Tom. xxiv., Fasc. iii.

' Passio Sancti Dioscori,' Dom H. Quentin, O.S.B. ; ' La Date de la Fête des Ss. Felix et Regula,' Alb. Poncelet ; ' Historia Sancti Abramii ex Apographo Arabico,' Paulus Peeters ; ' La Lettre de Pierre Romano au Pape Pie II. sur le Martyre du B. Antonie de Rivoli.'

The Messenger. New York—October, 1905.

' The Reformers and the Persecution of Heretics,' by H. G. Gauss ; ' Fuentarabia,' by P. Swan ; ' Tara of the Kings,' by Cathal O'Byrne ; ' Current Notes on Art,' by Gabriel Powers ; ' Homeric Studies,' by Henry Browne, S.J. ; ' Trammelings,' by G. P. Curtis. Chronicle of News.



THE ADDRESS OF THE AUSTRALIAN SYNOD

IT was a noble and beautiful inspiration that moved the 'Third Plenary Synod of Australia,' under the guidance of its Apostolic Delegate, His Eminence Cardinal Moran, to send an address to 'The Venerable Hierarchy' of what may lawfully be called, with due acknowledgment of greater claims, the 'Mother Church' of Ireland. Assuredly there is no Irish Catholic whose heart will not be moved by this solemn tribute of love to the land of St. Patrick, and nobody who will not wish in some measure to make Ireland worthy of the love of which that historic document is the pledge.

The Fathers of the Australian Synod give, as it were, an account of their labours to those whom they have left at home in Ireland. They tell of their troubles, their struggles, their progress. They proclaim that the majority of their flocks, being Irish by birth or descent, are earnestly and affectionately devoted to the religious and national interests of their mother-land. They rejoice and glory in the marvellous fruitfulness of her faith at home and abroad throughout the universe.

We in Ireland cannot but rejoice at the wonderful success that has crowned the labours of our missionaries in modern as well as in ancient times.

In the early days of the Irish Church Fridolin, Kilian, Virgilius, Columbanus, Gall, Donatus, Cathaldus, Livinus,

¹ For Text of Address see p. 560.

Rumold, Florentius, Arbogast, Erard, Marianus Scotus, Dysibod, Wiro, Fiacrius, Fursaeus, and a host of others made their mark on the churches of the Continent. To-day their worthy successors are to be found from Sydney to New York, and from Madras to the Cape of Good Hope. Cathedrals of St. Patrick have arisen, from the heights of Melbourne to the 'Golden Gate' of California. Wherever the Irish exiles congregate there the Church is strong, the people are generous, the faith is pure, the noble influences of religion dignify the joys of family life and shed comfort and happiness at the fireside.

Whatever about the past, whose great roll of missionary saints is enshrined in our national calendar, it is safe to assert that in modern times at least no more illustrious apostle has ever left the shores of Ireland than the great churchman who sends, in the name of his brethren in Australia, this loving message to the 'Venerable Hierarchy of Ireland.' When we think of the active labours in the missionary field of His Eminence Cardinal Moran, first in Dublin, then in the diocese of Ossory, and finally in Australia, it is nothing short of a marvel that he could have found time to produce such a list of published works as those which stand to his name. Here are their titles :—

1. *Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, who suffered for the Catholic Faith in 1681.* Dublin : Duffy. 1861.

2. *Essays on the Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church.* Duffy. 1864.

3. *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation.* Duffy. 1864.

4. *Historical Sketch of the Persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the rule of Cromwell and the Puritans.* Duffy. 1865.

5. *The Episcopal Succession in Ireland during the Reign of Elizabeth.* Kelly. 1866.

6. *De Regno Hiberniae, authore Revmo. D. Petro Lombardo.* Edited with a prefatory Memoir of the Most Rev. Dr. Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh. Duffy. 1868.

7. *Life of Most Rev. Dr. Plunkett*. Duffy. 1870.
8. *Acta Sancti Brendani*. Kelly. 1872.
9. *Monasticon Hibernicon of Mervyn Archdall*. With extensive notes. Kelly. 1873.
10. *Specilegium Ossoriense*. Original Letters and Papers illustrative of the History of the Irish Church from the Reformation to 1800. Kelly. 1874.
11. *Specilegium Ossoriense*. Second Series. Gill & Son. 1878.
12. *Specilegium Ossoriense*. Third Series. Browne & Nolan. 1884.
13. *Occasional Essays*. Browne & Nolan. 1890.
14. *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*. Sydney : Oceanic Publishing Co. 2 vols. 1896.

Nor can we forget that Cardinal Moran was, with Dr. Conroy, Bishop of Ardagh, the first editor of the I. E. RECORD, to which he was a constant contributor, until the duties of the episcopate at Kilkenny made it impossible for him to give it the support which maintained it so well whilst he was in Dublin. When it ceased to appear for a few years, His Eminence, in conjunction with the present Archbishop of Dublin, succeeded in reviving it, and its first editor under the new auspices was no other than His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Carr, Archbishop of Melbourne, for many years past the colleague of Cardinal Moran, and the second of the illustrious signatories to the Address of the Synod. It was to Dr. Carr that we first, in fear and trembling, sent a little essay for the I. E. RECORD a good many years ago. Cardinal Moran has also founded the *Australasian Record* in Sydney, to which he is one of the chief contributors. When we take in connection with these works His Eminence's unwearied labours in every department of Apostolic administration in the Australian Church, in which he has been so successful, we cannot fail to recognise his as a well-filled life, full of merit and virtue. The testimony of such a man to the Church of his native land is a precious and welcome tribute, particularly when it is supported and endorsed by the

Archbishop of Melbourne and all the venerable Fathers of the Australian Synod.

The last sentence in the message sounds like an utterance of the 'ages of faith.' 'As Christians and sons of St. Patrick,' it says, 'you as we, in trial and in joy, turn to the Chair of St. Peter in the Eternal City. There we meet in the unity of faith, of obedience, and of love, looking for the blessed hope and coming of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ.'

These are immortal words, which will re-echo through the centuries, bearing on to future generations the testimony of the faith of our day and time. They recall to our mind the words of Lacordaire :—

Ah faites silence! [said the great orator], 'j'entends au loin et tout proche, du sein de ces murailles, du fond des siècles et des générations, j'entends des voix qui n'en font qu'une, la voix des enfants, des vierges, des jeunes hommes, des vieillards, des artistes, des poètes, des philosophes, la voix des princes et des nations, la voix du temps et de l'espace, la voix profonde et musicale de l'unité. Je l'entends. Elle chante le cantique de la seule société des esprits qui soit ici-bas. Elle redit, sans avoir jamais cessé, cette parole, la seule stable et la seule consolante, '*Credo in unam sanctam, catholicam, apostolicam ecclesiam.*' Et moi dont c'est aussi la fête, moi le fils de cette unité sans rivage et sans tache, je chante avec tous les autres et je redis à vous. '*Credo in unam sanctam, catholicam, apostolicam ecclesiam.*'

Yes; the voice that comes to us from the other end of the world, the echo of a sacred assembly, is undoubtedly the voice of Basil and of Chrysostom, of Augustine and Cyprian, of Irenæus and Hilary, of Nice and Chalcedon and Antioch. It is the voice of Patrick and Columkille, of Columbanus and Kilian and Virgilius, of Lawrence O'Toole and Oliver Plunkett, of David Rothe, Thomas de Burgo, Richard Creagh, Dermot O'Hurley Malachy O'Queely, Peter Talbot, Michael O'Clery, John Colgan, Hugh Ward, Lucas Wadding, Thomas Fleming, Stephen White and Peter Lombard. Among these great names that of Patrick Francis Moran is now for evermore inscribed. To him, to the other Bishops and Fathers of the Synod, the Irish Hierarchy are sure to send a message

of gratitude worthy of the address. In that message all Irish Catholics who have read Cardinal Moran's letter, would like to have a humble share. Such interchanges of regard and affection confer a mutual benefit: for on both sides they stimulate to greater activity the best impulses of our Christian nature. If the Bishops and clergy and Catholics of Australia cherish towards the old land the tender and warm-hearted feelings of exiled children, they may rest assured that their devotion is more than reciprocated, and that Ireland, depopulated though she is, and reduced to sore straits by the hard conditions of her lot, will never grudge them whatever assistance she can afford to maintain the Church in a position worthy of the bright stars of the Southern Cross.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

CATHOLIC SOCIALISM

ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

[T is not surprising [writes Leo XIII¹] that the spirit of revolutionary change, which has so long been predominant in the nations of the world, should have passed beyond politics, and made its influence felt in the cognate field of political economy. The elements of a conflict are unmistakable ; the growth of industry and the surprising discoveries of science, the changed relations of master and workmen, the enormous fortunes of individuals and the poverty of the masses, the increased self-reliance and the closer mutual combination of the working population, and finally, a general moral deterioration. The momentous seriousness of the present state of things just now fills every mind with painful apprehension ; wise men discuss it ; practical men propose schemes ; popular meetings, legislatures, and sovereign princes, all are occupied with it, and there is nothing which has a deeper hold on public attention.

In this passage, cited from his Encyclical on Labour, the Sovereign Pontiff has summed up the elements of the serious conflicts between workmen and employers, which is, perhaps, the most noteworthy development of the nineteenth century. It is true, no doubt, that the social question is not a new one. Among the Jews of old, as well as among the Greeks and the Romans, in the early days of Christianity, when the Church was engaged in a life and death struggle with a pagan empire, as well as in the Middle Ages, when the principles of Catholicity dominated the governments of the civilized world, the social question was earnestly discussed, and social agitations were at times threatening. But these movements, though often marked by scenes of violence and anarchy, were only passing. It was reserved for the nineteenth century to see the world permanently divided into two apparently irreconcilable camps, that of Capital and that of Labour ; to see the social

¹ Papal Encyclical on Labour (1891).

question confronting the statesmen of the world as the one upon which the future existence and stability of their governments depend.

Political, economic, and moral causes have combined to bring about the present crisis. The principles of liberty and equality, first successfully proclaimed during the French Revolution, paved the way for the downfall of absolutism and the substitution in its place of government by the people, and, on the other hand, owing to the operation of economic causes, the increased use of machinery and the unrestricted liberty of competition, the number of the poorer class was daily on the increase, and their position becoming more unbearable, whilst the whole wealth of the world was gradually concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists. In other words, with the spread of political equality the social inequality became daily more apparent, and to render the situation more alarming religion, which had so often before bridged over the chasm between Capital and Labour, and which might have done so again to-day, despite all the embittering influences at work—that religion was banished from the public life of the world, as far as it was possible for infidel governments and infidel universities and infidel printing presses to banish it.

There were not a few who prophesied that with the growth of democracy and of democratic ideals the influence of the Catholic Church was doomed. She had been so long popularly regarded as the ally of despotic governments, though in reality only their slave, her clergy had been so often looked upon as guardians of the rights of wealth and property without any sympathy for the suffering producer, that many believed she could never reconcile herself to the altered conditions of the world.

But they knew little of the history of the Church who reasoned thus. They forgot that its Founder while on earth did not disdain to earn His bread by the sweat of His brow—was He not the carpenter's Son, queried the Jews; that His apostles and disciples were taken from their trades and sent to preach the Gospel; that the earliest Christian

converts were the poorest of the poor. They forgot that it was Christianity, by its teaching on the equality of man, which destroyed the old pagan notion of slavery, when the slave was regarded as a chattel like a horse or a cow ; that it was Christianity which, while proclaiming the sacredness of private property, declared that ownership was no barrier in the case of real want, and that ownership carried along with it the obligation of relieving the poor ; that it was Christianity that ordained that one-fourth of the revenues of the Church should be set aside to relieve the wants of those in distress, and that the poor had the first claims on the superfluous revenues of her pastors ; that it was Christianity which denounced, in the strongest terms, the oppression of the poor by usury or injustice. They forgot that the Catholic Church had been, and is, the most democratic institution of the world ; that in the selection of her ministers the son of the labourer is as welcome, and is at least as likely to secure promotion as the son of a prince—witness the elevation of Pius X to the Papal throne ; that in the administration of her sacraments, in her teaching and supervision in her schools, and churches, and institutions, the rich and the poor, the employer and the employed, the knight and the peasant, are cared for with equal solicitude. They forgot that it was the founders of the great monastic institutions of the Middle Ages—St. Benedict, and our own saints, Columba and Columbanus—who first practically proclaimed the dignity of labour, by ordaining that the monks, no matter what might be their ability or their position in the order, should be engaged for a time in manual toil ; that these same monastic institutions took up the wildest spots in the country, built their houses, erected their mills and workshops, and by the dint of exertion transformed what had been hitherto a desert into centres of civilization, round which gathered the peasants anxious for the protection and education of the monastery ; that these same institutions set the example of what landlords should be—indulgent to their tenants, anxious for their happiness and advancement, spending their rents in the districts from which they

derived them, hospitable to the wayfarer, kind to the poor, attentive to the sick.

It is certain [writes the Protestant economist, Hyndman] that the abbots and priors were the best landlords in England, and that so long as the Church held its lands and its power permanent pauperism was unknown. The general employment which, as landlords resident among the people they afforded, the improvements of the farms and of their own buildings which they carried out, the excellent work in road making which they did—a task specially necessary in those times—in addition to their action as public alms-givers, teachers, doctors and nurses, show what useful people many of these much abused monks and nuns really were. The monkish ignorance and superstition of which we hear so much, the drones who slept away their lives in comfort and ease at the cost of other men's labour, were no more ignorant and superstitious than a Church of England parson or a Wesleyan preacher, and were less dependent on the labour of their fellows than Baptist orators or Radical capitalists of to-day.

With such a history behind her, who would dare to assert that the spirit of the Catholic Church was irreconcilable with the spirit of democracy—who could doubt with which side she should throw in her lot, the Capitalists or the Labourers, the landlords or the tenants, the oppressor or the oppressed ?

For the first portion of the nineteenth century Socialism was only a weapon in the hands of extreme politicians, and hence it was identified with the party of violence and anarchy, with the men who had vowed to raise the new order on the ruins of the Church as well as on the ruins of established society. Their methods were secret plots and the dagger of the assassin ; their principles were irreligious ; their campaign directed against revealed religion. It was impossible for the Church, to identify herself with such a movement : on the contrary, Gregory XVI and Pius IX found themselves obliged to level against its promoters the strongest ecclesiastical censures.

But once some of the leaders of Socialism made an honest effort to shake themselves free from the party of anarchy and disorder, once Socialism was regarded as an

economic movement, the aim of which was the elevation of the labouring classes, the attitude of the Church was considerably modified. While holding fast to the principle of private ownership, she sympathized, to a great extent, with the demands of the Socialist leaders, and thinking men began to inquire why could not a similar movement, based on the maxims of Christianity, be established? Why leave the workmen a prey to anti-religious agitators? Why should the Catholic Church be less democratic in these days of democracy than she was amidst the imperialism of the Middle Ages?

Though others were in the field before him, yet from his ability and position, Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence, may well be regarded as the founder of modern Catholic Socialism. Born at Munster, in 1811, Ketteler made his studies at the Universities of Gottingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin, and entered the public administration in 1834. Three years later the quarrel broke out between the Prussian Government and the Church on the subject of mixed marriages. The Archbishop of Cologne refused to barter the liberties of the Church which he had sworn to defend; his palace at Cologne was surrounded by the soldiers and police, and he was brought as a prisoner to the fortress of Minden. These events made a deep impression on young Ketteler; he tendered his resignation to the Government, and after some reflection resolved to devote himself to the service of the Church. Ordained in 1844, he was soon remarkable for ability and powers as an orator, and, in 1850, the Chapter of Mayence proposed his name to the Holy See, and Ketteler was appointed bishop.

Well was it for Mayence, and well was it for the German Catholics, and for the Church, that she had such a bishop at such a time. The Social question excited the public interest, and thinking men studied the programmes of its leaders with mingled feelings of sympathy and alarm. These were the days when Marx and Engel published their celebrated communistic manifesto, which is, till the present day, the best embodiment of scientific Socialism; these were the days when the great Socialist organizer, Lassalle,

founded at Leipzig his Association of German Workers, and hurried hither and thither through Germany preaching 'the good news of the Socialist redemption.' Men looked to the Church for guidance and direction, and fortunately they were not disappointed.

In 1864 Ketteler published his famous work, *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christenthum*, as a reply to the Socialist manifestoes. Like the Socialists, he paints a harrowing picture of the sufferings and miserable lot of the workingmen and their families; he denounces the wealthy capitalists who, under the name of free contract, reduce the workmen to a state of slavery unknown in Christian lands; he traces the social evil to two sources, the destruction of the old workingmen's co-operative societies, which placed some restrictions on free competition, and the increased use of machinery, which tends to destroy the small manufacturers and concentrate the wealth of the world in the hands of a few wealthy capitalists.

He considers that religion can do much to solve the social question. It can supply the link which will serve to bind together the employers and the employed. It can do much to relieve the sufferings of the poor by charitable societies for the assistance of those in distress, by the establishing of charitable institutions for the poor and infirm. But the social question besides being a religious, is also a stomach question. The evils of free competition might be remedied to some extent by re-introducing the old co-operative workingmen's societies, destroyed by the French Revolution, where the artisans of any particular trade were joined together in a legal body, having by law the right of managing the affairs of their own body, of minimising the evils of competition, of fixing the number of apprentices and journeymen who should be employed, of testing the competency of those anxious to join their trade, of holding property like any other legal corporation. He thought the funds for promoting such associations could be raised without appealing for aid to the State, an opinion which is shared in by few Catholic social reformers to-day. Ketteler's book created a profound sensation

throughout Germany. It was the first time a Catholic bishop had ventured to make public his views on such a thorny subject, and people read with astonishment the remarkable production. For friends and foes it had the same captivating interest. Lassalle referred to it in glowing terms in a Socialist assembly in Bremen. Professors of political economy wrote to congratulate the author on his momentous work, even the Protestant associations hailed it with delight.

But the Bishop soon showed that he was prepared to go further. Addressing a meeting of workmen who had come to visit him, in 1869—for he was spoken of as the Workmen's Bishop—he examined the claims of the workmen in detail, and assured his audience of his hearty sympathy. He declared himself in favour of increase in wages; a limitation of the hours of labour, so that the workman might not be a mere machine, but might have time for his social duties as a father and head of a family; of the Sunday rest being enforced by law; of prohibition of work for children of a school-going age and of married women; of factory laws for the protection of the young of both sexes, and of proper inspection of such establishments.

But Ketteler was only one bishop. People anxiously inquired, did he speak the sentiments of his brothers in the German Hierarchy, or was he only the voice of one crying in the wilderness? They had not long to wait for an answer. The German Bishops met at Fulda, where was laid to rest centuries before all that was mortal of the Apostle of Germany. With one voice they declared that the Church could not remain indifferent in the social struggle, that were she to do so, were she to stand by an idle witness of the sufferings of the masses, she would be wanting in her duty towards millions of souls, she would be betraying the trust confided to her by Christ. With one voice they proclaimed their adhesion to the views that had been so ably formulated by the Bishop of Mayence.

Nor was it a time for words merely. The Socialists were covering Germany with a veritable network of associations, into which the Catholic workmen must surely be

drawn unless some similar societies were established with the blessing of the Church. The groundwork had been already laid in the Gessellvereine of Father Kolping, and only energetic leaders were required to give the Catholic workmen an organization at least as perfect as the Socialists could offer. The Volksverein—the Catholic Labour Association—is spread through every town and parish of Germany, with its clubs and reading-rooms, and local committees, and yet so thoroughly in touch with the central committee that the whole body can be moved as one man when the necessity arises.

The clergy of Germany responded to the appeal of the Bishop of Mayence. They set themselves to the study of the social and economic questions; they made themselves familiar with the principles and arguments and aims of the Socialist party; they tried to see how far they might make common cause with the Socialists, and at what point they must stop, if they wished to remain loyal to the Church. It is a pleasure in a German town to visit the Catholic hall to see the priest among the workmen sipping his beer and smoking his cigar like the others, and discussing familiarly, with all around, the questions which they freely propose; and yet to see at the same time, despite of this familiarity, the loving reverence and admiration with which they regard him, just because he is their priest. It was an inspiring sight just two months ago, at the great Catholic Congress of Germany, to watch the thousands of workmen as they marched through the streets of Strasburg in procession to the Cathedral for High Mass, side by side with the German student societies of all Germany, to see the workmen and the students joined together in the name of their common religion. It gives one confidence for the success of the Church in the work which lies before her to-day, and still more to-morrow—the Christianizing of the social world and the Christianizing of education.

It is not religion alone, however, that has gained in Germany. Leaders soon arose to develop and supplement the programme of the Bishop of Mayence. They had no hesitation in declaring that the State must interfere for the

protection of the workingman—it must determine the hours and conditions of labour ; it must guard the young from physical and moral contamination ; it must establish the artisans of different trades into co-operative associations, giving full legal power to regulate the affairs of their own trade and to administer the property which might be committed to them ; it must encourage compulsory insurance against accident or death, and until these co-operative societies are established it has a right to fix the minimum wage.

And besides, the Catholics of Germany have a political party ready, able, and willing to carry out the programme. Nowhere is there better evidence of the power of religion to bridge over chasms, and to bring conflicting interests into touch, than the existence and development of the Catholic Centre in Germany. There are joined together the employer and the workman, the proprietor and the tenant, the nobleman and the peasant, and without any abandonment of principle on the part of any of the factors. The working classes have the fullest confidence in the Centre Party, as is evidenced by their generous self-sacrificing support ; while, on the other hand, the party has done more for the labour interest in Germany, by a steady practical progressive programme, than the extreme Socialists could ever hope to accomplish.

We have spent so long in dealing with the rise and development of German Catholic Socialism, because the present Pontiff has held up the German organization as the model for the world. Besides, it is from Germany that the Catholic Socialists in Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and France, derive, to a great extent, their inspiration and their programme.

In Austria there were particular reasons why Socialism should live and thrive. The Jewish race, though only a small fraction of the population, controlled the industries, the banks, the printing press, and the stock exchange. Not content with this grip upon the country, they spared no effort to get possession of the soil. It was only in comparatively recent times that they were allowed to own

land, yet at present they possess more than one-third of the old kingdom of St. Stephen. No wonder, then, that the poor peasants, who saw their lands wrenched from them by Jewish wiles, or the workingmen by whose sweat the Jewish capital is amassed, were ready to listen to the preachers of Catholic Socialism.

The doctrines of Ketteler were quickly introduced into Austria, and taken up by the Catholic party. Rudolph Meyer, the Baron von Voglesang, the Prince von Lichtenstein, are the principal leaders of the movement. They are, in some respects, more extreme than the German school; for while in Germany the oppressor and the oppressed are of the same race, and perhaps the same religion, in Austria the social bitterness is increased by the racial and religious differences. They claim the intervention of the State, as without it the social question cannot be solved; but, though accepting many of the Socialist principles, they know where to draw the line.

I am [wrote the Baron von Voglesang], by all the strength; of my early memories, of my sentiments and my reflections, of all my social conceptions, which, however advanced they may appear, have no other basis but the old Christian civilization of the Western races, I am a declared adversary of this all powerfulness of the State, of the Byzantine smothering up of every liberty, of all intellectual life, which would be the necessary consequence of land nationalisation. Catholics, however, deceive themselves in believing that the solution of the social question may be effected through the sole intervention of the Church excluding that of the State. We can never hope to see the establishment of a social organization based on justice towards the weak, unless under the influence of Christian laws. But neither must we allow ourselves to be led away by illusions; we must try and understand that it is impossible to oppose any remedy to the evils of modern society, infested as it is by capitalism, without an energetic intervention on the part of the State.

Nowhere else have the Catholics been more successful in procuring legislation in favour of the working classes than in Austria. The old trade corporations, which had long disappeared, were restored again by law, throughout the Empire, in 1884, and carried into effect in many places

despite the greatest opposition. In the next year they carried a law fixing the legal hours of labour, and in defence of the factory children and women. To the Catholic Socialist movement is due, to a certain extent, the great Catholic revival which has made itself felt in the Dual Empire for the past quarter of a century.

In Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, the Catholic Socialist movement has spread with wonderful rapidity. In Switzerland, it should be noted, that the Ultramontane Cardinal Mermillod was the first to lead the way.

Our age [he said, in his famous sermon at Ste. Clotilde] beholds the terrible problem of the inequality of conditions rise up before it. There lies the knot of the present difficulties, the enigma proposed to the world by modern ideas and facts. Beyond our present agitations the eye that seeks to discern the truth of things at once perceives that the social question is the last word of all our struggles. Already the camps are forming, and we ask ourselves if the world is to become one great battlefield or if a treaty of peace will be signed between rich and poor.

The problem thus stated by Mgr. Mermillod has been taken up warmly by Swiss Catholics, under the leadership of Gaspard Decurtins, and, acting in conjunction with the Socialist Party, they have forced concession after concession from the Government, till to-day there is no country in the world where the position of the labourer is better than it is in Switzerland. In Belgium the Catholic Party have been able to secure the support of the majority of the workingmen against the combined forces of Socialism and Liberalism for twenty years and more ; while at the same time they have demonstrated, by the amazing industrial advancement of their country, that the principles of Catholicity are no bar to social progress. Italy, too, is not wanting in capable and practical Catholic democratic leaders, and we may hope that after the recent appeals of Pius X, they will close up their ranks, forget all personal disputes and rivalries, and loyally adopt the programme which he has so ably sketched.

France is, in a certain sense, the home of modern

Socialism. There the most extreme writers and thinkers have found a sympathetic public and zealous followers. Babœuf, Pecqueur, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, each in turn proposed his schemes of reform, one differing from the other only in their violence and opposition to the fundamental principles of modern society. The truth is, that the public opinion of France, intoxicated by the frenzy of the Revolution, has never since recovered its balance, and as a result the population of France has been the easy prey of every ranting demagogue who elects to earn his living by attacking the existing conditions.

Nor is it strange, in such circumstances, that the Church was slow to throw in its lot with the democratic movement. Bishops and priests who had witnessed the awful scenes of the Revolution or the Commune, may well be excused for having failed to discern the principles from the men and their excesses, for having confined themselves to their churches and their sacristies, without much, if any interference in secular affairs. Their conduct was excusable, but their policy was shortsighted, almost ruinous. As a result the Church, which in Germany is increasing in power and influence, is to-day in France the defenceless prey of the Freemason lodges and atheistical politicians.

Yet there are Frenchmen, honest Catholics, who have a clear perception of the democratic tendencies of the age and who are striving hard to repair the mistakes and blunders of those gone before. Count Albert de Mun—himself of noble family, and a Royalist—impressed by the horrible scenes of the Commune, gathered a small knot of friends, lay and cleric, around him, and established ‘*Les Cercles Catholiques d’Ouvriers.*’ It is an association founded upon Catholic principles, governed by a committee in Paris, and with its branches spread through most of the great industrial centres of the country. It is thoroughly democratic in its spirit—accepting most of the positions of the German Catholics—and bids fair to regain much of the ground that has been lost. On the other hand, a more conservative section, led by Leon Harmel, who in his own factories at Val de Bois, has demonstrated the

binding influence of Catholic principles on employer and employed, is doing good work, especially in the north of France ; while more recently still, the party gathered around *Le Sillon*, under the leadership of Marc Sangnier—a thoroughly Catholic democratic movement, is disputing every inch of ground with the Socialists, and promises soon to have a powerful influence on the internal politics of France.

Amongst the foremost Catholic champions in the English-speaking world, we must name the late Cardinal Manning. With a clear perception of the tendency of modern movements, he devoted his life to the task of constituting the Church leader of the democratic movement. A Prince of the Church, he did not disdain to seek out and greet familiarly the most uncivilized of the London slums ; an Ultramontane of the Ultramontanes, he was the idol of Protestant workmen, and even Protestant employers ; English of the English, his name was hailed with reverence and admiration by Irishmen throughout the world, on account of the sympathy in their national aspirations, which by word and deed he so courageously expressed.

In his great speech at Leeds, on the Rights and Dignity of Labour, he startled the English world by his bold attacks on the positions and methods of Capitalism :—

If [said he] the great end of life were to multiply yards of cloth and cotton twist, and if the glory of England consists, or consisted, in multiplying without stint or limit these articles and the like at the lowest prices, so as to undersell all the nations of the world, then, let us go on. But if the domestic life of the people be vital above all ; if the peace, the purity of homes, the education of children, the duties of wives and mothers, the duties of husbands and fathers be written in the natural law of mankind, and if these things be sacred, far beyond anything that can be sold in the market, then, I say, if the hours of labour resulting from the unregulated sale of man's strength and skill, shall lead to the destruction of domestic life, to the neglect of children, to the turning of wives and mothers into living machines, and of fathers and husbands into—what shall I say, creatures of burden—I will not use any other word—who rise up before the sun, and come back when it is set, wearied, and only able to take food, and be down to rest ; the domestic life of man exists no longer, and we dare not go on in this path.

Cardinal Manning at once became the idol of the English workmen. In the great labour demonstration of 1890, when thousands of labourers marched through the streets of London in favour of the Eight Hours Bill, many of their banners had painted side by side the portrait of Marx and the portrait of Manning. Again, during the great strike of the London dockyard labourers, when the whole business of the country was thrown out of gear, and a famine, mayhap a revolution, threatened the city of London, when others, who should have taken the lead held aloof or failed in their efforts, it was Cardinal Manning who, against the advice of friends, did not hesitate to thrust himself amongst the excited dockers to reason with them soberly and sympathetically, to win over the more stiff-necked employers, and finally, to effect a peace which was hailed throughout the world as the 'Cardinal's peace.' By his exertions he opened the eyes of the English nation to the attitude and the influence of the Catholic Church, and he won for it a respect and a position that it had never reached since the days of the Reformation. Without ceasing to be Catholic, he knew how to conciliate the good wishes of the Protestants; without ceasing to be English, he was the courageous and unwavering supporter of Irish demands. Would that his example were a rule of conduct to others.

Nor was it in his own country alone that he undertook the defence of the workingman. In his letters and addresses the policy of Manning was a light and a leading principle to the Catholics of France and Belgium—in fact to the Catholics of the Continent.

In America, especially, he played a noble part in his defence of the Knights of Labour. This society had been founded in 1869, but on account of its secrecy it made for years little progress. In 1878, however, a grand demonstration was held at Philadelphia, a constitution was adopted similar to that of the United States itself. The society was declared to be a public one, and later on everything was removed that might give offence to Catholics. Its aim, they declared, was to regulate wages and hours of work, to secure compensation and a share of the profits

for the workingman. Violence and strikes were forbidden as far as possible, and in their place the society hoped to substitute education and organization.

The new association spread like wildfire. Catholics and Protestants alike rallied to its support. People imagined that it had millions of members ; a panic was created in the country, and to make the situation more alarming, the desperate strikes of 1885 were attributed to the secret influence of the association. Some of the Bishops appealed to Rome, and a condemnation was issued. But it was well known that many of the Bishops favoured the the Knights of Labour. Three-fourths of their members were Catholic ; and if the society was suppressed what remained to them except to join the Freemasons or kindred organizations forbidden by the Church.

A meeting of the Bishops of America was summoned. The proceedings were in private, but it was well known that, with one or two exceptions, they were in favour of sustaining the Knights. Cardinal Gibbons was despatched to Rome to plead their cause, and Cardinal Manning stood loyally by his colleague. As a result the condemnation was withdrawn, the Knights of Labour was declared a lawful society, and the danger which had been imminent of turning the democracy of America against the Church was averted, mainly owing to the clear-sightedness and exertions of the American Hierarchy and the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

Nor need we go beyond our own country for proof of the democratic spirit of the Catholic Church. Here unfortunately we have none of the great industrial centres of Germany or America. The labour problem could not, therefore, arise to the same extent as in these countries. Ireland is for the present almost entirely agricultural, and therefore it is only in connection with the land question that Catholic Socialism could make itself felt.

Many elements combined to embitter the agrarian movement in Ireland. The proprietors were of a strange race and a strange religion. As a class, they had no sympathy with the wants or aspirations of the people, they

treated them as inferior beings, whose sole object in life was to toil like slaves that their masters might dawdle away their days in the *salons* of London, or the gambling houses of the Continent ; they were a foreign garrison sucking up the very life blood of the country.

It is curious to read the bitter denunciations of the English Press of the slave owners of the Southern States ; and yet, here in Ireland, under their very noses, without a note of disapprobation or reproof, was in full swing a system of slavery ten times more degrading than the practices of the Southern planters. Here you had established a body of proprietors whose only claim was the expoliation of the rightful owner ; who did nothing to improve their estates and yet claimed the whole fruits of the improvements effected by the sweat of their unfortunate tenants ; who claimed security of tenure for themselves, but raised the cry of robbery were such a demand made on behalf of the tenants. It was a state of things which must soon lead to revolution, and the revolution came more sudden and more complete than most men could have anticipated.

In this struggle between landlord and tenant, what position was the Catholic Church to adopt ? Was she to support the proprietors or the tenants, or was she to stand coldly aloof, declaring that agrarian agitations were outside the sphere of her duty ? Who could for a moment doubt on which side lay the sympathy of the Irish Bishops and of the Irish clergy ? The people had never deserted the Church in the days of her tribulation ; how could the Church stand an indifferent spectator, when the very existence of the Irish race was at stake. Her Bishops and clergy were sprung, for the greater part, from the ranks of the tenants ; as children at school they had learned the sufferings which irresponsible landlords and irresponsible bailiffs could inflict ; as priests on the mission they were daily brought in contact with the victims of landlord misrule.

No wonder, then, that the Church threw in her lot with the unfortunate tenants. No wonder that the Bishops and priests led the way in breaking the power of a class which

had never known how to rightly use its power. No wonder that the attitude of the Irish clergy in the Land War, the union of the priests and the people, is held up by Catholic Socialists throughout the world as a model of what a Catholic democratic movement should be. Hostile critics may denounce the secular influence of the Church ; officious friends may advocate the policy of the sacristy ; law-abiding souls may prate of loyalty and subjection to the powers that be ; but the day that the Irish clergy are afraid or ashamed to boldly defend the lawful aspirations of the Irish people will be a sad one for the Irish Church. We have the example of centuries behind us : let us be true to the policy which has produced such wonderful effects.

Now, we have seen something of the Catholic democratic movement throughout the world, and we naturally ask ourselves what is the attitude of the Papacy to such a policy ? No man knew better than Leo XIII how to appreciate the political or social tendencies of his age. He had watched with sympathy the progress of the Catholic democratic party, praising its good work, guarding it from extremists or political plotters, encouraging its leaders, and urging them to renewed exertion. But all the time people anxiously awaited the official confirmation of the Vatican.

Nor was that confirmation long withheld. In 1891 the Pope issued his celebrated Encyclical on Labour and Capital. People read it with mingled feelings of surprise and delight. They had little hoped to find such liberal views expressed by the head of the Catholic Church. In his denunciations of Capitalists, their greed and callousness, the slavery which, under the name of free contract, they impose upon their employees, Leo XIII is no less strong than the most violent of the Socialists. While clinging fast to the principle of private property he has no fear of invoking the assistance of the State in defence of the masses who, being defenceless, stand especially in need of protection. He encourages the workmen to combine together, the better to be able to enforce their just demands, and he exhorts the clergy to assist such combinations, to watch over them, and see that they advance on Christian principles.

The Encyclical on Labour marked a new era in the history of the Catholic Church. It set an official seal on the democratic tendencies of modern Catholicity. Who can accurately forecast all the results of such a policy? But we know that the Spirit of God is watching over the Church. The Holy See has been deserted by the powers of the world; princes and governments have alike betrayed it; but if the Catholic democratic movement succeeds—and there is every promise of success—if the Church continues to win the leadership of the masses, the Roman Pontiff will have secured a position and an influence greater far than the Papacy ever held, even in the palmiest days of the Middle Ages.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

THE STUDY OF IRISH HISTORY—II

LIST OF HISTORY BOOKS, LEGEND AND FOLK-LORE.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Standish O'Grady— <i>History of Ireland, heroic period.</i> | P. W. Joyce— <i>Old Celtic Romances.</i> |
| — <i>Finn and His Companions.</i> | Aubrey de Vere— <i>Legends of St. Patrick.</i> |
| Lady Gregory— <i>Cuchulain.</i> | — <i>Queen Meave.</i> |
| Miss Hull— <i>Cuchulain.</i> | R. D. Joyce— <i>Deirdre.</i> |
| Standish Hayes O'Grady— <i>Pursuit of Dermid and Grania.</i> | — <i>Bland.</i> |

HISTORY PROPER—GENERAL HISTORY.

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|---|--|
| Walpole— <i>Kingdom of Ireland.</i> | Leland— <i>History of Ireland.</i> |
| M'Gee— <i>History of Ireland.</i> | Plowden— <i>Historical Review of the State of Ireland.</i> |
| Joyce— <i>Short History of Ireland.</i> | Richey— <i>Short History of the Irish People.</i> |

SPECIAL PERIODS.

EARLIEST PERIODS TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

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| Miss Hull— <i>Pagan Ireland.</i> | Petrie— <i>Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland.</i> |
| Dr. Joyce— <i>Social History of Ancient Ireland.</i> | — <i>Round Towers.</i> |
| Keating— <i>History of Ireland.</i> | Montalembert— <i>Monks of the West.</i> |
| Ferguson— <i>Ireland before the Conquest.</i> | O'Curry— <i>MS. Materials of Irish History.</i> |
| Dr. Healy— <i>Life of St. Patrick.</i> | — <i>Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish.</i> |
| Dr. Todd— <i>Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gael.</i> | Maine— <i>Early History of Institutions.</i> |
| Adamnan (ed. Reeves)— <i>Life of St. Colomba.</i> | |
| Miss Stokes— <i>Early Christian Architecture in Ireland.</i> | |

THE ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD.

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| Giraldus Cambrensis (ed. Brewer)— <i>Topography and History of the Conquest of Ireland.</i> | Davies— <i>Discovery of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued.</i> |
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THE ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD—*continued.*

- Thierry—*The Norman Conquest.*
 Gilbert—*Irish Viceroys.*
 ——— *Historic and Municipal Documents relating to Ireland.*
 Monck Mason—*Essay on the Antiquity and Constitutions of Parliaments in Ireland.*
 Betham—*Feudal and Parliamentary Dignities.*
 Lynch—*Legal Institutions established in Ireland by Henry II.*
 Sweetman—*State Papers, Irish Series, 1171-1307.*
 The Duke of Lenister—*The Earls of Kildare.*
 Gale—*Ancient Corporate System of Ireland.*
 Ware—*Annals of Ireland.*
 Hardiman—*Statutes of Kilkenny.*
 ——— *Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings chiefly relating to Landed Property [from the twelfth to the seventeenth century].*

ILLUSTRATIVE FICTION.

- Ferguson—*Hibernian Nights Entertainment.*

THE TUDOR PERIOD.

- Carew—*Pacata Hibernia.*
 Payne—*Brief Description.*
 Spenser—*Views of the State of Ireland.*
 Froude—*History of England.*
 Pope Hennessy—*Raleigh in Ireland.*
 Bagwell—*The Tudors in Ireland.*
 Morison—*History of Ireland.*
 Bernard—*Life of Usher.*
 Hamilton—*State Papers, 1599-1603.*
 De Burgo—*Hibernia Dominicana.*
 Brady—*The Irish Reformation.*

THE STUART PERIOD.

- Gardiner—*Downfall of the Monarchy of Charles I.*
 ——— *History of England from the Accession of James I. to the outbreak of the Civil War.*
 Carte—*Life of the Earl of Ormond.*
 Borlase—*History of the Irish Rebellion.*
 Hutton—*Rinuccini in Ireland.*
 Clanricarde—*Memoirs.*
 Clarendon—*History of the Rebellion.*
 Castlehaven—*Memoirs.*
 Brewer—*Introduction to Carew State Papers.*
 Bellings (ed. Gilbert)—*Irish Confederation and War.*
 Mountmorres—*History of the Irish Parliament.*
 Russell and Prendergast—*Introduction to State Papers, Ireland, 1603-1625.*
 Pynnar—*Survey.*

THE STUART PERIOD—*continued.*

- Prendergast—*Cromwellian Settlement.*
 Ranke—*History of England.*
 Burnet—*History of His Own Time.*
 Macaulay—*Hist. of England.*
 Story—*Impartial History of Affairs in Ireland.*
 ————*A Continuance of the History of the Wars in Ireland.*
 Walker—*Diary of the Siege of Derry.*
 Clogy—*Life of Bedell.*
 King—*Estate of the Protestants of Ireland.*
 Leslie—*Answer to 'King's Estate of the Protestants of Ireland.'*
 O'Kelly (ed. O'Callaghan)—*The Macariae Excidium.*
 Harris—*Life of William, Prince of Orange.*
 Petty—*Political Anatomy of Ireland.*
 Prendergast—*Tory Wars in Ulster.*
 De Burgo—*Hib. Dominicana.*

ILLUSTRATIVE FICTION.

- Le Fanu—*Sir Torlogh O'Brien.* Banim—*The Boyne Water.*

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

- Swift (ed. Scott)—*Works.*
 Berkeley—*Works.*
 Fraser—*Life of Berkeley.*
 Burke—*Speeches, Correspondence, Works.*
 M'Knight—*Life of Burke.*
 Skelton—*Works (with Life by Burdy).*
 Boulter—*Letters.*
 Molyneux—*Case of Ireland Stated.*
 Lucas—*Addresses.*
 Hutchinson — *Commercial Restraints.*
 Arthur Young—*Tour in Ireland.*
 Campbell—*Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland.*
 Dobbs—*Trade of Ireland.*
 John Wesley—*Journal.*
 Prior—*List of Absentees.*
 Barrow—*Life and Writings of Lord Macartney.*
 ————*History of Belfast.*
 ————*Belfast Politics.*
 Macartney—*An Account of Ireland.*
 Howard—*State of Irish Prisons.*
 Hardy—*Life of Charlemont.*
 Crumpe—*Essay on the Employment of the People.*
 O'Conor—*History of the Irish Catholics.*
 Grattan—*Speeches.*
 Curran—*Speeches.*
 Warden Flood—*Life of Flood*
 Plunket—*Speeches*(ed. Cashel Hoey, with Memoir).
 Curry—*Civil Wars, and State of the Catholics.*
 Grattan—*Memoirs* (vols. i., ii., iii.).
 Father O'Leary—*Works.*
 Bush—*Hibernia Curiosa.*
 Taafe—*Observations on Affairs in Ireland since the Settlement of 1691.*
 Forman—*Courage of the Irish Nation.*

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—*continued.*

- Wolfe Tone—*Autobiography*.
 Hamilton Rowan—*Autobiography*.
 Madden—*Reflections and Resolutions proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland*.
 Earl of Fitzwilliam—*Letters to Lord Carlisle*.
 Parnell—*Penal Laws*.
 Scully—*Penal Laws*.
 Woodward—*Present State of the Church in Ireland*.
 Dobbs—*History of Irish Affairs from 1779-1782*.
 Cornwallis—*Correspondence*.
 ——— *Correspondence between Pitt and Rutland* (ed. Stanhope).
 O'Callaghan—*Irish Brigade*.
 Madden—*United Irishmen*.
 Massey—*History of the reign of George III*.
 Castlereagh—*Correspondence*.
 Cooper—*Letters on the Irish Nation*.
 Cornwall-Lewis—*Administration of Great Britain (1783-1800)*.
 Lecky—*History of England in the Eighteenth Century*.
 ——— *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland* (Essays on Swift, Flood and Grattan).

FROM THE UNION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

- Plowden—*History of Ireland from the Union to 1810*.
 Wakefield—*An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*.
 Newenham—*A view of the Natural, Political, and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland*.
 ——— *A Statistical and Historical Inquiry into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland*.
 Wyse—*The Catholic Association*.
 R. Wilson—*Correspondence*.
 Madden—*Ireland and its Rulers since 1829*.
 M'Lennan—*Memoir of Thomas Drummond*.
 Plunket—*Speeches* (ed. Cashel Hoey).
 Grattan—*Speeches*.
 Grattan—*Memoir* (iv., v.)
 Porter—*The Progress of the Nation*.
 Sir R. Peel—*Memoirs*.
 Doubleday—*Life of Peel*.
 De Beaumont—*Ireland—Social, Political, and Religious*.
 Greville—*Journals*.
 Torrens—*Life of Melbourne*.
 ——— *Life of Sheil*.
 Walpole—*History of England*.
 Hatherton—*Memoir*.
 Sir C. Gavan Duffy—*Young Ireland*.
 ——— *Four Years of Irish History*.
 Sigerson—*Modern Ireland*.
 Bright—*Speeches*.
 Gladstone—*Speeches*.
 Shaw Lefevre—*Peel and O'Connell*.

FROM THE UNION TO THE PRESENT TIME—*continued*.

Lord John Russell—*Recol-
lections and Suggestions*.

Cornwall-Lewis—*Adminis-
trations, 1800-1830*.

Becheno—*Ireland and its
Economy*.

Lecky—*Leaders of Public
Opinion* (O'Connell).

GENERAL HISTORIES.

Leland—*History of Ireland*.

Plowden—*Historical Review
of the State of Ireland*.

M'Geoghegan—*History of
Ireland* (with Mitchel's
continuation).

Walpole—*The Kingdom of
Ireland*.

Gordon—*History of Ireland*.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIES.

Lanigan—*Ecclesiastical His-
tory of Ireland*.

Brenan—*Ecclesiastical His-
tory of Ireland*.

Mant—*History of the Church
of Ireland*.

Kellon—*Ecclesiastical His-
tory of Ireland*.

Reid—*History of the Pres-
byterian Church in Ireland*.

Moran—*The Catholic Arch-
bishops of Dublin*.

BOOKS ON THE LAND QUESTION.

Cornwall-Lewis—*Irish Dis-
turbances*.

Sigerson—*Irish Land Tenure*.

Butt—*The Irish People and
the Irish Land*.

Dufferin—*Irish Emigration
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AND CHARACTER—*continued.*

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| Miss Edgeworth— <i>Ennui.</i> | Sheil— <i>Sketches.</i> |
| — <i>The Absentee.</i> | Lady Morgan— <i>Memoirs.</i> |
| — <i>Castle Rackrent.</i> | — <i>Patriotic Sketches.</i> |
| — <i>Ormond.</i> | Miss Lawless— <i>Hurriah.</i> |
| Banim— <i>The Nowlands.</i> | Crofton Croker— <i>Fairy Legends and Traditions.</i> |
| — <i>Crohoore of the Bill Hook.</i> | Le Fanu— <i>The Cock and Anchor.</i> |
| — <i>Father Connell.</i> | — <i>The House by the Churchyard.</i> |
| Kickham— <i>The Homes of Knocknagow.</i> | |

NATIONAL POETRY.

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| Moore— <i>Irish Melodies.</i> | Duffy— <i>The Spirit of the Nation.</i> |
| Davis— <i>Poems.</i> | |
| Clarence Mangan— <i>Poems.</i> | Hayes— <i>Ballads of Ireland.</i> |
| Denis Florence MacCarthy— <i>Poems.</i> | Lover— <i>Lyrics of Ireland.</i> |

I should like to end this article by inserting the following historical appeal, issued by the Irish Literary Society of London, for the purpose of inviting all Irishmen to help in worthily commemorating the heroism of the Irish soldiers who fought and won at Fontenoy. I shall also ask the Editor's permission to publish a letter, bearing on the subject, from His Eminence Cardinal Logue. Let it never be forgotten that Fontenoy was Ireland's answer to the Penal Laws—a splendid answer.

R. BARRY O'BRIEN.

IRISH LITERARY SOCIETY, LONDON.

20, HANOVER SQUARE, W.

MEMORIAL TO THE IRISH BRIGADE ON THE FIELD OF FONTENOY.

In the opening sentence of his chapter on the Battle of Valmy, Creasy says :—

' A few miles distant from the little town of St. Meneshould, in the north-east of France, are the village and hill of Valmy ; and near the crest of that hill a simple monument points out the burial-place of the heart of a General of the French Republic,

and a Marshal of the French Empire'—Kellerman, the victor of the day.

It is the desire of the Committee of the Irish Literary Society to co-operate with their fellow-countrymen in Ireland in taking steps to erect a 'simple monument' on the spot where the Irish Brigade delivered the crowning charge on the field of Fontenoy, one hundred and sixty years ago.

'Children,' says Joseph Kay, 'should be taught the history of their own country and its great men, in order to inspire them with patriotism, with a love of their fellow-countrymen and with pride in their nation.'

The best way to incite interest in the teaching of history is to visit scenes of historic interest, and to mark them with commemorative monuments.

In June last, a number of Irishmen and Irishwomen visited Fontenoy. They were cordially received by the Burgomaster of Tournai; the Vice-President of the Tribunal of Justice, and President of the Historical Society, and other distinguished men. It is now proposed, in union with the citizens of Tournai, to erect a Celtic Cross on the Battlefield of Fontenoy in memory of the soldiers of the Irish Brigade; and we beg to invite subscriptions for this national object.

Subscriptions may be forwarded to the Chairman or Honorary Secretary of the Irish Literary Society, to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, or to the *Freeman's Journal*.

Signed,

R. BARRY O'BRIEN, *Chairman*.

WILLIAM BOYLE, *Hon. Secretary*.

November, 1905.

Letter from His Eminence Cardinal Logue :—

ARA COELI, ARMAGH,

8th November, 1905.

MY DEAR MR. BARRY O'BRIEN,

I enclose a small contribution towards the memorial to the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy.

I think it will be a monument not only of the bravery of our countrymen in times past, but a monument of the folly which, by persecution and misgovernment, could turn such men into enemies.

Unfortunately the folly still goes on. The persecution, though more covert and insidious is not less real. Irish Catholics are no longer subjected to the violence which they had to suffer of old; but they are still effectually excluded from almost every position of trust and emolument in their own country,

denied equal and even-handed justice and placed beneath the heel of an aggressive and intolerant ascendancy.

The misgovernment of the country is a fact which no one can deny with any show of reason. And the olden consequence repeats itself in the flight of what is best, most promising, and energetic of our people to other lands which they enrich by their labour, adorn by their talents, and strengthen by their bravery. This is no mere flight of imagination. Even those to whose mismanagement the drain is due, have begun to feel its consequences; but they are slow as ever to apply the remedy.

I am, dear Mr. Barry O'Brien,

Yours faithfully,

✠ MICHAEL CARD. LOGUE.

UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS¹

THE CO. WATERFORD SCHEME

THE criminal failure of the English Government to offer a satisfactory settlement of the University question has thrown upon the Irish people the duty of initiating a policy of action determined and aggressive, and at the same time of making from their own resources some provision, however inadequate, for the attainment of the great purposes of a National University. For many reasons, but principally from ignorance of the true functions of a University, of the part that a University should play in a nation's life, it is more than doubtful if there will be a generous response to the appeal to establish scholarships by voluntary subscription. In my humble judgment, a Scholarship scheme to be successful must, first of all, be practicable ; next it must be effective in reaching to the masses of the people, even to the poorest, and in giving them an opportunity of cultivating the talents God has blessed them with ; finally, it must involve the very minimum of expense, either by way of taxation or by way of voluntary contribution.

Believing that it would be very unwise not to utilise the existing educational machinery of the country, I ventured to formulate a scheme of Scholarships to be worked through the agency of the Agricultural and Technical Committees. At the July meeting of the Dungarvan Industrial Development Association, the following resolution, on my proposition, was unanimously passed :—

That, as the absence in Ireland of the facilities whereby

¹ While this paper was in press the Conference promoted by the Industrial Development Association was held in Cork. It had been the intention of the writer to move this Scholarship scheme as an amendment to the first resolution. But owing to the necessity of disposing of the agenda paper in the allotted time no amendment to any resolution would be accepted. It may be of interest to state that had the amendment been discussed it would have been seconded by Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P.

equality of educational opportunity is secured, prevents the brain power of the country from being fully developed, and constitutes a serious impediment to its industrial progress, we respectfully request the Agricultural and Technical Committee of the County Waterford to establish a series of ascending Scholarships, reaching from the Primary School to the University, on the following lines :—

Three Intermediate Scholarships of £20 each, tenable for three years, in any approved day or boarding Intermediate school, in the County of Waterford, to be competed for by the pupils of the Primary schools, National or otherwise, of the County of Waterford.

Three University Scholarships of £40 each, tenable for three years, in University College, Dublin, or in some institute in Ireland of University rank, to be competed for by the pupils of the Intermediate schools of the County of Waterford.

A knowledge of the Irish Language, of Irish History, and of the history of Irish (Gaelic) Literature, to be essential to each Scholarship.

At the July meeting of the Agricultural and Technical Committee, Dr. Dennehy presiding, Mr. Thomas Power, Co.C., moved, and Mr. James Hayes, Co.C., seconded, the adoption of the scheme. It was carried unanimously, subject to the sanction of the Department. Copies were ordered to be sent to the different committees throughout Ireland, asking them to adopt it. Some of them have done so. But misconceptions as to its nature and scope have stood in the way of its universal adoption. One thing has told very much against it. Many of the county committees were under the impression that it was to be put into force at once, that is, during the financial year 1905-6, for which they had already drafted their schemes and allocated their funds. But it is intended to come into operation only next financial year, 1906-7. Its adoption at such an early date by the Waterford Committee arose from the desire of the Committee to earmark beforehand the necessary funds, as well as to give the schools time to prepare. The scheme, then, comes into being, if sanctioned by the Department, in 1906-7, and will be in full operation in 1910, when Waterford County will have in training eighteen scholars—nine Intermediate and nine University.

Now, is this scheme practicable? The first considera-

tion that will suggest itself is, is it legal? Is it in the power of the Committee to adopt such scheme and in the power of the Department to give it sanction? Does the Act of Parliament which called the Department into being admit of the funds raised by virtue of its authority being applied for purposes of Intermediate and University education? Obviously, my contention is that the application of the funds administered by the committees and the Department for such purposes, is well within the scope of the Act, and consequently is perfectly legal. I make no pretence of giving expert opinion on this complicated question, but I am convinced that it is perfectly competent for the Co. Waterford Committee to adopt the scheme, to make what provision it thinks fit for University education, and that neither the Department nor the Treasury can interpose with a veto.

Here it may be well to quote from a letter of His Lordship Most Rev. R. A. Sheehan, Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, who most kindly gave me many words of counsel and of encouragement, for which I take this opportunity of tendering him my most respectful and most grateful thanks.

BISHOP'S HOUSE,

JOHN'S HILL, WATERFORD,

July 29th, 1905.

MY DEAR FATHER COAKLEY,

I am glad to learn that you purpose making an application at an early date to the Co. Waterford Technical Committee, for aid to enable a limited number of clever boys and girls, selected by competition from the County schools, to obtain a higher education, Intermediate or University, as the case may demand. It is nothing short of intolerable that slender private and local resources, which are so sadly needed in this county, for other purposes, should be drawn upon, in order that Catholics may receive what may be regarded at the present time almost as a necessary of life, while their wealthier fellow-countrymen of all other denominations have a choice of institutions, where they can enjoy all that they require out of Imperial funds, to which we contribute as well as they. But until the ruling powers recognize their duty, our public bodies may well be asked to give what help they can. There is little doubt that the funds at the disposal of Technical Committees are applicable for the purpose for which you seek a small portion of them.

In the eye of the law Technical Instruction, as set forth clearly and in almost identical terms in the General Act of 1889, and in the Irish Act of 1899, means any form of instruction sanctioned by the Department, that may be given outside a Secondary school, except the teaching of any trade, or industry, or employment; and the Irish Act explicitly states that it may include Modern Languages and commercial subjects. If we wish to know what the phrase, 'sanctioned by the Department,' means, we have the highest authority, that of Graham Balfour (in his well-known work on the Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland), for the statement that the English Department '... has neither restricted the subjects, nor has it endeavoured to secure their treatment from a technical point of view, and thus a great part of the Grant has gone to Secondary education. . . .' And as bearing directly upon your entire application, I find it stated in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. xxxiii., art. Technical Education), that the Technical Education Board of the City of London has for years past arranged a comprehensive and varied scheme of Scholarships, which, among other benefits, enables children from the elementary schools to continue their education in Intermediate schools and pass on to the higher technical institutes and Universities.

Heartily wishing success to your efforts,

Believe me, faithfully yours,

✠ R. A. SHEEHAN,

Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

Though this pronouncement of the Bishop of Waterford should carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind, still it may be urged that the Department, in its efforts for the commercial development of Ireland, must confine itself to such purely technical subjects as have an immediate connection with some branch or other of industry. Father T. A. Finlay, S.J., in his letter of approval to me, which I read before the Committee, meets this difficulty very well:—

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, STEPHEN'S GREEN,
DUBLIN, July 23rd, 1905.

DEAR FATHER COAKLEY,

It gives me much satisfaction to learn that enlightened public opinion in Co. Waterford is beginning to realise the true bearing of the University Question on the material fortunes of the country. The best asset of a nation is its brains. . . . Now, brains will not avail without education, and there is no education for the leaders of industry—the industrial thinkers—the

officials of the industrial army, except through a University. So long as the majority of the Irish people have no institution in which to train the Captain of Industry, so long must they work without leadership, and so without effect, or must be content to give the posts of command to the representatives of the minority, or import foreigners to fill them. . . .

Yours sincerely,

T. A. FINLAY.

Undoubtedly the greatest obstacle to the industrial development of any country is ignorance—ignorance of its resources ; ignorance of the best method to utilise these resources ; ignorance, or want, of that educational system which is best adapted to discover and cultivate, to highest advantage, its latent intellectual powers. All countries which are commercial powers of the first magnitude, countries which are striving for the sceptre of commercial supremacy, understand this, and there is the closest connection between their Universities and the industries through which so large a portion of the national wealth is distributed. Everywhere University education, education after Newman's ideal, is beginning to be realised as the best preparation for purely Technical training.

Nothing can draw forth the powers of the mind so well as University education ; and the higher forms of Technical Instruction are impossible without this training which Universities alone can impart. Even Germany now sees that the divorce between academic culture, culture based on the Humanities and Technical Instruction, is a mistake. In America college-trained men always are preferred to organize or to control great business combinations. Even England, in this matter so sleepy, understands now that University training is one of the first conditions not merely for commercial pre-eminence, but for commercial existence. During recent years several new Universities, of the distinctively modern type, have sprung into existence. Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, all now boast of Universities which have been created for the purpose of maintaining the industries out of which their citizens live. These Universities were created to meet a peculiar

need. It was felt that German, Belgian, and American competition, directed by University men, was despoiling England, not merely of her prestige but of her markets, and that if England were to retain her position it was necessary to give her sons a training at least equal to that enjoyed by her rivals. London University has been converted into a teaching body. Everywhere it is understood that the separation between Technical Instruction and liberal studies is a retrograde step. The Technical Institute of Manchester, for example, works in the closest affiliation with Manchester University, and the Cheshire Co. Council with Liverpool University.

But not merely has England created these new Universities for commercial purposes, amongst others. She also, through the Co. Councils and their Technical Committees, has established by means of Scholarships, similar to those we propose, an educational ladder reaching from primary school to University. Manchester University, for example, enjoys a number of Scholarships established by the Co. Councils of West Riding of Yorkshire, Cheshire, Somerset, and other shires who thus act as feeders for this new and distinctively modern University. The Co. Council of London every year endows thousands of scholarships, varying in annual value from £5 to £90, whereby children of tender years, who possess character and talent, are helped along through the different stages of their intellectual career, so that they may climb from the squalid slums of Hoxton or Bethnal Green to the hallowed precincts of Magdalen or Oriel.

The importance of University training is realised also by the chiefs of the Irish Department. Sir Horace Plunkett in his book declares that the ideal University for Ireland would be one on the Scotch model, reaching down to the masses of the population by means of Scholarships and Bursaries, which he hoped the Department, acting in conjunction with the local committees, would establish. Denmark, to which we are so often urged to look on as an object lesson, derives its prosperity, in his opinion, not so much from its Technical schools, as from its Intermediate

schools. 'The Humanities,' said a learned Dane, 'have been the salvation of Denmark.' The Humanities, plus the Nationalities, ought to be the salvation of Ireland also. This view is also expressed in Mr. Coyne's work, *Ireland : Industrial and Agricultural*, where, especially in the chapter on Education, a liberal education, an education which will enable a man to master his best aptitudes, is emphasized as the foundation of a really efficient system of Technical training.

These, however, are generalities. But when we come to details we find it is perfectly within the powers of local committees to establish University Scholarships. For the past ten years it has been dinned into our ears, until we are almost wearied from its iteration, that scientific training is absolutely indispensable to industrial development. For the time being, Science has become the be-all and the end-all of Education. Be it so. Now, if Science be the foundation of national prosperity, it is certainly within the province of the local committee to make adequate provision for Scientific training, with corresponding academic recognition.

A committee, for instance, may establish, surely, a Scholarship which will enable students within its jurisdiction to obtain the degree of Bachelorship of Science. But the Royal University of Ireland, the only University to which the majority of our people can have access, confers the degree of Bachelor of Science only on graduates of one year's standing in some Faculty of the University. This Faculty may be the Faculty of Arts. If, then, a committee wishes to found a Scholarship which will help its students to obtain this degree, with the scientific knowledge which it implies, it certainly can apply its funds for an education that is not exclusively Technical.

Again, take the degree of Bachelor of Engineering. This degree is taken only by those who have Matriculated, passed the First University Examination, with subsequent professional examinations. But, of course, no candidate may present himself for these professional examinations until he had passed both Matriculation and First University

Examination. Now, both for Matriculation and First Arts a candidate must answer in Latin in the English Language and Literature, and in one at least of a group of Languages—French, German, Italian, Irish, Sanscrit, Hebrew, or Arabic. Finally, study the conditions for the Diploma of Agriculture. This is conferred only on those who, with subsequent professional examinations, shall have passed either Matriculation, or a preliminary examination. But the Exhibitions awarded in connection with the Diploma are conferred only on Matriculated students. If we wish to bring the higher types of mind to bear on Agricultural Science, we must give them at least that education which will enable them to Matriculate.

Now, Science, Engineering, and Agriculture surely fall within the province of the Department. That being so, any committee that wishes can make suitable provision for the acquisition of the foregoing degrees and diploma. But neither degree nor diploma can be obtained without what is generally called a liberal education, without that broad general culture which is the only solid basis for subsequent special training, and which it is the great object of the Co. Waterford Scholarship scheme to promote. The Bachelorship of Science is that on which I place most reliance. This degree cannot be attained without graduating in some Faculty of the University (which may be the Faculty of Arts), without, that is, a University education in the real sense of the word. *Should, then, any committee found a Scholarship for this B.Sc. degree, it must make provision for that intermediate education which is necessary for Matriculation, and for the subsequent First and Second University Examinations for which the Humanities are essential.* Consequently, though the Co. Waterford scheme is still awaiting sanction from the Department, it is my conviction that it is open to no legal objection, and that it will not fall either under the surcharge of the auditor or the veto of the lawyer.

Before I pass from this phase of the question, it may be well to state that the Agricultural as well as the Technical Committee contributes to the scheme. Amongst other

reasons for this is, that the Agricultural Board has, I believe, at its disposal, larger funds than the Technical Board. Furthermore, the Department has already in operation in the counties of Wexford and Carlow, and in fourteen other counties, a scheme of Intermediate Scholarships. For these Scholarships, Science is, and rightly so, essential. But their Intermediate education is not limited to the Experimental Science Group. They may take any of the four Intermediate Courses, and as a matter of fact they are being taught classics and modern languages, and are not bound by any covenant with the Department to embrace a commercial career. Surely the Department can carry this excellent scheme one step further, and extend the principles that govern its existing Intermediate Scholarships to those contemplated for University purposes. If Intermediate Scholarships already sanctioned by the Department do not necessitate the exclusive study of purely scientific or purely technical subjects, there is no reason why University Scholarships should be placed on a different footing. Irish, of course, is essential. No educational system can ever hope to become efficient which is not in complete harmony with the spirit, traditions, and aspirations of a people. The possible objection that, in some counties at least, Irish has no commercial value, can be met by the county councils following the example of the Cork Co. Council, and the Corporations of Dublin and Limerick, and making Irish obligatory on all candidates for all positions within their gift.

The next question that arises is, will the scheme be effective; will it reach the main body of the people in whose interests it has been conceived? There is every reason for entertaining this hope. All progressive countries glory in their democratic educational system, by which the child of the poorest man, if he have but brains and character, can climb by State aid, at every stage of his educational career, to the very highest position in the community. It is the great object of enlightened government to discover talent, and afford it suitable opportunity. Now,

the Co. Waterford scheme, in its own limited way, endeavours to secure this equality of opportunity. Beginning at the Primary school, where education is practically free, it takes in hand the student of bright promise, helps him through the intermediate stage of intellectual development, brings him not merely to the gate, but within the portals of the University, maintains and shelters him there until his brow is encircled by the coveted academic bay.

The mass of the people take very little interest in the University movement, because they are under the delusion that it cannot affect them. They think, so far as they have any views at all on the matter, that Universities are necessarily a monopoly, that only the upper or upper middle class can aspire to the benefits University training confers. But let it be brought home to them, let it be made plain to them, that the poor man's child stands here on perfect equality with the rich, let them understand that boys from the labourer's cottage, from the small farmhouse, from the artisan's dwelling can travel through these realms of gold, the fairylands so bright and beautiful of Culture and of Science, they will speedily rouse themselves from their indifference and give to the movement a force of intense passion that it has never known before.

How will scheme satisfy the third condition, which to many will appear of greatest importance, namely, that it will involve the very minimum of expense, either by way of taxation or by way of voluntary contribution? In this way. Each year the committees, when arranging their schemes, profit by their previous experience. They eliminate those schemes which have been unpopular, which for one reason or another have been a failure, and they economise in other directions as well. The Dungarvan Industrial Development Association requested the Co. Waterford Committee so to readjust their schemes for 1906-7, that adequate provision can be made for the endowment of the Scholarships. The total income of the Agricultural and Technical Committee of Co. Waterford is, roughly, about £2,200. A penny in the pound rate realises about £1,100. This being supplemented by an equivalent grant from the

Department, comes to about £2,200. Now, as long as the Co. Council strikes the penny in the pound rate for the purposes of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, this £2,200 must be expended. Our object is to secure that a small portion of this sum shall be expended in one direction rather than in another, that by a little judicious economy or cheeseparing here and there, some fraction of it shall be devoted to provide that education which is of vital necessity for our country. Thus, the financing of the scheme will not involve a single penny of extra expense by way of taxation. As long as the Co. Council strikes the rate the money must be spent somehow. It is our duty to see that as long as the rate is being paid that it shall be expended to the best advantage. To what better purpose can it be put than to help the children of the people in the race for life, and open to them careers commensurate with their intelligence and industry.

The cost of the scheme for the first year will be only £180. In 1910 when, please God, if nothing better comes, when we shall have eighteen scholars in training—nine Intermediate and nine University—its total cost will be £540 which will leave for the other purposes of the Waterford Co. Committee, £1,700. Of course, it is asking in one sense a great deal. But, as His Lordship the Bishop of Waterford pointed out, as long as our rulers treat us with such flagrant injustice we might well ask the local authorities, for the sake of the bright boys who otherwise would be doomed, no matter what their ability might be, to obscurity and poverty, to make some provision for higher education. It calls for a little sacrifice, perhaps ; but has the spirit which, in the days when Ireland hopelessly complained, enabled our fathers to make heroic sacrifice for Catholic education, has it entirely fled the land ?

Nobody is more keenly conscious of the defects of the scheme than its originator. Nobody will more gladly welcome amendment and correction. It cannot be and is not intended to be a substitute for an efficient National University. It provides merely for tuition. Not, alas ! for equipment and research. It is respectfully submitted to

his brother priests, with the earnest hope that in their respective districts they will use their great influence to secure its adoption. If the Catholic counties adopt it, in three years, in 1910, we shall have three hundred University students in University College, or at all events in some institute of University rank, in thorough sympathy with our aspirations and beliefs. The very presence there of such a body of young Irishmen, the future leaders of Irish thought, trained upon Irish-Ireland lines, subsidised by the Co. Councils by reason of the criminal neglect of duty by the Imperial Government, will create such a force of public opinion in favour of a satisfactory settlement of the question, that even the most hostile Cabinet must submit. Its adoption will emphasize the necessary connection between a National University and National prosperity. It will give the Irish Party a new argument for our cause—that the administrators of the Agricultural and Technical Act cannot develop the resources of the country owing to the absence of the higher educational institutes which are absolutely essential. It will in its own way bring Ireland into line with every progressive country by destroying Protestant ascendancy and class-monopoly, and by giving equality of opportunity to the poor man's son. It will tend to develop in our people self-respect and self-reliance ; and in Industry and the Arts help to win for our land its ancient glory back.

PATRICK F. COAKLEY, O.S.A.

THE MADONNA IN ITALIAN ART

THAT Christian Art began in the Catacombs is universally acknowledged ; and in these subterranean cemeteries which form, as it were, a girdle round the Eternal City, the origins of that art are to be sought. In its earliest manifestations it has a close resemblance to the contemporary pagan art, especially in its decorative motives. The same style, the same methods, and, to a certain degree, the same subjects are common to both Christian and pagan art. Christians did not immediately create a new artistic method of expression of the thoughts that possessed them. As they adopted the civilization around them, and the existing Latin language for the utterance of their beliefs, so also did they make use of the art prevailing in Rome at the beginning of the Christian era, and, eliminating all that was idolatrous and evil in it, employ it for the decoration, as the custom was, of the last resting-places of their dead. It is even held that occasionally pagan artists were employed in this task ; at any rate, artists newly converted from paganism, painted Christian tombs according to the manner and style they had used previous to their conversion. It was the idea associated with the particular figure or scene or adornment which was changed.

A notable result followed from this state of things. The figure of Christ, for example, and that of His Mother were represented as Romans, with the type and appearance characteristic of that race, almost suggesting the phrase which Dante used thirteen centuries later : ‘ That Rome where Christ is Roman ’—*Di quella Roma onde Cristo è Romano*.

To the Christians who visited the Catacombs in the early ages of the Church, the youthful figure holding a rod in his right hand, painted above a tomb, and represented as standing before a tiny temple in which is seen a figure up-

right and wrapped in cere-cloths, expressed to the informed mind the Gospel narrative of Christ raising Lazarus from the dead. That group of persons, in another picture, seated around a crescent-shaped table on which are placed bread and fish, brought to the mind of the Christian the great Sacrament of Love, the Eucharist, and also the multiplication of the loaves and fishes. And so the figure of a woman with a child seated upon her lap was to the Christian a reminder of the Incarnation and of the blessed Mother of God.

In all Christian art, from its earliest appearance in the Catacombs to its highest development in the Golden Age of the Italian Renaissance, and even in its subsequent decline, the Saviour of the world, our Lord Jesus Christ, has ever been the principal and pre-eminent theme. And in its efforts to express in marble, or by line and colour, the incidents of His life, and bring home to the people—‘the holy *plebs* of God,’ as old writers call them—the lessons of His teaching, that art reached its supreme height.

Next to this greatest of subjects, and in frequent and well-nigh necessary association with it, comes that of Mary the Virgin Mother of God. The paintings and statues of which she is the theme and the source of inspiration, are only less numerous than those of which Christ is the central figure. The countless thousands of pictures that fill the churches and the homes of Christendom, with Mary as their subject, are, mostly, representations of the Mother and the Son; and He is, naturally and artistically, the central figure to which all else is subsidiary.

Italy is, in a pre-eminent degree, the land of the Blessed Virgin—the Madonna, as she is called. The whole country is filled with pictures of her. The veneration which Italy offers to the Blessed Virgin in the form of art, is of great antiquity. Evidences of this veneration abound in the Catacombs. From this cradle of Christian art the image of the Madonna derives its origin.

For eighteen centuries [says Cardinal Ferrata, in his inaugural discourse at the Marian exhibition, in the Palace of the Lateran] the fine arts have laboured lovingly and con-

stantly around this dear subject of Mary, feeling as if penetrated by a sweet enchantment, and no one can tell the number of works which they produced in honour of Mary. Assuredly, if it were possible to gather them together in one sole place, we should behold the most beautiful and grandiose spectacle that the world has ever contemplated.

In the Catacombs it is given us to discover the images of Mary painted by artists who, perhaps, on the morrow of their labours laid down their lives for the faith. Such images, continues the Cardinal, which are frequently distinguished by sincerity and tenderness of line, and by an expression marked by frankness and sweetness, are there to testify to the genius and piety of the early Christians, and to contradict the erroneous affirmations of those who maintain that images of the Blessed Virgin did not exist prior to the Council of Ephesus in 431.

Of representations of the Madonna in the Catacombs, the earliest and the most important, is that which adorns the wall of a simple *loculus* in the Catacomb of Priscilla on the Via Salaria. This fresco picture consists of a group of three figures. The Blessed Virgin, 'vested in a stole and with a short veil,' as Mgr. Wilpert—whose authority in the art of the Catacombs is unquestioned—describes her, 'sits as if profoundly meditating, and with her head slightly bent forward and somewhat to one side. With both hands she holds the Infant Jesus on her lap.' The Child has turned His head towards the spectator as if some one had called Him, and He looked round. On the left stands the Prophet Isaiah, beardless, and vested only with the pallium and with sandals; in his left hand he holds a roll—the 'volume' of the Sacred Scriptures—and with his right hand he makes the gesture of 'indicating' or pointing to something. Hence it is seen that the artist represents him at the moment he is pronouncing the prophecy: 'Behold a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel.'

Over the head of the Mother of God shines a star of eight rays, the traces of which are now so dim that it is only with difficulty that it can be recognised by the unaccustomed

eye. The star signifies the light predicted by Isaiah ; it is the symbol of Christ, the true light, which has come into the world to illuminate the human race. Hence, in two other frescoes, also in the Catacombs, this star has the form of the monogram of Christ, which is made by the junction of the two Greek letters **X** and **P**. The principal importance of this picture is derived from the prophecy of Isaiah. The same Prophet glorifies the light which will arise upon Jerusalem on the birth of the Emmanuel, and in which the Kings *will* come :—

Arise, be enlightened, O Jerusalem ; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. . . . The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Madian and Ephraim : all they from Saba shall come, bringing gold and frankincense : and showing forth praise to the Lord.

These prophecies inspired this most notable painting, as they did that of many other well-known works in later ages. We see their outcome in the magnificent pageants painted by early Renaissance artists, such as Benozzo Gozzoli in the chapel of the Riccardi Palace in Florence, where the walls are covered with a great procession to represent the coming of the Three Kings (the Magi) to adore the Infant Christ ; and by Gentile da Fabriano in a picture of unparalleled beauty and brilliancy on the same theme, which is now in the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence.

De Rossi, in discussing the date of this important picture, noted that the spot where this fresco is met with was directly beneath the foundations of the ancient demolished church of St. Silvestro, and that the itineraries of the pilgrims in the seventh and eighth centuries show that the tombs of SS. Pudenziana and Prassede, and of Pudens, their father, were under the soil near to the basilica of St. Silvestro. The ruins of this basilica subsisted up to the end of the sixteenth century, and were seen by topographers such as Winchius and Bosio, ‘on the left of the Via Salaria, in the Vigna Cuppis, at present in the possession of the Irish College.’

That was forty years ago, and many changes have since

taken place. The foundations of the basilica of St. Silvestro were again laid bare in 1889 by De Rossi, and the place of the tomb of St. Celestine, the Pope who gave St. Patrick his commission, was pointed out. It was a strange fortune which made the Irish College owner of the soil beneath which was the earliest existing picture of the Madonna and the tomb of Pope St. Celestine.

From the indications furnished by the place where this fresco is painted, and from a variety of other considerations too elaborate to be described here, De Rossi concluded that this picture is a work executed under the eyes of the Apostles, or very little later—‘that is to say, from the second half of the first century to the first half of the second century.’ Mgr. Wilpert attributes it to the same period, that is to say, prior to the year 150.

There are many other pictures of the Madonna to be seen in the Catacombs. Perhaps the most common is the Adoration of the Magi. Here the traditional number of three Magi is not always represented; sometimes there are four in a picture, two on each side of the Madonna; and again only two are seen. These exceptions to the ordinary number arise, apparently, from the requirements of a symmetrical disposition of the figures; but in the majority of cases there are three Magi. The Annunciation is seen in two pictures, but the Madonna with the Child in her lap is the more frequent subject.

One does not expect to find elaborate and grand works of art in a subterranean cemetery adorning graves in an age of persecution, when the artist who laid down his brushes in the evening, might have to suffer death on the morrow for his faith, and his mangled remains placed in the tomb adjoining that which he had just painted. Nor were the conditions such as would favour excellence of workmanship:—a darkness that a tiny lamp or a feebly illuminating taper scarcely dispersed, and an atmosphere that was occasionally damp and chill, and heavy with the smoke of torches.

But a brighter day dawned at last. Persecution ceased, and liberty of worship was granted to the Christians

through out the Roman world. As Cardinal Ferrata said :—

From the subterranean silence of the Catacombs the painting of Mary, issuing forth into the sunlight, followed the triumphal course of Christianity, which, after three centuries of sanguinary persecutions, beheld its divine banner floating from the summit of the Capitol. In all parts of the world monuments were erected to Mary, whose veneration, though in second rank, goes with equal pace to that of her Son.

And the late Aubrey de Vere expresses the same thought in noble verse :—

Then from the Catacombs, like waves, upburst
The Host of God, and scaled, as in an hour,
O'er all the earth the mountain seats of Power.

The great impulse given to the arts after the peace of the Church can scarcely be realised by us to-day. Though there are but few Constantinian foundations left intact and unrestored, sufficient remain to furnish an idea of their pristine splendour. The age of basilica-building then began ; and the churches of that time, from the richness of their decoration, well deserved the title of 'royal halls,' which was given to them. Constantinople, where the Emperor Constantine fixed his residence, might, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle say, boast of possessing the finest statues of Phidias, Lysippus and Praxiteles. But Constantine could not revive the ideals of the Greeks. No ; 'the great god Pan is dead, and all the gods are dead with him.'

The want of a new art-language was felt, and with this want, and the necessity of satisfying it, the fall of the old and the birth of the new may be said to have gone on contemporaneously. 'Yet the antique, in its dying moments, maintained its grandeur and its majesty, and the mosaics of Ravenna are the last expression of its greatness and power.'


In Ravenna—that desolate city of the marshes near the low coast of the Adriatic Sea—the traveller of to-day may study the art that follows immediately that of the Catacombs of Rome. In the fifth century Christian art in Rome had fallen to a low level. In the sixth century the art of the

Orient or of Byzantium, inheriting some of the ancient Greek traditions modified by Oriental influences, assumes the lead over all the art of Christian lands, inspiring its forms and interpenetrating its development in every form of artistic production.¹ The mosaics that glisten on the walls of San Vitale and on those of the great nave of St. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, dating from the sixth century, testify to the triumph of Orinetal art in the land of Italy. There the Madonna is seen enthroned, majestic and stately, with a queen-like dignity and grace which are very effective, and which constitute the type that is followed for centuries after. In the latter of these two churches, the mosaic picture shows the Madonna with the Child in her arms, seated upon a jewelled throne; two angels, white-robed, tall, serene of aspect, with great wings, stand on either side of the throne. At the right of the angels, above in the golden sky, is the star which indicates the Child Jesus, and here all those who followed it—the three Magi hastening hurriedly forward, their speed indicated by their wind-blown robes, bearing their gifts in their hands covered with their mantles, to the new-born King of the Jews. They are of different ages; the eldest, Gaspar, white of hair and beard, comes first, and he is followed by Melchior, and he by Balthasar; palm trees are in the back-ground, and suggest the scene. The Madonna of St. Apollinare has lost the large forms which distinguish the Madonna of the Catacombs. There are seriousness and spirituality in her expression, and an elegance and dignity in her figure which are suited

¹ Recent writers on Byzantine art, such as Strzygowski and Antonio Munoz, in describing the influence of Oriental art, consider that it dominated the whole field of Italian art until the coming of Giotto, the great renovator of painting in Italy. On the other hand, it is asserted that the paintings brought to light in the recently discovered church of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum, modify considerably the conclusions which describe the native art of Rome as exhausted at so early a period. The classic Roman type employed in representing the Madonna and St. Anne in the manner of Roman matrons, and the Apostles and saints in that of consuls and senators is maintained more persistently than is generally thought. This will soon be made evident in the accurate reproductions of ancient frescoes with which Mgr. Wilpert is illustrating the work he is preparing on Roman art from the fifth century to the period of Giotto. See *Civiltà Cattolica*, 17th June, 1905, p. 712.

to the ideal that one seeks to form of the ever Blessed Virgin. It would seem as if the type of the Virgin Mother in art had been determined before this picture was made. A certain rigidity in the forms, and the generous use of gold in the back-ground, and the richness of bright coloured draperies and costumes, heightened by jewels and ornaments, added greatly to the grand effect and the majesty of these Byzantine pictures in mosaic.¹

How universally this type of Madonna-picture entered into artistic representation may be seen in the newly-opened Catacomb of Santa Commodilla, near St. Paul's, on the Via delle Sette Chiese. The type had spread to Rome and was eagerly adopted here. In the Commodilla fresco the Blessed Virgin is seen seated in majesty on a carved and jewel-adorned throne, with the Divine Child upon her knees, holding a roll or 'volume' in His hand. He is arrayed in a yellow or golden-coloured robe, while the robe of the Madonna is dark purple. What is noticeable here and in all other works of this period, and for two or three centuries later, is the regular form of features which distinguishes both the Madonna and the Christ, and the large dark eyes, which seem to be derived from Greek pictures of a later age—perhaps of the first or second century. There is a strange haunting beauty in these fresco pictures that dwells long in the memory of those who observe them.

 In the church of Santa Maria Antiqua, brought to light a few years ago from the huge accumulation of earth which had filled it during eight or nine centuries, the walls are covered with frescoes. This church, situated at the foot of the Palatine Hill, was constructed in an imperial edifice—probably in the library of the palace of Augustus. It is a strange transformation, and denotes the progress of Chris-

¹ If we accept the conclusions of Dr. J. P. Richter, put forth in his recent work, *The Golden Age of Classic Art*, the date of the mosaics over the arch of the high altar of St. Maria Maggiore cannot be later than the fifth century, and are probably earlier. Here the Madonna is seen arrayed in queen-like robes, and she occupies a prominent position in the pictures. In the Annunciation St. Joseph is introduced; and in the Adoration of the Magi Christ with the star over His head, and attended by four angels, occupies a large throne, while the Madonna occupies a smaller one beside Him.

tianity in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era. In the many frescoes unearthed here—and the walls were painted in four layers of fresco—that of the Madonna is conspicuous. The type is generally that which is seen in Ravenna, though there are some pictures which have evidently not followed that type. These works supply us with specimens of the art of fresco painting from the seventh to the tenth century, and at a time when a great lethargy had fallen upon it, and when wars and invasion had desolated the land. Another specimen of the expressiveness still remaining in this old art is furnished by the Madonna of Santa Maria Nuova in Rome,—a fine example of what one may expect to see in a religious picture. The history of this work relates that it was brought from Troy in the eleventh century by a member of the Frangipani; and it probably dates from a century or two earlier. There is a dignity and sadness in the expression—a sense of the future passion of her Son, and her own consequent sorrow—in the countenance of this figure which deeply impress the beholder. The later centuries—the eleventh, and twelfth, and even the thirteenth—have left comparatively few traces of good art. The work of Margaritone d'Arezzo, which is seen in several galleries in Italy, furnishes in its dark-yellow-greenish tint of flesh and its strained figures, a striking example of the style and method of painting that prevailed in his day. Yet even he strove to render his Madonnas noble and graceful, but without attaining much success.

It is in the 'Trecento,' as the Italians call it—the fourteenth century—when, as Tullio Dandolo puts it, 'Rome was the city of dogma, and Florence the city of art,' that the revival came. The Byzantines, says the same writer, had placed the Virgin motionless upon a sublime throne, with her brow tranquil in an eternal calm, surrounded by saints without joy or sadness, symmetrically distributed around her; Giotto and his followers snatched them from their contemplations; and here the soldiers which Taddeo Gaddi placed as guards at the sepulchre were seen to shake themselves free from sleep, dazed by the light of the Triumpher over Death: there, along the walls of the Pisan Campo

Santo the pale virgins of Orcagna, risen to life again, appeared to wander about among the sepulchres. The time had come when the angels of Benozzo Gozzoli, of Fra Angelico, and of Crivelli, should blow into their golden trumpets, and make their harps ring under the touch of heavenly fingers : in the midst of such silent harmonies *the Madonna was seen to smile for the first time with a smile which enamoured all Italy!* From that day forth she was pleased to bear the Child Jesus in her lap to the foot of the Apennines, and to the shores of the Mediterranean : it was the Golden Age of Art, if we may call Art that which was a prayer, an act of faith, the fulfilment of a vow.

The beginning of this movement in the art of the time is generally attributed to Cimabue, who, if Vasari is to be believed, was of a noble Tuscan family, and was born in 1240. Being an intelligent boy, he was sent by his parents to the Dominicans of Florence at Santa Maria Novella to prepare him for a clerk's career ; but he preferred to visit the painters, and soon acquired such skill in drawing that he was allowed to become an artist, and he became superior to his teachers in drawing and colouring. The work by which he is best known is his Madonna in the Ruccellai Chapel of the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence.

This picture [writes Vasari in his Life of Cimabue] is of larger size than any figure that had been painted down to those times ; and the angels surrounding it make it evident that although Cimabue still retained the Greek manner, he was nevertheless gradually approaching the mode of outline and general method of modern times. Thus it happened that this work was an object of so much admiration to the people of that day—they having then never seen anything better—that it was carried in solemn procession, with the sound of trumpets and other festal demonstrations, from the house of Cimabue to the church, he himself being very highly rewarded and honoured for it.

Vasari goes on to relate the story that, whilst Cimabue was painting this picture, in a garden near the gate of San Pietro, King Charles the Elder, of Anjou, passed through

Florence, and the city authorities, among other marks of respect, brought him to see Cimabue's picture. When it was shown to the King, it had not before been seen by any one. Hence the people of Florence hastened in great crowds to admire it, 'making all possible demonstrations of delight. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood, rejoicing in this occurrence, ever afterwards called that place Borgo Allegri, and this name it has ever since retained, although in process of time it became enclosed within the walls of the city.'

This story, told by the old biographer of Arezzo, has gone into the mass of legend which has gathered around old pictures. It shows also the popular devotion to the Madonna, and the enthusiasm with which the people greeted the artist who expressed in an adequate degree the ideals they had of this gracious figure.

Siena, 'the City of the Virgin,' as the people named it at an early period, found in its admirable school of painting an excellent mode of expressing and showing forth its love and devotion to the Blessed Virgin. There is a strange haunting charm in the Madonnas of Siena, that one readily learns to distinguish from the works produced in other schools. The painters of Siena gave their Madonna almond shaped eyes, an oval face, a long, thin and slightly aquiline nose; the mouth is small and drawn down at the corners, and the expression, though sweet and gentle, is serious, as if she were burdened with sad presentiments of the great sorrow of the future. She is generally arrayed in a white robe, adorned with gold embroidered flowers, and a mantle of a rich material. The artists of the period apparently considered that the very best was scarcely good enough for her, and hence they put upon her the richest and finest products of the Italian looms, at a time when these textiles held supremacy in Europe. She is distinguished furthermore by the star painted on the shoulder of her outer robe. Examples of this are common in the primitive art of Siena, and Cimabue, also, in his grand mosaic in the apse of the Pisa Cathedral, has employed the same mode of distinguishing Madonna.

Indeed, the distinction and beauty of Sieneſe Madonnas ſurpaſs thoſe of other contemporary ſchools. Duccio di Boninſegna is the great artiſt of Siena, correſponding to Giotto in the Florentine School. While the latter broke away from the trammels of the Byzantines, and became more natural and human in expreſſion, Duccio preſerved the rigidity of the paſt in his pictures, and ſeems to have turned to his own account the moſt beautiful examples of Oriental art. His work is excellent of its kind; and the large altar-piece which he painted in the firſt decade of the fourteenth century is his moſt important work. It is now placed in the Opera del Duomo,—a ſort of muſeum attached to the cathedral. There is ſo cloſe a reſemblance in his Madonna, ſeated on a throne and ſurrounded by angels, to the Ruccellai Madonna of Cimabue, that the ſtatement is now put forward by ſome of Duccio's admirers that he, and not Cimabue, is the painter, and that it has been faulſely attributed to the Florentine artiſt.

Cimabue's place as an artiſt is now aſſailed by the newer criticism, which has been deſcribed as the act of 'changing all the labels in a picture gallery.' One German authority aſſerts that there is no trustworthy evidence that Cimabue painted in the Upper Church of Aſſiſi the works heretofore attributed to him; and two other art-critics of the ſame country are of opinion that there are no exiſting paintings which can be definitely aſſigned to Cimabue. Theſe pronouncements, however, have not yet been univerſally received. There is, nevertheless, a great reſemblance between the two great pictures of the Madonna, that in the Ruccellai Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence, and that in the Opera del Duomo in Siena.

In the early part of the fourteenth century, Giotto became the artiſtic interpreter of the ſentiments of his time, and was the firſt to infuſe vigorous life and feeling into his figures. As one writer has it: 'He was an all-round man,—ſculptor, painter, and architect.' The laudatory inſcription which Angelo Poliziano wrote in his honour, and which is inſcribed on a great marble ſlab on

the right wall of the interior of the Cathedral of Florence, Englished, runs thus, and tells his story well :—

I am he through whom the extinct art of the painter
Lived again ; whose hand was so fit to its work, and so facile,
That only that to my art was lacking which Nature lacked
also.

More was it given to no one to do in painting or better.
You see, admiring, the Tower unrivalled, with sacred brass
sounding.

This, too, after my measure grew, to the stars upspringing.
Finally. I am Giotto—what need to make mention of these
things ?

When this name alone is equal to long-drawn verses.

Extravagant as these verses may at first sight seem to be, the more one studies the work of this leader of the art of his day, the more they fit him, and the better they describe his achievements. In the church of the Madonna dell' Arena, at Padua, in the scenes in which he has represented the life of Mary, Giotto achieved his highest art and the fullness of his feelings. The series of these pictures accompanies her from her birth ; in her childhood we see her as a gentle and timid child ascending the steps of the Temple ; later on, receiving the ring from Joseph, and then at the Annunciation, where with hands crossed upon her breast, she kneels to receive the message of the kneeling angel. Again she is seen as the Mother lovingly bending over the Child ; again, she is presenting Him in the Temple, or holding Him in her lap during the flight into Egypt. And at the foot of the Cross she is seen crushed and sinking down under the burden of sorrow she endures at sight of her Son crucified ; and, finally, holding His dead body in her arms. All these scenes are dearly and touchingly depicted. As in Dante, says a recent Italian writer, so also in the pictures of Giotto, Mary has not entirely lost her queenlike solemnity ; she has laid aside the jewelled diadem and the hieratic gesture ; but, nevertheless, she still reserves a dignity that is not all lost in her affectionate attitude towards the Infant ; she

has approached humanity preserving a more than human dignity.

Humble and high beyond all other creature

A numerous host of artists follow in the paths opened up to them by Giotto. They bring their special individualities into their work, and, as a rule, their highest achievements are in the representation of the Madonna. This is the glorious period of a religious art, when devotion is deep and the means of artistic expression are clear, and simple, and straightforward. As the years go on the artists acquire more technical ability in their work, and become exceedingly skilful in the practice of drawing and the knowledge of colour. They gain in knowledge that which they lose in innocence and simplicity. Fra Angelico and Benozzo Gozzoli are, in a measure, exceptions to this rule ; but the great majority of their contemporaries and successors are affected by the advancing movement, and the general appreciation of pagan art and learning that has come into vogue. There is, as it were, a struggle between the new methods and ideals, and the older models and manner of painting. The age of the 'Primitives' is rapidly drawing to a close, and the great artists whose names are writ large in the annals of painting take possession of the field, and Italian Christian art, in the strict sense of the term, comes to an end.

Mary [says Tullio Dandolo], having descended from her sacerdotal throne, issues from the sanctuary to sit in the guise of an Urbino country-girl under the shadow of a pine-tree ; or in the semblance of a Florentine woman of the people to rest on the bank of a rivulet. Christ is seen as if animated by the wrath of Pope Julius II ; in the Sistine Chapel the Sybils and the Prophets meet together ; whilst at the other end of the Peninsula, in the Venetian School, which had fallen into the slavery of sensualism, Paul Veronese was preparing a picture in which the wine should not cease flowing from the amphorae of Cana ; Titian devised how to throw the mantle of Doges on the shoulders of the Fishermen of Galilee, and Tintoretto summoned all the saints of Heaven to be spectators of the Assembly of the Grand Council of the Republic !

If these were the extravagances and aberrations of the

great masters—of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Veronese, Titian, and Tintoretto, the leaders and the examples of the greatest art of their period—one can scarcely reckon the decline and the debasement of lesser painters. They, naturally, reached still lower depths. Then prevailed the principle of ‘Art for Art’s sake,’—a cry that is heard again in our own day,—and all horrors find their excuse in it. Tennyson summed it up in the lines :—

The filthiest of all paintings painted well
Is mightier than the purest painted ill !

It was the delight felt by artists in the employment of their newly acquired mastery in technique, together with their lack of moral sense, that led to this great decline. Ruskin, who in the middle of the last century opened the eyes of the English-speaking races to the charm and interest of medieval art, in one of his Lectures on Architecture and Painting, declares that the supreme ability of Raphael led to the decadence of the art of Painting ; it was when Raphael was called by Pope Julius II to decorate the ‘Stanze’ or chambers of the Vatican, he ‘having until that time worked exclusively in the ancient and stern medieval manner.’ In the first chamber which he decorated in that palace, says Ruskin, he wrote upon the walls the *Mene, Tekel, Upharsin* of the arts of Christianity.

And he wrote it thus [continues Ruskin]. On one wall of that chamber he placed a picture of the world or kingdom of *Theology*, presided over by *Christ*. And on the side wall of that same chamber he placed the world or kingdom of *Poetry*, presided over by *Apollo*. And from that spot, and from that hour, the intellect and the art of Italy date their degradation.

And again :—

The doom of the arts of Europe went forth from that chamber, and it was brought about in great part by the very excellencies of the man who had thus marked the commencement of decline. The perfection of execution and the beauty of feature which were attained in his works, and in those of his great contemporaries, rendered finish of execution and beauty of form the

chief objects of all artists ; and thenceforward execution was looked for rather than thought, and beauty rather than veracity.

Yet this is the period which is designated the 'Golden Age of Italian Art.' The works of Raphael and his contemporaries and his own immediate predecessors and successors are the works which most of us look to for study and delight when we visit the Vatican, or the Villa Borghese in Rome ; the Uffizi and the Pitti and the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, the Louvre in Paris ; the Old Pinakothek in Munich ; and the National Gallery in London. Undoubtedly, so far as the highest technical qualities and unparalleled execution are concerned, these are the world's masterpieces, having in a supreme degree design and colour and composition ; but these brilliant works lack the religious character. Their people—the saints and prophets and angels which they delineate—are splendid and beautiful specimens of men and women, but in their strongly modelled figures, and their fine feature, and richly painted costumes, express the qualities that the generality of Christians associate with sanctity and meditation on heavenly things so well and truly suggested by the older masters.

Amongst the great names of this period of the Renaissance—from the end of the sixteenth to, perhaps, the end of the seventeenth century—that of Michael Angelo occupies a most prominent place. When one enters a gallery or a church in which his works are to be seen, the very mention of his name predisposes the mind to admiration ; yet he, perhaps, more even than Raphael smoothed the path to rapid decline. His chief aim seems to have been the expression of feeling and passion by exaggeration of muscle. In his early years he achieved one beautiful work that may take its place beside those of the pure and severe masters of sculpture—the Pieta of St. Peter's at Rome. But, on the other hand, turn to the figures in the Last Judgment where muscularity in excess is the leading characteristic, and you will understand how followers of his, without his power, and imitating his faults, have produced the exaggerations and impossibilities and horrors

in their representations of the human figure. See again the celebrated Holy Family by Michael Angelo in the Tribuna of the Uffizi Gallery at Florence; and consider the coarse-limbed heavy-bodied Madonna in it. It is a magnificent piece of handiwork full of force and strength and marvellous foreshortening. All the problems of the painter's art are overcome, and with splendid success. But the Infant Christ resembles a young satyr in face and figure, and the back-ground is occupied by a number of rude youths that seem resting from the practice of gymnastics. One asks oneself what are these doing there beside the Madonna and Child and St. Joseph, except to show how well the artist can paint muscle. This is not the sort of picture one would place above an altar where the 'holy people of God' would gather to pray. In the courtyard of the house of Michael Angelo, in Florence, there is an inscription which reads: 'As an eagle above the others he soars'—*Sovra gli altri come Aquila vola!* That is true in the sense that his mastery in art surpassed that of others, but it cannot be truthfully said that this art is uplifting in a religious way.

Andrea del Sarto is another name to conjure with. As a colourist he is excellent, and in drawing and arrangement and feeling of the beautiful, there are but few to equal him. Yet his most carefully painted Madonnas, exquisite as they may be in beauty of feature, fail to impress you as you remember that in all or nearly all of them there is the portrait of his wife. Artists indeed employ models, but the pictures they make are not necessarily portraits, and when the portraiture of one becomes notorious, as is the case with the Signora del' Agnolo, called 'Del Sarto,' it does not contribute to render such works acceptable as religious pictures. The regular features, the delicate but rather weak mouth of this woman, who was Del Sarto's evil genius, are distinguishing traits in nearly all his pictures of the Madonna. A general favourite is that known as the Madonna delle Arpie, from the figures of mythological harpies on the pedestal on which she stands. In spite of this drawback one cannot but recognise the

remarkable beauty of this artist's work, which made him a formidable rival to Raphael.¹

Of that glorious youth, to whom Ruskin has attributed the decadence, it is impossible to think ill. Whatever has happened to art after his day, and whatever neglect of other Christian themes he may be charged with, it is certain that few or no Madonnas are more chaste and beautiful and thoughtful, so thoroughly delicate and refined, as that which bears the title of 'Madonna del Gran Duca,' and which is one of the choicest gems of the Pitti Palace in Florence. This picture, says Kugler, excels all Raphael's previous Madonnas in that wonderful charm which only the realisation of a profound thought could produce. We feel that no painter had ever understood how to combine such free and transcendent beauty with an expression of such deep foreboding.

The Virgin [says Harford] has all the pensive sweetness and reflective sentiment of the Umbrian school, while the Child is loveliness itself. We think of Perugino still, but we think of him as suddenly endowed with a purer, firmer, outline, and more refined sentiment.

And at a later period in his Madonna di Foligno, the grace and beauty and definite arrangement that distinguish every work of Raphael's are still in evidence, though he has departed from the simpler style of his master Perugino; and when the pictures of the Madonna are in question a large number of devout persons no less than critics would give one of the foremost places, if not the first, to the jewel of Dresden, the Madonna of San Sisto.

This great light of the Umbrian School, Perugino, stands

¹ This practice of painting well known, and occasionally notorious persons of Florence in the guise of saints, and even of the Madonna, was one against which Savonarola, in his day, thundered with great eloquence and indignation. It seems to a certain degree to have revived in our day in England. Madame Bentzon in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15th June, 1905, p. 826, tells that the Madonna in Sir Edward Burne Jones's 'Ecce Ancilla Domini,' or Annunciation, is a portrait of the late Christina Rossetti. 'There is nothing less religious than the ardent physiognomy of the poetess Christina Rossetti,' writes Madame Bentzon, 'hail risen on her bed with a sort of wandering look to respond to the salutation of the robust archangel shod with flames, whose manly head, posed upon broad shoulders, has been borrowed from the sculptor Thomas Woolner.'

as it were on the borderland between the old religious art and the sentimentalism which still lingered when that art was changing. There is almost no limit to the pictures attributed to him, and they are nearly all noticeable from the pose of the heads leaning to one side or another, as if they were burdened more than the neck could bear. It is said of Perugino that he had ceased to believe in religion, but that he still continued to paint pictures mechanically for religious houses and confraternities. The charge of disbelief is refuted by recent writers. He is very conscientious in his work ; and the fair Umbrian landscapes with their thin trees, and the gently sloping hills and winding rivers in the middle distance, fill up the spaces between his groups of saints with their heads on one side absorbedly intent on their books, or gazing at the Divine Infant on His Mother's knee, or looking out towards the spectator with a far-away gaze in their eyes. His works are very satisfying when you do not see too many of them together.

Sandro Botticelli, a Florentine painter, was rediscovered and brought again into the white light of fame about the middle of the last century. His pictures have given rise to disputes as numerous and as eager as has Wagner's music. To believe in him was held as a sign of artistic salvation to the believer. And yet he is, according to those who uphold him, lacking in certain qualities requisite to good art. 'With all his sense of harmony of design,' says one of those who praise him, 'Botticelli is often inaccurate in his drawing and curiously careless about the proportions of his figures.' Neither is his colouring always that of nature ; and even the faces of his figures, save in rare instances, are not even passably beautiful. His enthusiastic praisers excuse these faults by saying that in every case he had a purpose to fulfil which could be best fulfilled in such ways. There is a sameness in the features of his angels which helps you to recognise them when you see them for a second time. He has, however, painted one picture, known as the 'Magnificat,' which is one of the loveliest and most tenderly impressive works produced during this period of abundant art.

Of Leonardo da Vinci's works there is very little left that is certainly genuine. Dr. Jean Paul Richter, who has written a huge tome on this marvellous genius, reckons his unquestioned existing works as seven panel pictures, with a portion of another, one cartoon and one wall-painting, this last being the world-famous Last Supper. Hence there is little of his work to be seen ; but of his followers there is much ; and as they copied some of his characteristics one may get from their works a fairly adequate idea of his style. Bernardino Luini, who wrought in Lombardy, is thoroughly imbued with Leonardo's manner, and has painted many admirable works of a religious character. Some of these are pretty, if not very profound, such as the Nativity, at the sanctuary of Saronno, near Milan, where the Madonna and St. Joseph kneel on either side of the crib, and where the smile on the features of the Madonna recalls the sphinx-like conscious smile which distinguishes Leonardo. The same characteristic is evident in the Holy Family of the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

A delightful reminiscence of the old-time tenderness and devotion that animated the early painters in their representation of the Madonna still clings to Lorenzo da Credi, whose works remind one, by their delicacy and finish and the attention given to detail, in the treatment of flowers and landscape, of the miniaturists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

But the number of artists of name of the seventeenth century is so great that they cannot be mentioned here. What a depth has been since reached by Italian religious art was made evident a few years ago, when the late Pontiff Leo XIII offered a prize of 10,000 francs for the best picture of the Holy Family. About sixty of the works put forward in this competition were exhibited at the Turin Exhibition of Christian Art, in 1898. There was no work of merit sufficient to gain the prize.

The eminent French art critic, M. Georges Lafenestre, in his recent volume on the 'Primitives' in French art, tells that it was the Director of the French Academy, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, who put at the

disposal of the 'Nazarenes'—the pre-Raphaelites of Rome—for their meetings and lodgings, the old Irish convent of St. Isidore. The 'Nazarenes,' as they were called, bore in the world names that have since become celebrated—Vogel, Cornelius, Schadow, Hess, Veit, Steinle, and that Fra Angelico of our time, Frederick Overbeck. A fitting account of the work of Overbeck would require much space; for him art was as the harp of David, upon which he sounded the praises of the Lord. Here the Madonna returned to her place of honour in pictures full of devotion and religious sweetness. 'She is the type of beauty and candour,' said Cardinal Ferrata; 'the type of sweetness and piety; the type of innocence and love: the type which sums up in itself the whole Christian ideal.'

And it is in this manner that she appears in a still later school. From another convent another artistic revival has come forth: from the Benedictine Monastery of Beuron in Germany, and it has blossomed out anew in the great mother house of the Benedictines, Monte Cassino. It is known as the Beuron School of Painting, and it is distinguished by its solemn and severe manner of representing sacred subjects. The attitudes of figures, the folds in raiment and drapery, and the mode of colouring are all symbolical and suggestive rather than realistic. Every figure is grand, and the expressions are subservient to the calm of religious dignity and silence. Such art does not appeal to those whose eyes are filled with the extravagance in colour and gesture, of modern pictures. Here the Madonna again sits rigid and motionless on the throne such as Byzantine art loved to show her. She is, however, the simple maiden Mother, above and around whom the angels spread their wings; but she is no longer arrayed in royal jewelled robes as in the art of the magnificent East.

P. L. CONNELLAN.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CELEBRATION OF MASS BY A PRIEST WHO HAS BROKEN HIS FAST BY TAKING THE ABLUTIONS AT A PREVIOUS MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—A priest, who has two Masses to say on a Sunday, takes, inadvertently, the ablutions at his first Mass. Can he lawfully, though not fasting, say the second Mass for the purposes of saving himself from the complaints of his flock, and of giving many of them an opportunity of fulfilling the obligation of hearing Mass on Sunday?

SUBSCRIBER.

The mere fact that the people would be surprised at the absence of a second Mass, and the mere desire to give the people an opportunity of hearing Mass on Sunday, is not recognised as sufficient excuse to free a priest from the obligation of fasting for the celebration of Mass. If, however, besides these reasons there are others which imply grave formal sin on the part of the people, it is only reasonable to hold that the obligation of fasting would cease to bind—the obligation to prevent scandal being more important than the obligation of fasting. Among such reasons those mentioned by our correspondent must sometimes be reckoned. If the complaints of the people, arising from the absence of a second Mass on a particular occasion, were very serious, then, in order to prevent any such grave violation of charity, the priest would be justified in celebrating though not fasting. Sometimes, though not very often, this excuse exists even in this country. Again, many members of the congregation may be led into formal violation of the command to hear Mass on Sunday, by not having Mass in their own Church. The inconvenience of going to another Church may not be so great as to excuse them from the law. The obligation of charity, which

binds the priest to prevent this formal violation of the law, would justify him in celebrating, though he is not fasting. This excuse can frequently be availed of, especially in cities and large towns where there are several churches within reasonable distance of one another.¹

In fine, in the case mentioned by our correspondent, there is one point which creates difficulty, and which may make it unlawful to use the excuse which in other circumstances would be available. The priest broke his fast by taking the ablutions at the first Mass. Very often it happens that people know that the priest has already in this way broken his fast. They might be far more scandalised by seeing him celebrate again, than they would be by the absence of a second Mass. As a result, the priest instead of doing good would only do harm by celebrating unfasting. In such a case it would be the obvious duty of the priest rather to inform the people that, owing to the accident of breaking his fast, he is unable to say a second Mass for them, than to scandalise them by performing what appears to them to be a very grave crime. It is only when the individual circumstances of each case are examined that one can tell whether or not it is better to abstain from saying a second Mass. The personal prudence of the priest must, in consequence, be largely depended on in individual cases.

**EPISCOPAL RESERVATION OF CENSURES CONTAINED IN
THE CONSTITUTION 'APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS'**

REV DEAR SIR,—Can a Bishop reserve to himself the excommunications contained in the Constitution, *Apostolicæ Sedis*? A reply in I. E. RECORD will oblige.

SACERDOS.

The Bishop has certainly power to reserve to himself crimes which are punished by Papal excommunication, provided the episcopal reservation regards these cases under a different aspect from that under which the Papal excommunication regards them. When, for instance, there

¹ Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., n. 162.

are reasons which excuse from the Papal excommunication but do not excuse from grave sin, the Bishop has undoubtedly power of reservation. Thus grave fear, even when it does not excuse from grave sin, excuses, as a rule, from excommunication. Again, ignorance, which is not gross, of the excommunication excuses from the excommunication, although it might not excuse from grave sin. Reservation imposed by a Bishop in such cases does not in any way interfere with Papal legislation.

If a crime incurring Papal excommunication is regarded under the same aspect in reference to episcopal reservation, a distinction must be drawn between Papal excommunications which are reserved, and Papal excommunications which are not reserved. When a crime is under Papal excommunication, which is reserved to nobody, then the Bishop has certainly power to reserve the case to himself, if there are grave reasons for so doing. The S. Cong., Episc. et Reg. (26th November, 1602), says :—

Praecipue vero haec monenda censet S. Congregatio, ut videant ipsi Ordinarii, ne illos casus promiscue reservent, quibus annexa est excommunicatio major, a jure imposita, cujus absolutio nemini reservata sit, nisi forte propter frequens scandalum, aut aliam necessariam causam aliqui ejusmodi casus nominatim reservandi viderentur.

Hence, Canon Law allows this power to the Bishop.

When the Papal excommunication is reserved, then episcopal reservation of the same case is unlawful, and very probably entirely invalid, if not *ex natura rei*, at least by reason of ecclesiastical law. (1) These excommunications are already reserved to the Bishop, or they are already reserved to the Holy See. In either case their further reservation by the Bishop is superfluous. If they are reserved already to the Holy See the Bishop has nothing to reserve to himself. The crimes are taken from his jurisdiction, and consequently would seem to be altogether outside his legislative power. If they are reserved to the Bishop already no act of the Bishop is required to reserve them to himself. Hence, in

both cases the action of the Bishop, who reserves these cases to himself, is not reasonable. (2) The S. Cong., Episc. et Reg. (26th November, 1602), says of the reserving power of Bishops:—‘Prohibet etiam (S. Cong.), ne superflue reservent casus in Bulla die Coenae Domini legi consueta contentos, neque alios Sedi Apostolicae (specialiter) reservados.’ The same principle, laid down by the S. Cong. for cases specially reserved to the Holy See, seems to hold for all Papal censures, which are in any way reserved, either to the Holy See or to Bishops. The reservation imposed by the Bishop would in all such cases be equally superfluous.

This decree apparently implies not only that the reservation of the Bishop is unlawful, but also that it is invalid, because if the episcopal reservation is valid, it can scarcely be called superfluous in the strict sense, since a twofold absolution would be necessary as a result of the episcopal reservation. This is the opinion of Ballerini-Palmieri,¹ who follows the teaching of Suarez.² Navarrus,³ however, holds that the episcopal reservation is valid, *summo jure*. Lugo,⁴ also, holds that, although simple episcopal reservation is invalid in such cases, still episcopal reserved excommunication is valid, so that a twofold absolution is necessary, one from the Papal, the other from the episcopal censure. Absolution, he holds, from the Papal censure removes the reservation of the crime, which, nevertheless, cannot *per accidens* be absolved from owing to the episcopal reserved censure. The arguments given above seem to exclude not only the opinion of Navarrus, but also the opinion of Lugo.

If, then, a Bishop reserves to himself a sin already reserved under excommunication to the Holy See, he is rightly presumed to reserve the sin under some aspect which the Papal reservation does not affect. Otherwise,

¹ Vol. v., n. 514-516.

² *De Poen.*, disp. 31, sect. 4, n. 26.

³ Cap. 27, n. 261, *Manual*.

⁴ *De Poen.*, disp. 20, n. 150.

his reservation would be at least unlawful and probably invalid.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

RECENT LEGISLATION ABOUT ALTAR CANDLES

THE authoritative Episcopal regulations on the *quality* of the candles to be used around the Altar, recently issued, and published among the Documents in this issue of the I. E. RECORD, afford an opportunity of directing attention to some few things which deserve the careful consideration of all our readers who are anxious to carry out the ceremonies of the Church, and especially those concerning the sacrifice of the Mass, in a worthy manner. Even at the cost of repeating some points already emphasized in these pages, it may have its advantage if we briefly advert to the antiquity, number, description, and significance of the lights to be used around the Altar.

ANTIQUITY OF ALTAR LIGHTS

Some passages ¹ have been cited from the Sacred Scriptures to show that lights were used at Liturgical functions in Apostolic times, not only for the purpose of illumination, but also from motives of respect, reverence, and solemnity. The practice was probably borrowed from the Synagogue. References to the use of lights at assemblies of the faithful in the first centuries after Christ are found in many of the early Christian writers.² From these testimonies it may be inferred that the present-day usage is linked with the very foundations of Christian worship.

NUMBER OF LIGHTS

At a Low Mass that is *private* and celebrated by any one of rank inferior to a Bishop, only two candles are permitted. When a Low Mass partakes of a *semi-public*

¹ Act. Apos. xx. 7, 8 ; St. Joan. Apoc. i.

² Cf. Gihl, *La Messe*, vol. i., p. 348 ; Rock, *Hierur.*, p. 395, &c.

character, such as a Community Mass in an institution of any kind, or when it is fully *public* as a Parochial Mass, then, on Sundays and the principal Festivals of the year, more than two are allowed. This concession of the Congregation of Rites,¹ like the granting of every privilege, is generally treated to a liberal interpretation. Six candles are usually employed on these solemn occasions, while the character of the solemnity itself, that warrants this departure from ordinary usage, is not very closely scrutinized.² Seven are prescribed for a High or Solemn Mass, that is sung by the Ordinary, the seventh being placed to the rear of the Cross. At a High Mass celebrated with Deacon and Subdeacon by any one other than the Ordinary, six candles may of course be used if the occasion is a solemn one, and are generally used on all occasions according to custom. We think, with De Herdt, that this number, if not explicitly laid down, is at least insinuated in *Ritus celebrandi Missam*,³ where it prescribes a triple incensation of each side of the Altar, in accordance with the arrangement of the candlesticks. The *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*,⁴ on the other hand, seems to be content with a lesser number, at least on the simple feasts. In Masses sung without the assistance of sacred ministers, more than two may be used. For the solemn exposition on the occasion of the Forty Hours' Adoration, the *Instructio Clementina* orders twenty *wax* candles, eighteen of which are to be around the Monstrance, while two are to be placed in large candlesticks on the Altar-plane. At Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament the least number of *pure wax* candles tolerated by the most liberal Rubricists is as small as six. Others, apart from authoritative dispensation, would not be satisfied with less than ten. This opinion seems more in conformity with the directions laid down in the *Instructio Clementina*, and by Benedict XIV and Innocent XI in their respective Decrees. The exigencies of becoming worship could hardly be supposed to sanction a lesser number than

¹ Decreta, n. 3059.

² Cf. I. E. RECORD, July, 1905, p. 61; April, 1905, pp. 360, 361.

³ Tit. iv., n. 4.

⁴ Lib. i., c. 12, n. 24.

ten, and it is only exceptional circumstances that could justify so few lights on so solemn an occasion. The additional lights need not necessarily be pure wax candles, but it need scarcely be said that it would be well if all were of this description.

QUALITY OF CANDLES EMPLOYED ON THE ALTAR

The general Rubrics of the Missal¹ prescribe that the candles used for the celebration of Mass should be manufactured from *bees' wax*, and the Congregation of Rites² has condemned, over and again, the use of candles made from different materials, such as fat, tallow, stearine, or wax extracted from vegetables or oil. This obligation is certainly grave, at least in regard to one of the candles required for Mass. So theologians commonly interpret it. That the Pascal Candle should also consist of bees' wax is evident from the prayers used in blessing it on Holy Saturday, where the phrases, *de operibus apum, apis mater eduxit*, occur. These candles, then, the Pascal Candle and the lights required for Mass, in accordance with the Rubrical requirements which are clearly preceptive, and to some extent gravely so, must be made of the wax obtained from bees. What does this mean? Must they consist wholly and completely of the substance of bees' wax, or is it enough if they contain in composition a preponderance of this material united with a lesser proportion of extraneous elements? The purity of the wine is not vitiated by the introduction of a very small quantity of water. Similarly it may be said that a wax candle deserves the name and continues to be such even if it does not consist exclusively of this material. Now, what percentage of foreign ingredient may be introduced into candles made for Altar purposes without impairing their efficiency for this end from the Rubrical standpoint? This is the important question that was decided by the Congregation of Rites, in a Decree given in the I. E. RECORD for April, 1905. This

¹ *Vid. Rub. Gen.*, tit. xx.; *De Def. Mis.*, tit. x., n. 1; *Cerem. Epis.*, lib. iv., c. 10, n. 4.

² *Vid. Decreta*, nn. 2985, 3376, 3063.

Decree states that Altar candles need not consist exclusively of bees' wax, but must contain this substance *in maxima parte*. Then it directs that priests must abide by the rules drawn up by their Ordinaries, and that individual priests about to say Mass should have no needless scruples about the quality of the candles supplied. To carry out this decision the Irish Bishops have authoritatively ordered that for the future the 'Pascal Candle and the two principal candles on the Altar at Mass should contain at least sixty-five per cent. of bees' wax, and that all the other candles used on the Altar should contain at least twenty-five per cent.'¹ No stimulus need be applied to make priests zealous for the conscientious and scrupulous observance of this rule. Its reasonableness is dictated by motives of respect and reverence for the august mysteries of the Altar, and no considerations of ill-judged economy should have weight where such holy issues are at stake.

Over and above the intrinsic excellence of the wax candle there is a symbolical significance which renders its employment peculiarly appropriate for Divine service. The wax gathered by the chaste bees from the sweet-smelling flowers is a figure of the body of Christ formed of virginal flesh : the wick typifies His soul, and the flame His divinity. So that the entire lighted candle represents Jesus Christ, the God-Man, Who, according to St. John, is the '*Lux quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum.*' No wonder, then, that theologians are so strict in asserting the obligation of using only wax candles on the Altar that, unless where a special Indult has been obtained from the Holy See, they are unwilling to sanction the use of any other description without a recognised necessity.

SHOULD ALTAR CANDLES BE BLESSED ?

There is no direction in the Rubrics about blessing the candles required for the Altar, but evidently it would be

¹ Two candles only are mentioned because the Sacred Congregation of Rites contemplated the common case of a Low Mass, but we think that the 65 per cent. grading is to be applied to all the *wax candles* which are prescribed by the Rubrics as *indispensable* to each sacred ceremony or function.

a laudable thing to have them blessed, like most of the other things employed in the Sanctuary. The Feast of the Purification offers a very appropriate opportunity for this purpose. But any other time of the year may also be availed of. In the latter case the formula for the blessing will be taken from the Ritual.¹

HOW TO PROCURE GENUINE WAX ALTAR CANDLES

From what has been said it is clear that it is a matter of first importance that Parish Priests and others, who have to procure them, should be able to obtain candles that will be in accordance with the episcopal instructions. It may not be always easy to secure the genuine article. Hence there is need of great care and circumspection. Pure bees' wax is much more precious and expensive than *stearine* (an extract of tallow prepared by certain chemical processes), *paraffin* (obtained by distillation from some varieties of coal and also from petroleum), and *spermaceti*, which commonly furnish the raw material out of which candles are made at the present day. Moreover, the method of manufacture employed is more elaborate in the case of wax candles. These cannot be moulded, on account of the great tenacity with which the wax adheres to the moulds. Neither can they be satisfactorily made by a machine. [They must be basted and hand-rolled, a process which entails more labour and expense. Purchasers, therefore, ought to be prepared to pay a higher price for the purer article. By doing this, however, they will gain in the end, for experience has proved that the better the quality of a candle, the greater will be the power, and the longer the duration, of its illumination. There are two kinds of wax, the white or *bleached* and the yellow or *unbleached*. The latter is used only on the occasion of Requiem Offices and during some days in Holy Week.

We are sure that manufacturers, when they come to learn these new regulations, will do their best to afford purchasers every confidence that their articles are up

¹ Tit. lxxiii., c. iii.

to the standard set by the Bishops. With a view to this we would suggest that they have samples of their manufacture submitted to a competent analyst, that they quote his opinion in their advertisements, and give a guarantee that their candles—the various grades of which should be stamped with the percentage of pure wax they contain—are up to the level of ecclesiastical requirements. Chemical analysis is really the only test by which the genuineness of a wax candle can be satisfactorily ascertained. But the purer sort generally burns with a dry *cup*, there being no liquid matter to remove and no gutter when exposed to a current of air.

Priests will, as a rule, find that those makers who advertise in the pages of this journal are thoroughly reliable, that their candles are made by Irish hands, and, as far as possible, out of Irish materials.

THE CONFRATERNITY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE—(continued)

ITS CONSTITUTION

Benedict XIV transferred the headquarters of the Arch-Confraternity to the Church of S. Maria Del Pianto. Here they have since remained. The regulations for the working of the Association in Rome, published about 1750, seem to be still in operation. They will, therefore, serve as a guide to be followed in the erection of branches abroad, it being understood that, so long as the end, object, and means of promoting them are observed in substance, accidental modifications in the constitution of the Confraternity may be introduced with the requisite authority, wherever they are demanded by the special requirements of particular places. We will consider the governing body and active members, or workers. The supreme head of the Arch-Confraternity was, as already stated, called the *President*. He was appointed by the Pope on the recommendation of the Cardinal Vicar of Rome. As a rule, he was chosen from the Prelates of the Roman Court. To him was entrusted care of the spiritual and temporal interests of the entire organization. It was his office to preside at the meetings and direct the deliberations of the Advisory

Council, to confer with the Cardinal Vicar as often as it was necessary or expedient, and to render an account to the Pope, at stated times, of the progress of the great agency whose destinies he was directing. Next to him came the *visitors*. They were also prelates of high rank and their chief duties were to issue instructions to the *Deputies*, receive their reports, and see that they fulfilled exactly their duties. The *Deputies* formed a link between the rulers and the rank and file. They had each a certain district allotted to them, and were required to exercise a strict personal superintendence over all the schools within this area, by visiting them at regular intervals, and ascertaining that everything was carried out in the spirit of the existing rules. They should, if possible, be present at the Sunday classes. It was the Deputy who should see that only capable teachers were selected. On all these matters they had to submit a formal report to the Council through the *Visitors*. Among the higher officials might be included, in addition, two *Councillors*, two *Syndics*, *Churchwarden*, *Secretary*, and *Keeper of the Archives*. The names of these will suggest their duties which we need not enter into with any detail, especially as all these officers do not find places in affiliated branches. One person might conveniently discharge, in the case of a small society, duties that might require two or more in a large association. Those directly concerned with the pupils were divided into various grades, according to the nature and extent of their several functions. In immediate control of each school was the *Prior*. Generally a priest filled this office. He might have the assistance of *Sub-priors* (who might be laymen) if necessary. The Deputy made out a list of all the children in his district over a certain age, say five years, who were therefore fit to receive religious instruction. The *Prior* was supplied with a copy of this list, and thus he was able to note the absence from the Catechism classes, and bring the delinquents to task. He had to superintend personally all the instructions. The *Masters* and their *Assistants* were chosen with great care, and in the performance of their appointed task they had to conform strictly to the rules

laid down regarding the matter and manner of instruction. Whilst they taught order was maintained by *Prefects* (*Silentiaries*), who restrained all inattention on the part of the pupils. The names of those in attendance at each class were taken by a Notary and handed in to the Prior.

Each class consisted of not more than fifteen. Business was always begun and ended with prayer, and sometimes a hymn filled up the interval that might occasionally intervene before commencing work. The various classes or sections were graduated on the basis of age, as well as of advancement in religious knowledge. Bellarmine's Compendium of the Catechism formed the text-book. The children were required first, to give the answers in the actual words of the text-book, and, afterwards, by way of paraphrase or explanation to show that they understood the doctrines contained in the formal answer. On Sundays the classes lasted for an hour and a half, the first half-hour being devoted to a repetition and revision of the subject matter of the previous class. Various exercises, suitable to the capacity of the pupils, were introduced from time to time, for the purpose of making the children thoroughly conversant with the more involved points of doctrine.

Yearly examinations were held, by which industry and proficiency were rewarded with suitable tokens of recognition and a laudable rivalry stimulated the recipients of those coveted honours to yet greater success. No means were left untried to secure attendance at the Catechism classes. Certain members of the Confraternity were told off in every part of the parish to look after the laggards and truants, and bring them into the Church or place where the Christian Doctrine was taught. These were called *Pêcheurs*—the fishers of the waifs and strays. Thus, it happened that everyone, male and female, might become an active member of the Confraternity and contribute, each in his or her own way, to promote its interests: (1) by participating in the teaching of the Christian Doctrine; (2) by bringing their neighbours to the classes; (3) by setting the example of assisting at the instructions;

(4) by instructing the members of their own household in the truths of faith, either by word of mouth, or through the medium of good books of Catholic devotion.

In the next number we shall treat of the formalities of Canonical erection, viz.: (a) episcopal sanction; (b) appointment of President or Director; (c) reception and registration of members; (d) order and method of religious instruction. There is nothing, however, very peculiar to the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in any of these particulars, so that those acquainted with the working of any Sodality may, after consultation with their Ordinaries, proceed to the erection of a branch.

P. MORRISROE.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE AUTHOR OF 'PISCATORES HOMINUM'

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the November I. E. RECORD (page 457), a contributor writing on the 'Piscatores Hominum,' says that 'no light has been thrown on the authorship of this beautiful exhortation to the Priests of God.' Now, this is all the more surprising as it appears that light was previously sought from 'sundry correspondents of the *Tablet*,'—(page 455). The hymn in question is one of the well known collection of Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford, A.D. 1196. The Poems were published by the Camden Society, A.D. 1841, edited by Thomas Wright, and the hymn referred to occurs at page 45 of the collection. There are a few verbal differences (very few) between the version of the Camden Society and that given by M. R., but the Society's version is certainly the better. —I am, Rev. dear Sir, yours faithfully,

J. MURPHY, P.P.

MACROOM.

DOCUMENTS

THE ADDRESS OF THE AUSTRALIAN SYNOD TO THE
VENERABLE HIERARCHY OF IRELAND

Your Eminence, My Lords,

Our common interests regarding the Sacred Ministry together with our ties of kindred and sympathy, all the dearer because of absence, prompt us assembled in this the Third Plenary Council of Australia, to send you this joint Message of Greeting.

Since the date of our last Plenary Synod, A.D. 1895, several Prelates have been gathered, as we trust, to the society of the just made perfect, but the work of our Master continually goes on in peace, and, thank God, in prosperity. The Holy Spirit pours forth upon our children His choicest graces, leading many of them to embrace and to adorn the clerical and the religious state. Religious schools increase in number and efficiency; orphanages, hospitals, and other institutions inspired by Christian charity, are to be found in all cities and towns. Even in remote spots of our sparsely populated territories churches are being multiplied. These are of simple design, and serve also as schools in many places; but a great number of our sacred edifices in their beauty and equipment rival the fairest and grandest of the old countries. St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, is the glory of that great city, and of our National Apostle. St. Mary's, Sydney—consecrated on this occasion—although not fully completed, is a noble pile of perfect architecture, raised by the people at the cost of £230,000, and worthy of its inheritance as the Mother Church of Australasia.

The majority of our flocks being Irish by birth or by descent, are earnestly and affectionately devoted to the religious and national interests of their Motherland. All rejoice and glory in the marvellous fruitfulness of her faith at home and abroad throughout the universe. We, in the name of Australia, congratulate your Lordships upon the attention now attracted by the processes of Beatification initiated at the centre of Catholicity in regard to the Irish Martyrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We trust that in a short time these causes will be carried to glorious issues by your sustained energy in working out all the details of the canonical procedure.

In the now evident coming of Irish National Autonomy within the Empire of the United Kingdom, the Australian people generally rejoice. Meanwhile we applaud every partial reform. The institutions of popular administration in civil and local affairs—the revival of the national tongue, of traditional usages and sports, the restoration of industrial prosperity, the retention of youthful energy and talent for home requirements, till emigration will result from an overflowing population—these, and all other reforms, appeal cogently to our sympathy and support. Foremost, however, in our estimation at present is the re-vindication of such University education as may be congenial to the Catholic majority. Education divorced from religious institutions and ecclesiastical vigilance is obnoxious to every true Catholic. Experience shows the fruit of such education to be indifference and unbelief. It is intrinsically dangerous to faith, which is the root of Christianity and the soul of human perfection. The arts and sciences, moreover, receive from religion their highest inspiration, safest guidance, and noblest application. So Ireland's supreme devotion to religious education is an imperishable glory. She is to be wise as the serpent in safeguarding her generations from all dangers to faith.

The opponents of Catholic claims are self-confuted. Where is their deference to the will of the people? What of their boasted regard for liberty of conscience? Were these upholders of rationalism, or of ascendancy, or of foul sectarianism true patriots and sincere Christians, they would adopt the contention of Edmund Burke, in arguing against the Penal code. We reflect on the contention of our illustrious countryman, Edmund Burke: 'The advantages of the subjects should be considered as their right, and all their reasonable wishes as so many claims.'¹

Venerable Brethren,

The struggle for sound enlightenment and national progress, followed out on the lines of religion, liberty, and justice, shall be crowned with a glorious victory in God's own time. As Christians and sons of St. Patrick, you as we, in trial and in joy, turn to the Chair of St. Peter in the Eternal City. There we meet in unity of faith, of obedience, and of love, looking

¹ 'Letter to Sir H. Languishe, M.P.'

for the blessed hope, and coming of the great God, and our Saviour J.C.

We remain, in sincere attachment,
Your Lordships' Brethren in J.C.

Sydney, 10th September, 1905.

On the part of all the Prelates of the Third Plenary Council of Australia.

✠ PATRICK F. CARDINAL MORAN,
*Archbishop of Sydney, Delegate Apostolic,
President of the Council.*

RULES LAID DOWN IN THE ENCYCLICAL ON 'THE TEACHING OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE,' AND MODIFICATION OF THE RULES MADE BY THE IRISH BISHOPS IN VIRTUE OF THE POWERS GRANTED BY HIS HOLINESS IN DOCUMENT, IN NOVEMBER 'I. E. RECORD,' page 474

RULES.

I. All parish priests, and, in general, all those who have the care of souls, shall on the Sundays and feast days throughout the year, without exception, instruct from the text of the Catechism for the space of one hour, the young of both sexes, in what everyone must believe and do to be saved.

II. The same shall, at stated times during the year, prepare boys and girls, by continued instruction, lasting several days, for the due reception of the Sacraments of Penance and Confirmation.

III. They shall likewise, and with special care, on all ferial days of Lent, and, if necessary, on other days after the feast of Easter, prepare boys and girls, by suitable instructions and exhortations, to make their First Communion with becoming holiness.

IV. In each and every parish, the Society, commonly called the Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine, shall be canonically established. Through this, the parish priests, especially in places where there is a scarcity of priests, will find lay helpers for catechetical instruction, who will devote themselves to this office of teaching, through zeal for the glory of God, and as a means of gaining the numerous indulgences granted by the Roman Pontiffs.

V. In large towns, and especially in those which contain

universities, colleges, and grammar schools, religious classes shall be founded to instruct in the truths of Faith and in the practice of Christian life, the young people who frequent these schools from which all religious teaching is banned.

VI. And since, in these days, adults not less than the young stand in need of religious instruction, all parish priests and others having the care of souls shall, in addition to the usual homily on the Gospel delivered at the parochial Mass on all days of obligation, explain the Catechism for the faithful in an easy style, suitable to the intelligence of their hearers, at such time of the day as they may deem most convenient for the people, but not during the hour in which the children are taught. In this instruction they shall make use of the Catechism of the Council of Trent ; and shall divide the matter in such a way as to treat, within the space of four or five years, of the Apostles' Creed, the Sacraments, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the precepts of the Church.

MODIFICATIONS.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR GIVING EFFECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE ENCYCLICAL ON THE TEACHING OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

[The points here set down are numbered in correspondence with the numbered paragraphs towards the end of the Encyclical, which contain the express enactments of that important document,—the fifth paragraph, however, being here omitted, as it does not bear on the duties of the parochial clergy.]

I. As to the first point dealt with in the numbered paragraphs of the Encyclical,—the teaching of the Catechism on Sundays,—it is to be understood that it is the duty of each Parish Priest to make provision for the teaching of the Catechism to the children of his parish on Sundays, and that this is to be done as follows :—

(a.) Classes for the teaching of the Catechism are to be organized in each Church of the Parish by the Parish Priest, or by his Curate or Curates, under his directions, and with his express sanction.

(b.) The Catechism is to be taught in each of those classes for at least half an hour.

(c.) The work of teaching is to be personally superintended by the Parish Priest, or by one of the Curates appointed by the Parish Priest for the purpose.

(d.) At the close of the class teaching, an instruction on some portion of the Catechism is to be given by the Parish Priest, or other Priest in charge. This instruction is to occupy at least a quarter of an hour.

II. As to the second point,—the instruction to be given in preparation for the Sacraments of Penance and Confirmation,—the Bishops feel satisfied that this is already substantially attended to by the Priests of the various Parishes. The clergy, however, are earnestly exhorted to leave nothing undone to secure that the instruction given in preparation for those Sacraments shall be, in all respects, as effective as possible.

III. As to the third point,—the giving of instruction in preparation for First Communion,—an arrangement suited to the circumstances of each Parish is to be made by the Parish Priest, and to be submitted, without unnecessary delay, to the Bishop for his sanction.

IV. As to the fourth point,—the establishment of Christian Doctrine Confraternities,—the Parish Priest of each Parish in which a Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine does not exist, is to make, with as little delay as possible, the necessary arrangements for the canonical establishment of such a Confraternity. It may be assumed that there will be found in each parish a sufficient number of devout lay persons to undertake the work of the Confraternity, the teachers of the various schools of the Parish forming the nucleus of the organization.

In any Parish in which a Christian Doctrine Confraternity exists, but is not at present working effectively, whatever steps may be necessary to bring the Confraternity into working order should be taken by the Parish Priest without delay.

VI. As to the sixth point,—the giving of Catechetical Instruction to adults,—a programme indicating the subjects of instruction will be issued by each Bishop. This, as directed in the Encyclical, will be so arranged as to provide a complete course of Catechetical Instruction extending over not more than four or five years.

As regards the time at which the Catechetical Instruction is to be given, the following arrangement is to be followed :—

In Churches in which there are evening devotions on Sundays, the ordinary Sermon being preached at Mass, the Catechetical Instruction is to be given in the evening ; or *vice versa*.

In Churches in which here are not evening devotions on Sundays, the Sermon being preached at one of the Masses, the Catechetical Instruction is to be given at another,—or, in the case of a Church in which there is but one Mass, the Sermon and Catechetical Instruction may be on alternate Sundays, the order of the Diocesan Programme of Catechetical Instruction being in all cases observed.

In any case in which it may be found impossible, or seriously inconvenient, to carry out the regulations of the Encyclical even as thus modified, the Parish Priest is to communicate with the Bishop of the Diocese without delay, so that whatever further modifications may be deemed advisable in the case of any particular Parish may be made by the Bishop, in so far as this may be found possible within the limits of the authorization granted to the Bishops of Ireland by the Holy See.

MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, *Chairman.*

✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
<i>Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,</i>	
✠ JOHN,	}
<i>Bishop of Elphin.</i>	

THE MATERIAL OF CANDLES FOR THE ALTAR

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

PLURIUM DIOECESIVM

CIRCA QUALITATEM CERAE PRO SACRIS FUNCTIONIBUS USURPANDAE

Nonnulli Sacrorum Antistites a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione semel atque iterum reverenter postularunt : ‘ Attenta etiam magna difficultate, vel veram ceram apum habendi, vel indebitas cum alia cera commixtiones eliminandi, candelae super Altaribus ponendae, omnino et integre ex cera apum esse debeant ; an vero esse possint cum alia materia seu vegetali seu animali commixtae ? ’

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, in Ordinario Coetu die 29 Novembris hoc vertente anno in Vaticanum coadunato omnibus perpensis, una cum suffragio Commissionis Liturgicae anteacta decreta mitigando, rescribere rata est : ‘ Attenta asserta difficultate, *Negative* ad primam partem ; *Affirmative* ad secundam, ut ad mentem. Mens est, ut Episcopi pro viribus curent et cereus paschalis cereus in aqua baptismali immergendus et duae

candelae in Missis accendendae, sint ex cera apum, saltem in maxima parte ; aliarum vero candelarum, quae supra Altaribus ponendae sunt, materia in maiori vel notabili quantitate ex eadem cera sit oportet. Qua in re parochi alique rectores ecclesiarum et oratoriorum tuto³ stare poterunt normis a respectivis Ordinariis traditis, nec privati sacerdotes Missam celebraturi de qualitate candelarum anxie inquirere tenentur.' Atque ita rescripsit, die 14 Decembris 1904.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE IRISH ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS

We have been requested to publish the following minute taken from the proceedings of the last Meeting of the Irish Archbishops and Bishops, held at Maynooth, on October 11th, in reference to this decision of the Sacred Congregation of Rites :—

‘ The reply of the Sacred Congregation of Rites to the postulation of the Bishops of Ireland in the matter of the composition of candles for Altar use, was read (I. E. RECORD, April, 1905, page 372), and it was decided authoritatively that the Paschal Candle and the two principal candles on the Altar at Mass should contain at least sixty-five per cent. of bees’ wax, and that all the other candles used on the Altar should contain at least twenty-five per cent. of bees’ wax. The Secretaries were requested to send instructions to this effect to the manufacturers of Altar candles in Ireland, and to request the Editor of the I. E. RECORD to publish the Papal Decree and the Bishops’ decision thereon for the information of the clergy.’

SOLUTION OF VARIOUS QUESTIONS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

AGENNEN

PLURA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA

Hodiernus Calendarii Agennensis Redactor, de consensu Revmi. sui Ordinarii, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequentia dubia, pro opportuna solutione, proposuit :

I. An in Ecclesia, ubi S. Felix (14 Ian.) est Patronus vel Titularis, festum S. Hilarii reponi debeat, tamquam in sedem propriam, in diem 19 Ianuarii, quae est dies infra Octavam, cum de S. Canuto nihil sit agendum ? Et quatenus *affirmative*,

an Calendarium particulare huic responsioni contrarium sit corrigendum ?

II. An dies 28 Ianuarii adeo sit propria festo SSmi. Nominis Iesu transferendo, iuxta decretum 6 Sept. 1895, ut hoc festum poni nequeat in diem 19 Ianuarii, quae est dies infra Octavam v. gr. S. Hilarii Patroni et Titularis quando nempe Dominica II post Epiphaniam incidit in diem 14 Ianuarii, ut anno proximo eveniet ? Et quatenus *affirmative*, an Calendarium particulare sit corrigendum ut supra ?

III. Utrum festum Purificationis cum Dominica Septuagesimae occurrens, transferri debeat in diem 4 Februarii, quando scilicet feria II seu die 3 Februarii occurrit festum Patroni vel Titularis seu duplex primae classis, vel ulterius transferendum sit in primam diem non impeditam iuxta Rubricas ?

IV. Quando festum SSmi. Cordis Iesu die 29 Iunii occurrit, in diem 30 transfertur tamquam in sedem propriam. Quid vero in Ecclesia propria S. Pauli, cuius festum est primae classis et primarium ? Utrum festum SSmi. Cordis transferri debeat iuxta Rubricas in proximam diem non impeditam, an potius in Dominicam, ne longius protrahatur, translato inde festo Pretiosissimi Sanguinis in feriam III sequentem ?

V. An, ubi adest obligatio chori, si non cantetur Missa officio conformis, in Missa solemnitatis in Dominicam translatae fieri debeant commemorationes, et quaenam sunt illae commemorationes ?

VI. An festo Patroni vel Tituli Ecclesiae occurrente cum Dominica in Albis vel Trinitatis, possit cantari Missa Patroni vel Tituli praesertim ubi non adest obligatio chori, quum hae duae Dominicae non annumerentur in Rubrica Missalis de Translatione festorum ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque sedulo perpensis respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative*.

Ad II. *Negative*.

Ad III. *Affirmative* ad primam partem, *negative* ad secundam.

Ad IV. Transferatur in Dominicam sequentem, translato festo Pretiosissimi Sanguinis D.N.I.C. in feriam III sequentem.

Ad V. Servetur Decretum n. 3754 *Declarationis Indulti pro solemnitatem festorum transferenda* 2 Dec. 1891 ad II.

Ad VI. *Negative*, et servantur Rubricae reformatae Missalis Romani tit. VI *De translatione fertorum*. et decreta n. 3754 uti supra ad III, et n. 3924 *Strigonien.*. 3 Iulii 1896 ad V.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 19 Maii 1905.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius*.

INDULGENCED PRAYERS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

INDULG. CONCEDUNTUR RECITANTIBUS QUAMDAM PRECEM PRO
DIFFUSIONE PII USUS COMMUNIONIS QUOTIDIANAE

Ex Audientia Sanctissimi, die 30 Maii 1905.

SSmus. Dnus. Noster, cum ipsi maxime cordi sit ut usus quotidianae Communionis tam salubris ac Deo acceptus, in christiano populo, Christo Domino adiuvante, ubique propagetur omnibus Christifidelibus, qui praefatam orationem devote recitaverint, tercentum dierum indulgentiam quotidie lucranda; eis vero, qui per mensem integrum id egerint, atque die, proprio arbitrio eligendo, sacramento poenitentiae expiati sacraque Communionem refecti, publicum oratorium visitaverint ac iuxta intentionem Sanctitatis Suae oraverint, plenariam indulgentiam benigne concessit. Quas indulgentias Animabus etiam in Purgatorio detentis profuturas declaravit. Praesentibus in perpetuum valituris, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. In quorum fidem etc.

CASIMIRUS Card. GENNARI.

Praesens Rescriptum exhibitum fuit huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S.C. die 3 Iunii 1905.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

PREGHIERA PER LA PROPAGAZIONE DEL PIO USO DELLA COMUNIONE QUOTIDIANA

O dolcissimo Gesù che veniste al mondo per dare a tutte le anime la vita della grazia vostra, e che, per conservarla ed alimentarla in esse, voleste essere e la quotidiana medicina

della loro quotidiana infermità ed il loro quotidiano sostentamento; umilmente Vi preghiamo, per il Vostro Cuore così ardente dell'amor nostro, a diffondere sopra di tutte il Vostro divino spirito, affinché quelle che sventuratamente sono in peccato mortale, convertendosi a Voi, riacquistino la vita della grazia perduta, e quelle che, per Vostro dono, vivono già di questa vita divina, ogni giorno, quando possono, si accostino devotamente alla Vostra sacra mensa, onde per mezzo della quotidiana Comunione, ricevendo ogni giorno il contravveleno dei loro peccati veniali quotidiani, ed ogni giorno alimentando in sé la vita della grazia Vostra, o purificando così sempre più l'anima propria, giungano finalmente al conseguimento della vita con Voi beata. Amen.

TRANSLATION OF THE PRAYER.

O Most sweet Jesus, Who didst come into the world to give all souls the life of Thy Grace, and Who to preserve and foster it, didst condescend to be not only our daily bread, but the daily remedy for our daily infirmities, we humbly pray Thee, through Thy most loving Heart, to diffuse Thy Spirit over all of us, in order that those who may be in the miserable state of mortal sin, turning to Thee, may re-obtain Thy Grace, and that those who, through Thy bounty, already live the divine life, may devoutly approach Thy Holy Table every day, if possible, in order that, by daily communion, receiving the antidote of their venial sins, and nourishing within themselves the life of Thy Grace, or purifying their souls ever more and more, they may finally reach the happiness of eternal life with Thee. Amen.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

IRISH HISTORY READER. By the Christian Brothers.
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1905. Sm. 4to. Price,
1s. 3d.

WE have often had to congratulate the Christian Brothers on the publication of new and valuable schoolbooks, but we do not think the congratulations were ever better deserved than they are in the case of this new Reader. We should think that this little book has a great future before it. It is timely; it is wanted; it is suited to both the time and its needs. In poetry and prose it covers the whole field of Irish history from Milesius to the Gaelic League. It has made, on the whole, the happiest selections that could be made from the poets of Ireland. Warriors and heroes, saints and scholars, artists, authors, politicians, all get recognition; and all are Irish of the Irish. Assuredly, no one can say that Irish history is not taught, almost in the most attractive way in which it could be taught, in the institutions where this book is in use.

The poets whom we find chiefly represented in the Reader are Thomas Moore, Aubrey de Vere, T.D. Sullivan, John O'Hagan, Thomas Davis, Denis Florence MacCarthy, Samuel Lover, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, R. D. Williams, M. J. M'Cann, J. K. Ingram. In prose the great events of Irish history are splendidly reviewed. Any boy who uses this Reader cannot fail to be imbued with a thoroughly Irish spirit. The book will make an impression for ever. The brave and modest Christian Brothers, who have made so noble a struggle for Irish education, deserve well of their country and Church; but this new book gives them an additional claim to the gratitude of both.

J. F. H.

CATHOLIC LONDON A CENTURY AGO. By Bernard Ward,
Canon of Westminster. London: Catholic Truth
Society, 69 Southwark-bridge Road, S.E. 1905. Sm.
4to. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is decidedly one of the most fascinating books we have read for a long time. It gives a vivid and well illustrated

account of Catholic London a century ago, of old Catholic London, with its Vicars-Apostolic, its Embassy Chapels, its French refugees, its clergy, its services, its sermons. The subject is, in itself, full of interest. Those were the glorious days of the catacombs, from which we see the Catholics of England have now come forth into their handsome churches and grand Cathedral. The principal personages who passed across the scene at that moment of hope and anticipation are presented to us in these pages. Noble old figures they are ; men of great ability, of great attainments, of great strength of character, who consecrated their splendid gifts to the task of instructing, helping, guiding, cheering the poor Catholic community through those dark days of bigotry and intolerance. Bishops Douglas, Challoner, Poynter, Milner, Stapleton, Bramston, and La Marche are sketched, and a good deal of attention is bestowed on Dr. Hussey and Father Arthur O'Leary. The old chapels and clergy-houses are not forgotten. Admirable portraits of the bishops and many of the clergy are also given, as well as a portrait of the great Catholic lawyer and historian, Charles Butler. We are particularly interested in the reproduction of Gainsborough's picture of Dr. Hussey, the original of which we saw at the presbytery of Spanish-place Church, a few years ago. This portrait, the work of a really great painter, was presented to the presbytery by a member of the Barnwall family. We also recognise the figure of Arthur O'Leary, in wig and powder, buckle and kneebreeches. The sketches of these two are admirably done.

Indeed, in all his work Mgr. Ward displays the deepest sympathy with his subject, and communicates his sympathy to the reader. Now and again he enlivens it with a quiet humour which makes his book eminently readable. We congratulate the Catholic Truth Society of England on the possession of such an admirable volume.

J. F. H.

JOURNAL OF THE COUNTY LOUTH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
Vol. I., No. 2. Dundalk : W. Tempest. 1905.

LAST year we had great pleasure in bringing under the notice of our readers the first number of the Journal published by the newly-founded Archæological Society of Co. Louth. We ex-

pected that once the objects of the Society became known its roll of Membership would be increased, and that its Journal would retain the same high level of scholarship which distinguished its first issue. Our expectations have not been disappointed. Many have sent in their subscriptions during the year, and we trust that many more, who take an interest in the Archæological remains of Louth, will do so in the near future. We congratulate the hard-working Secretary, Mr. Henry Morris, on the success of his efforts. Articles of interest are contributed by Mr. Garstin, Mr. Bigger, Mr. Dolan, etc., while the Church is represented by Fathers Lawless, Quinn, and Gogarty. We read Father Gogarty's paper on Early Printing in Co. Louth with great interest, but perhaps some more suitable title should have been selected. The second number of the Journal is a credit to the Society, and we have no longer any fears for its continued success.

J. MACC.

OF GOD AND HIS CREATURES. An annotated Translation of the 'Summa Contra Gentiles' of St. Thomas Aquinas. By Joseph Rickaby, S.J., M.A. (Lond.) B.Sc. (Oxon.) Author of 'Aquinas Ethicus,' etc., etc. London: Burns & Oates. 1895. Folio. 1 Vol.

FATHER RICKABY has done a great and most useful service not only to the general reader, but to all English-speaking students of philosophy and theology, by his translation of St. Thomas's celebrated treatise. The necessity of being able to present Scholastic philosophy and theology to the modern world in intelligible language, has long been felt in all English-speaking countries, and as a help in that direction we regard Father Rickaby's volume as invaluable. For the author is indeed an expert in presenting the thoughts and arguments of the Schools in pure and concise English. Moreover, being a sound theologian, as well as an experienced philosopher, Father Rickaby is most happy in his choice of words and forms suitable for the exact rendering of the delicate shades of doctrine so happily formulated by St. Thomas. Many students of philosophy and theology, who are anxious to find out what St. Thomas has to say on the great fundamental questions of religion, might

hesitate to face the original Latin, will find ready at hand, in Father Rickaby's fine volume, in clear and crystal English, the Angelic Doctor's arguments and expositions on the chief fundamental questions of religion, the nature of God, the origin of creatures, the Providence of God, the nature and possibility of miracles, the nature and utility of prayer, the natural and divine law in its relation to marriage, rewards and punishments, God's revelation of Himself, etc. Father Rickaby's copious notes are also valuable and help to bring the volume up to date. These notes are particularly useful in that part of the treatise that deals with the Potential and Active Intellect, the crux of many students, and of most modern philosophers.

We are glad to notice that Father Rickaby omits several passages which are now entirely out of date. Thus, for instance, in the chapter on Fate (page 254), he says, in a note :—

'In reading this chapter, which I have not translated in full, one feels like an observer at work with a telescope out of focus. The thought of the Angelic Doctor is blurred by that fatal misconception which it was reserved for Newton to dissipate, that in the heavens above physical nature works necessarily and uniformly, but on the earth beneath, contingently (so that the effect might be otherwise), and with some anomaly and irregularity. We must say boldly that the case is not so; that throughout all time and all space physical nature works necessarily and uniformly,' etc.

Such notes as this, which are frequent enough, make the work doubly valuable.

The work is brought out in splendid style, in large type, with wide margins, and fine canvas cover. We have now and again noticed a superfluous particle, as at page 343, beginning of Chapter V. But, on the whole, we can offer the author our congratulations and thanks.

A. C.

RELIGIOUS SONGS OF CONNACHT. Parts I., II., III. By Douglas Hyde, LL.D. Dublin : Gill & Son ; London : Fisher Unwin. 1905.

THE Religious Songs of Connacht, which have been dealt with by Douglas Hyde in an interesting series of articles in the *New Ireland Review*, have been now, for the first time, collected, and together with the translation published in book

form. The Editor intends to publish the whole collection in eight parts, the first three of which have just been issued. The parts can be subscribed for at once through Messrs. Gill & Son, or can be bought separately. The price is one shilling per part. The Irish text, as the Editor took it down from the lips of the native speakers, is accompanied on the opposite page with a beautiful English translation, in prose and verse.

We have rarely read a book with such pleasure. It is not that the poetry is of any very high merit, nor that the ideas are specially striking; but the songs are so racy of the people, they bring us so closely in touch with the thoughts, and aspirations, and hopes of the Irish peasantry; they give us such an insight into their daily life and into their likings and their prejudices, that they bring the reader into a more genuine contact with the Ireland of the eighteenth century than much more pretentious volumes.

The religious character of the Irish people is well illustrated by this collection. We see how religion entered into their lives, nerving them and comforting them in dark and troubled days. The clergy come in for a good share of attention; sometimes, indeed, they are rather roughly handled by the wandering bards against whom they were now and again forced to take a firm stand, but these are only exceptions, as the author points out, and cannot be taken as a standard in judging the position which the priest held in the hearts of the people.

We are grateful to the President of the Gaelic League for his labour in collecting these remains of the past, which in a few years might have entirely disappeared. We hope others will be encouraged to follow in his footsteps, and do for Munster and Ulster what Dr. Hyde has done for the Western Province.

J. MACC.

THE STORY OF THE HARP. By W. H. Grattan Flood.
London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co. 1905.
Price 3s. 6d. net.

THIS book, one of the 'Music Story Series,' shows all the features of the author's *History of Irish Music*, a wonderful amount of information presented with a certain want of order, and a considerable amount of carelessness as regards style.

In the Preface, the author modestly remarks that 'the present little volume does not pretend to be scientific, in the strict acceptance of the term . . . it is only purposed to tell the *story* of the harp. . . . General accuracy, however, is aimed at.' As a matter of fact, however, the book is more a collection of historical material, than a story.

It is a pity Mr. Flood was not able to use an article on 'Harp and Lyre in Old Northern Europe,' by Hortense Panum, in the *Quarterly Magazine of the International Musical Society*, October, 1905. The first chapter of his book could have benefitted much by that. Amongst other things, Miss Panum proves that the statement of the existence of Irish harps without fore-pillar is without foundation. The drawing of the Ullard Harp, which Mr. Flood reproduces from Bunting, is faulty. It is somewhat puzzling to find Mr. Flood speaking of 'a small harp played with a bow' (page 9). One would imagine that it belongs to the essence of a harp to have strings to be plucked. Very strange, too, is the reference to St. Augustine's description of early Christian psalmody. We suppose he had in mind the well-worn quotation from *Conf.* x. 33. But there is no mention there of 'slowness' and 'solemnity,' but merely of simplicity. We miss in the book a reference to the chromatic cross-stringed harp. Notwithstanding slight blemishes, however, the book is a valuable one and, in fact, indispensable to any student of the history of the harp.

The publisher's part has been done well. But it is strange to have as frontispiece a picture of an angel playing a *lute*, and on cover a picture of a *lyre*. The cover, however, is possibly common to the whole series.

H. B.

BOOKS RECEIVED

A History of Modern England. By Herbert Paul. Vol. IV. London : Macmillan & Co. 1905. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

The Truth of Christianity. By Lt.-Col. W. H. Turton. London : Wells, Gardiner & Co. 1905. 4to. 2s. 6d.

The Four Winds of Erin. Poems of Ethna Carbery. Edited by Seumas MacManus. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. Paper, 1s. ; cloth, 2s. 6d.

The Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. By the Rev. H. Noldin, S.J. Translated by the Rev. W. H. Kent, O.S.C. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 1905. 4to. 6s. net.

THE FOREIGN REVIEWS

American Catholic Quarterly Review.—Philadelphia.

November, 1905.

'The Early Relations of Russia and Japan,' Donat Sampson ; 'The Religious Element in the Medieval Guilds,' Rev. Richard H. Tierny, S.J. ; 'The Destruction of the California Missions,' Brian J. Clinch ; 'Do the Filipinos really hate the Spanish Friars?—II,' Rev. A. Coleman, O.P. ; 'The Nature of Catholic Mysticism,' Rev. James Conway, S.J. ; 'The Legend of St. Olav of Norway,' Darley Dale ; 'Czar Nicholas I and the Holy See,' Rev. Thomas J. Shahan ; 'A Catholic College in the Seventeenth Century,' L. J. Willarte, S.J. ; 'An Old Miracle and Modern Science,' Rev. E. P. Graham ; 'The Heliand,' Charles G. Hebermann.

The Catholic World.—New York. November, 1905.

'Professor Bury's *Life of St. Patrick*,' James J. Fox, D.D. ; 'Madame Swetchine and her Friends,' Hon. M. M. Maxwell Scott ; 'Her Ladyship,' Katharine Tynan ; 'Hope as a Factor in Religion,' G. Tyrrell, S.J. ; 'The Holy House of Loreto,' B. L. Conway, C.S.P. ; 'The Restoration of Plain Chant,' E. G. Hurley ; 'The Downside Celebrations,' M. F. Quinlan ; 'A Possible Calendar,' George M. Searle, C.S.P.

Razón y Fe.—Madrid. Noviembre, 1905.

'La Propaganda Anarquista,' V. Mintegulaga ; 'Cuestiones Apologetics,' H. Fernandez ; 'La Transformacion del Japon,' V. Noguer ; 'Lope de Vega, Sacerdote y Poeta,' J. H. Alcardo ; 'El Eclipse de Sol de Agosto in Burgos,' E. Martinez.



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